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Policy: The journal publishes articles about the recent research achievements within the Development Studies, Environmental Studies, and Foresight. The goal of this journal is to track the development tendency of these fields of expertise and to make contributions to the development of the subjects.

The journal is published by the Department of Development Studies, Faculty of Science, Palacky University Olomouc, Czech Republic. The Departments is the first in Central and Eastern Europe to earn the highly prestigious EADI accreditation (IAC/EADI Accreditation - The International Accreditation Council for Global Development Studies and Research) for the International Development Studies master's programme.

Front page: Live Aid was a dual-venue concert held on 13 July 1985, and an ongoing music-based fundraising initiative. The original event was organised by Bob Geldof and Midge Ure to raise funds for relief of the ongoing Ethiopian famine. Billed as the "global jukebox", the event was held simultaneously at Wembley Stadium in London, England, United Kingdom (attended by 72,000 people) and John F. Kennedy Stadium in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States (attended by about 100,000 people). Photo by Squelle (Own work) CC BY-SA 3.0.

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Editorial

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Dear colleagues,

You now have the opportunity to read the fifth issue of the **Development, Environment and Foresight** journal, published by the Department of Development Studies, Palacký University, Olomouc, Czech Republic. With this issue we start the third year of our SNAŽENÍ in the area of academic journal publishing.

We have already achieved our first success as our journal has been indexed by the ERIH PLUS database. The European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS) was created and developed by European researchers under the coordination of the Standing Committee for the Humanities of the European Science Foundation (ESF). The ERIH lists, which initially covered only humanities disciplines, were first published by ESF in 2008, while revised lists were made available in 2011-2012. In 2014, responsibility for the maintenance and operation of ERIH was transferred to the NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data. The reference index at NSD is called ERIH PLUS in order to indicate that it has been extended to include the social sciences.

The first paper in this issue is authored by Jan Macháček, Jiří Teichmann, Pavel Nováček and Pavel Kladivo; and describes the Future Oriented Thinking Index via a Case Study of the Czech Republic, Greece, Moldova and Switzerland. The aim of the paper is to discuss some key factors in sustainable development and prosperity. The concept of the Future Oriented Thinking Index (FOTI) was first discussed in the journal Foresight (Nováček, 2014). The following shows the calculations for the FOTI of four European countries with different histories and at various stages of economic development.

The second paper presented by Linda Piknerová and Eva Rybáková focuses on the "celebritization" of development, subtitled Bono Vox and Angelina Jolie, actors in development. The text explores the topic of celebrities participating in setting the agenda for development on the world stage. Even though the origins of this phenomenon date back to the 1950s, the 1980s in particular are connected with the organization of a series of *Live Aid* concerts and can thus be considered a distinct milestone regarding the permeation of celebrities into the world of development.

The third and fourth papers are written by students, Jan Říkovský and Lucie Macková, and Štěpánka Pecháčková respectively. Jan and Lucie report on the provision of aid in complex refugee situations via a case study of Belgrade. Their research aims to provide a reflection on the humanitarian response to the "migration crisis" along the Balkans route during 2015. On the other hand Štěpánka describes arsenic contamination of groundwater in Bangladesh as one of the largest examples of poisoning in the world, affecting millions of people because groundwater is the main source of potable water in the country.

The paper qualitatively evaluates an arsenic mitigation initiative in Bangladesh from the perspective of the recipients. The initiative was implemented by a local non-government organization, the Thanapara Swallows Development Society (TSDS).

We hope you enjoy this issue and we are looking forward to the next one, which will focus on failed states. We would like to motivate and invite other authors to contribute to the knowledge and expertise in the areas of development, environment and foresight by sending their submissions to the editorial board of the DEF journal. The aim of the journal is to cultivate academic discussion in the scope of the journal as well as beyond its borders.

Thank you for your support

Jiří Pánek // managing editor

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DEF journal

The Future Oriented Thinking Index: A Case Study of the Czech Republic, Greece, Moldova and Switzerland

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to discuss some key factors in sustainable development and prosperity. One of the most commonly used indicators is Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which measures the economic performance of a country. It is often misinterpreted as an indicator of well-being and the quality of life in a country. The concept of the Future Oriented Thinking Index (FOTI) was first discussed in the journal Foresight (Nováček, 2014). The following shows the calculations for the FOTI of four European countries with different histories and at various stages of economic development. The FOTI is also intended to be drawn up for selected non-European countries, in particular for developing countries. Computation of the Future Oriented Thinking Index can provide an improved insight into why some communities and nations are prosperous and some less so. FOTI might be the main key to prosperity and success.

If future-oriented thinking is an important factor in prosperity, we need an instrument to measure it. The FOTI is closely affiliated with the State of the Future Index (SOFI), developed by Theodore J. Gordon and the Millennium Project. Instead of assessing the "state of the future" – whether the future will improve or deteriorate, as the SOFI does – the FOTI focuses on identifying the ability to take into account future challenges and act accordingly. There are 28 indicators suggested for the FOTI computation.

Key words: Sustainable development, future, Czech Republic, Greece, Moldova, Switzerland

Introduction

In recent years, economists, environmentalists and experts from other disciplines have been working together on a draft of alternative indicators and on the revision of complete abandonment of GDP, and replacing it with an index that would. better express the quality of life and better capture the long-term development of a society. Since 1990 the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has been using an alternative indicator, which should provide a better reflection of the quality of life (Desai, 1991; UNDP, 2014);

The Human Development Index (HDI). The principal behind the index is based on the assumption that in addition to financial security, a high-quality and decent lifestyle must provide opportunities for people to live long and healthy lives and have access to knowledge, education and resources.

Another indicator which, to a large extent, has already become an alternative or a complement to the GDP, is the Ecological Footprint (EF). The Ecological Footprint measures the consumption of natural resources in "global hectares per capita,", which is the comparative unit of consumption of natural resources and the effective capacity of biologically productive land and water on Earth (WWF, 2010). One great advantage of the ecological footprint is that it can be evaluated on a global, national, local, and even individual level. Another alternative indicator which measures the success of a country and society is Gross National Happiness (GNH). This concept was introduced in 1972 by the Bhutanese King Jigme Singye Wangchuck in an attempt to define the quality of life as regards its non-material aspects (Zurick, 2006).

The State of the Future Index remains the only indicator that not only studies the present, but also tries to uncover trends in the selected variables (indicators). It was designed by Theodore J. Gordon (Glenn *et al.*, 2012). The global SOFI is a statistical combination of 28 key indicators relevant to the state of a society. Based on historical data, the global index has evaluated the past 20 years, and this allows us to forecast the next several years (Glenn *et al.*, 2011). Assuming that future-oriented thinking is one of the prerequisites for success and prosperity, a tool to assess it should be developed. One such tool could be the Future Oriented Thinking Index (FOTI). The FOTI is a methodological approach similar to TJ Gordon's SOFI, but the FOTI focuses more on identifying people's ability to take into account future challenges on a personal, community, national and global level, and then to act accordingly. In other words, the SOFI studies what the future might look like, while the FOTI measures how well-prepared people are to confront future challenges.

Future-oriented thinking could be the main key to prosperity and success. Max Weber (2010) drew attention to Protestant ethics and their influence on the development of capitalism in Western Europe and North America. In the past, all activities such as consumption, savings, investments and hard work were based on a vision of God's salvation after death. This is a typical example of future-oriented thinking which determined current behaviour. The opposite may be found in the attitude of a person or a community living only for the moment without worrying about what is to come or the consequences of their behaviour. One example could be an extreme consumerist lifestyle, where the sense of security relies on a full refrigerator and there is no vision of the future. If the number of these people exceeds a critical limit, whether in a family, community or country, it is difficult to imagine the healthy and prosperous development of such a society. Therefore the FOTI could complement indexes such as the GDP and the HDI and help identify the societal attitudes which lead to sustainable prosperity.

The FOTI – variables, data sources, selection of territory

The initial step in the research was to identify appropriate indicators with which to calculate the FOTI for the selected territories. Initially our research followed similar studies, especially the variables considered in the calculation of global SOFI (Glenn *et al.*, 2012) and SOFI at a national level (Kladivo *et al.*, 2014). However, the variables were then adapted to the main FOTI idea; emphasis was placed on societal trends. The selection of indicators was adapted to the development specifics of the regions (or countries) for which the case studies were drafted. In order to assess the dynamics of development in different areas, variables from five categories were selected (education, health, economy, society, environment), allowing for the subsequent calculation of partial indices. The calculation of the total FOTI included all the variables. Selected experts on sustainable development and regional development helped identify the key variables (indicators).

While it is clear that the variables (Table 1) are not of equal importance, all were given the same weight of 1 for the initial pilot calculation of the FOTI. This is in contrast to the SOFI studies (Kladivo *et al.*, 2014) and other authors, who decided to weigh the variables (usually weight 1-10) based on the results of a Real Time Delphi questionnaire (Glenn *et al.*, 2009).

Table 1: Indicators included in the FOTI calculation

ECONOMY		HEALTH	
1	Foreign direct investment, net inflows (% of GDP)	18	Immunization, DPT (% of children ages 12-23 months)
2	Adjusted savings: net national savings (% of GNI)	19	Immunization, measles (% of children aged 12-23 months)
3	GDP per capita, PPP (current international $)	20	Physicians (per 1,000 people)
4	Energy use (kg of oil equivalent) per $1,000 GDP (constant 2005 PPP)	21	Health expenditure, public (% of GDP)
5	Unemployment, total (% of total labour force)	22	Overweight (mean BMI (kg/m2) (age-standardized estimate) (age group 20 + years male)
ENVIRONMENTAL		**SOCIAL**	
6	GDP per unit of energy use (constant 2005 PPP $ per kg of oil equivalent)	23	Unemployment, youth total (% of total labour force aged 15-24)
7	Improved water source, rural (% of rural population with access)	24	Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women aged 15-19)
8	Improved sanitation facilities (% of population with access)	25	Birth rate, crude (per 1,000 people)
9	Improved sanitation facilities, rural (% of rural population with access)	26	Life expectancy at birth, total (years)
10	CO_2 emissions (kg per 2000 US$ of GDP)	27	Recorded adult (15 + years) per capita consumption (in litres of pure alcohol)
11	Percentage of nationally protected areas	28	People voting in election %
EDUCATION			
12	School enrolment, primary (% gross)		
13	School enrolment, secondary (% gross)		
14	School enrolment, tertiary (% gross)		
15	Communications, computer, etc. (% of service imports)		
16	Internet users (per 100 people)		
17	Think tank organisations		

The study uses 28 variables. Five relate to economic characteristics and five characterize the health of the population; while the environmental, social, and educational components of the index each have six indicators (see Table 1). All the variables were generated from the publicly available sources of the World Bank (2016). In calculating the SOFI, statistical computations based on a 20-year time period were used.

This allows us to forecast the development of each variable over the following years, usually every ten years (Glenn *et al.*, 2012; Kladivo *et al.*, 2014). As yet, our research has only assessed the past development of the FOTI (1995-2013).

The FOTI pilot study focuses on countries at various levels of development with different recent economic and political histories. Another requirement was that the data (variables) were easily accessible. For this reason we chose four European countries. Switzerland is a stable, developed and rich country with a high quality of life. The Czech Republic underwent significant political and economic changes in the 1990s which had a major impact on its development. Greece has been considerably affected by the economic recession of recent years. Moldova was formerly part of the Soviet Union and, since the demise of the totalitarian regime, it remains the poorest country in Europe.

We are aware that the selection of variables used in the FOTI calculation is highly subjective and is influenced by the availability of data. These should be from one source and the data collection should follow a uniform methodology. The main sources of statistical data were the World Bank and the World Development Indicators (2014).

The FOTI calculation

The index calculation included the following steps:

a) Calculation of the relative FOTI

1. Calculation of average values for each variable over the period under review (1995-2013)
2. Establishment of the top positive and bottom negative limits
3. Data standardization
4. final calculation of the FOTI

If we denote each variable a_i, then the value of the variable in a given year is a_i^{year}. At the beginning we operate with matrix A consisting of 19 rows (indicating the years from 1995 to 2013) and 28 columns (each for one variable):

$$
A: \quad \begin{array}{cccc}
a_1^{1995} & a_2^{1995} & \ldots & a_k^{1995} \\
a_1^{1996} & a_2^{1996} & \ldots & a_k^{1996} \\
. \quad . & \ldots \quad . & & \\
. \quad . & \ldots \quad . & & \\
. \quad . & \ldots \quad . & & \\
a_1^{2013} & a_2^{2013} & \ldots & a_k^{2013}
\end{array}
$$

During the period under review, each variable takes its own minimum and maximum. Whether the maximum or the minimum is the most desired outcome always depends on the nature of the variable. For example, the higher the GDP, the better the outcome; while the opposite holds true in such variables as unemployment.

The average value for each variable is then calculated for the period 1995-2013 as

$\bar{a}_i = \Sigma a_i^{year}/19$

We then identified maximum (a_i^{max}) and minimum (a_i^{min}) values for each variable in the period 1995-2013. Thus we created the upper good limit (U_{ai}) and the lower bad limit (L_{ai}). This is a simplification compared to the SOFI methodology, where the limits were selected not only based on the minimum and the maximum, but also on the theoretical positive and negative values in the future.

Data from the original matrix are standardized (producing a new matrix B = (b_i^{year})), using the formula: $b_i^{year} = (a_i^{year} - \bar{a}_i) / (U_{ai} - L_{ai})$

$$B: \begin{array}{cccc} b_1^{1995} & b_2^{1995} & \dots & b_k^{1995} \\ b_1^{1996} & b_2^{1996} & \dots & b_k^{1996} \\ . \quad . & \dots \quad . & & \\ . \quad . & \dots \quad . & & \\ . \quad . & \dots \quad . & & \\ b_1^{2013} & b_2^{2013} & \dots & b_k^{2013} \end{array}$$

Subsequently, the FOTI for each year is calculated: $FOTI^{year} = \Sigma\, b_i^{year}$. The annual index for a country equals the sum of the values in a respective row of matrix B. All the FOTI values are then qualified relative to the 2006 value. The calculation is one step easier than the SOFI computation as we have not yet weighed the variables. These methods of standardization used a methodological approach similar to TJ Gordon's SOFI. Standardization is based on the initial calculations of SOFI which are not simplified to theoretical positive and negative values in the future.

b) Calculation of the absolute FOTI

1. Alignment of the data of all of the countries concerned
2. Data standardization
3. Calculation of partial FOTIs
4. Calculation of the total FOTI

The total index is computed for a number of reasons. The main reason is that, while the relative FOTI facilitates a comparison of the progress of countries over time, it does not assess their actual level of advancement.

In practice, this means that the curve of the relative FOTI can grow dynamically, which shows a positive trend, but the variables may be very far from reaching the values of countries whose curve of the relative FOTI is stagnant, or even in decline. In addition, with the above FOTI calculation, the absolute indices are incomparable because while making the calculation for individual countries, only the maximum and minimum values of countries' characteristics are used in the standardization. Therefore, we decided on a simple calculation for the absolute index. The calculation is based on the principle of data standardization, using the formula:

$$z_i' = (z_i - \tilde{x}_{50})/Q$$

where:

z_i' is a standardized value

z_i is the original value of the variable

$\tilde{x}_{50}$ is the median of all values across all countries for each variable between the years 1995 and 2013

Q is the interquartile range

The final index for a country is the sum of standardized values in individual years. To compare the developments in the various categories of variables we also provide partial indices, i.e. the economic, social, environmental, health, and education index. The partial indices are the sum of the standardized values of the variables in each category.

Principal findings, comments

The relative FOTI

A simple analysis of the relative FOTI curves shows the following:

- Although Moldova is one of the poorest European countries, most of the indicators surveyed are improving. Moldova enjoys the most dynamic growth in the FOTI of all the four countries studied. While this may seem optimistic at first glance, the absolute values of the FOTI reveal the country's actual situation (see below). In recent years, development has taken a quite favourable direction.
- An altogether different trend is noted in the FOTI of Switzerland, whose curve oscillates around 0.8. Between 2000 and 2005 it even dropped, somehow triggered by slightly unfavourable developments in the economic indicators (unemployment, especially among the population aged 15 to 24 years; and a decline in foreign investment), as well as other indicators (e.g. low birth rates, an increase in obesity). This changed around 2005, when the relative FOTI began to grow.

It deteriorated again in 2007 and 2008, corresponding with the onset of the global economic recession. In these years, the index dropped with varying intensity and duration in all the countries studied.

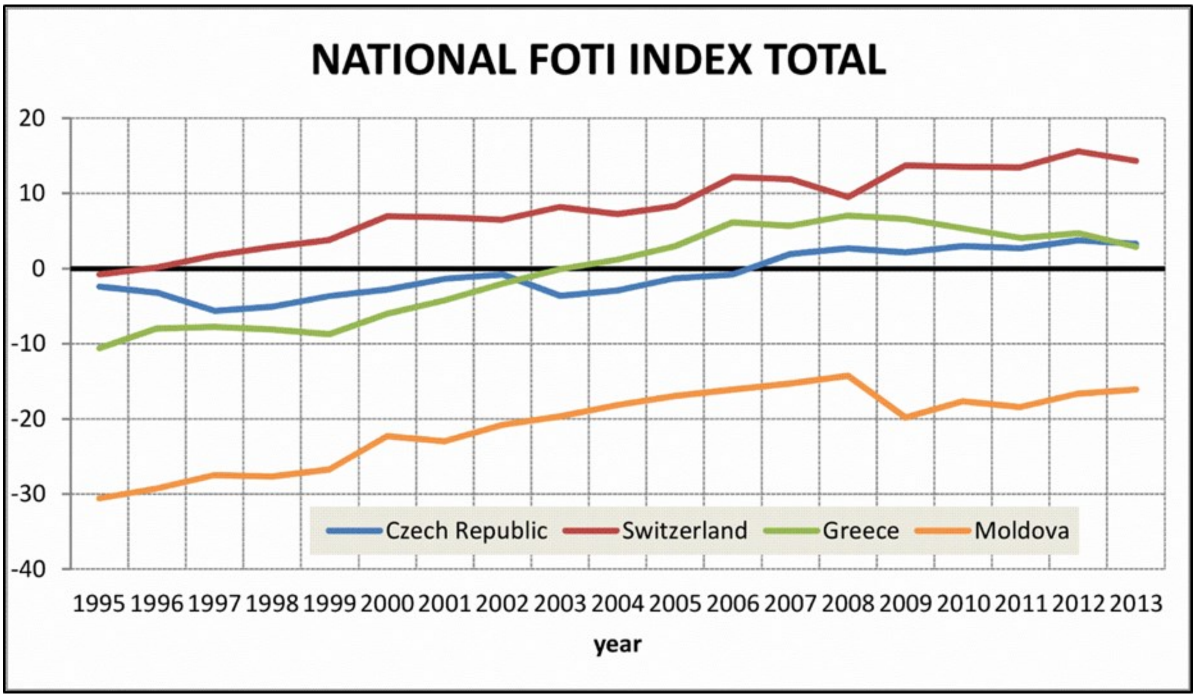
- Greece has a relatively stable FOTI curve. The development can be divided into two basic stages. Until 2007, the relative index grew slightly, or sometimes stagnated, but from 2007 it fell into decline. The negative development in the index is not as significant as we might expect for Greece. This is due to the construction of the index, where a significant decline in economic characteristics was, to some extent, offset by favourable health and education values. The impact the various components of the index have on its total value will be demonstrated later in the text with the help of the absolute values of the index.
- A far more dynamic development of the FOTI is observed in the case of the Czech Republic. Here, the development is divided into two phases, with 2003 as the turning point. Until then, the curve was in decline, mainly due to the post-1989 social changes associated with a significant decrease in fertility (postponing the first child until a later age), rising unemployment (especially in young people), a drop in voter turnout, etc. Although most of the other characteristics do not show unfavourable development, that is not enough to offset the overall negative trend. In 2004, the situation started to change and, with the exception of the period 2007-2008, the curve rose. The rise was associated with the increase in the birth rate. Baby boomers entered a reproductive age and mothers who had postponed parenthood now had children. The positive trend was also observed in the economic variables.

The absolute FOTI

Figure 1 shows the development of the absolute FOTI values, including partial indices, calculated as the sum of standardized values in the individual years. The values of partial FOTIs can be compared as there are approximately the same numbers of variables (five and six) in all categories. The anticipated large differences between the countries are verified, both in the overall index and in its components. The greatest differences are between Switzerland, as one of the most developed countries, and Moldova at the opposite end of the European scale. A positive finding for both countries is that their index values grew through most of the monitored period (except for a downturn in 2008 due to the worldwide economic recession). In the mid-1990s Moldova was in a deep crisis caused by a period of uncertainty, the separatist Transnistria conflict, and an economic decline associated with the absence of a market economy following the collapse of the Soviet Union. The FOTI values are deep in the red, below -30 points, because the variables did not come close to the median of all the four countries in the years 1995-2013. Since 1999, the index has grown relatively dynamically and almost all the indicators monitored have enjoyed positive development. Although the trend is positive, with its level of individual characteristics, Moldova still lags far behind the other countries surveyed. The FOTI of Switzerland remains positive with a slightly increasing trend seen through the entire period monitored. Only in the last four years has the curve stagnated. Of all the countries surveyed, Switzerland has the highest FOTI (13.5 points in 2011).

Greece recorded an interesting development. Following initial stagnation on the negative index values (-10), the curve began to rise in 2000 and three years later the Greek values were better than the Czech figures. The turning point, however, came in 2007-2008 with the first strong indications of the economic crisis. This negatively affected economic and social indicators. Although the Czech Republic escaped such a slump, their overall index stagnated and Greece's FOTI was higher than that of the Czech Republic. The Czech Republic was the only country whose FOTI was in decline at the beginning of the surveyed period and stagnated until the turn of the millennium. The trend only showed a significant change in 2003 due to positive rises in most variables.

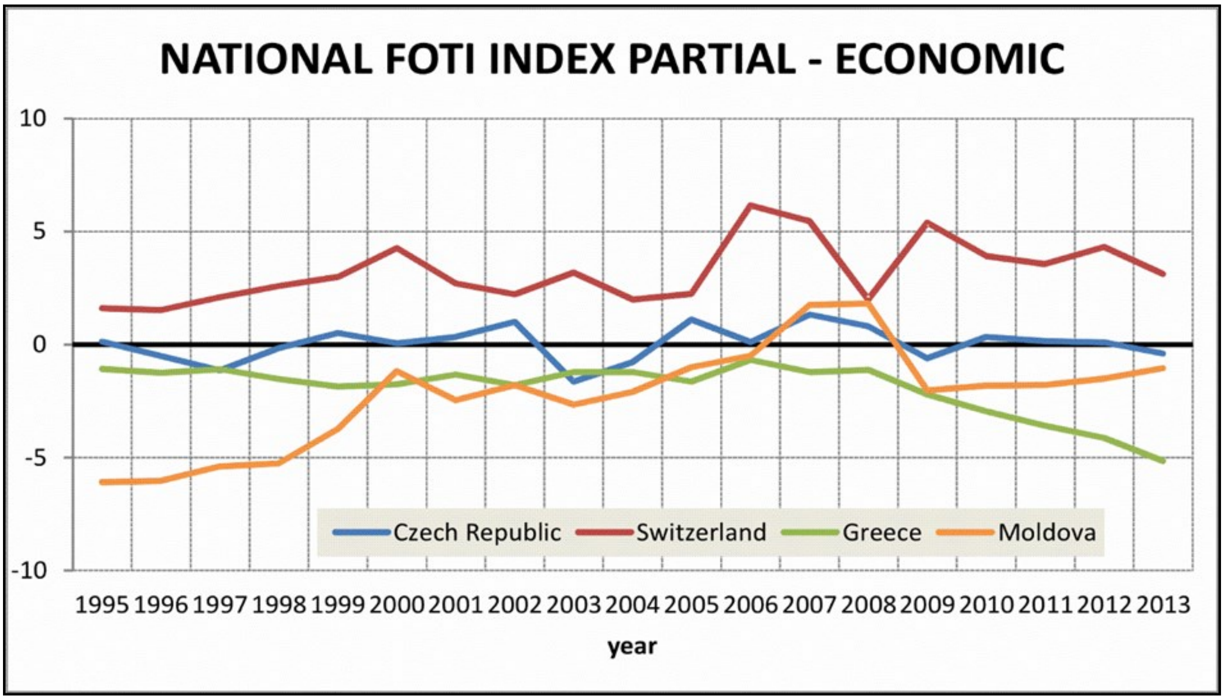
Figure 1: National FOTI Index - Total



The absolute FOTI partial

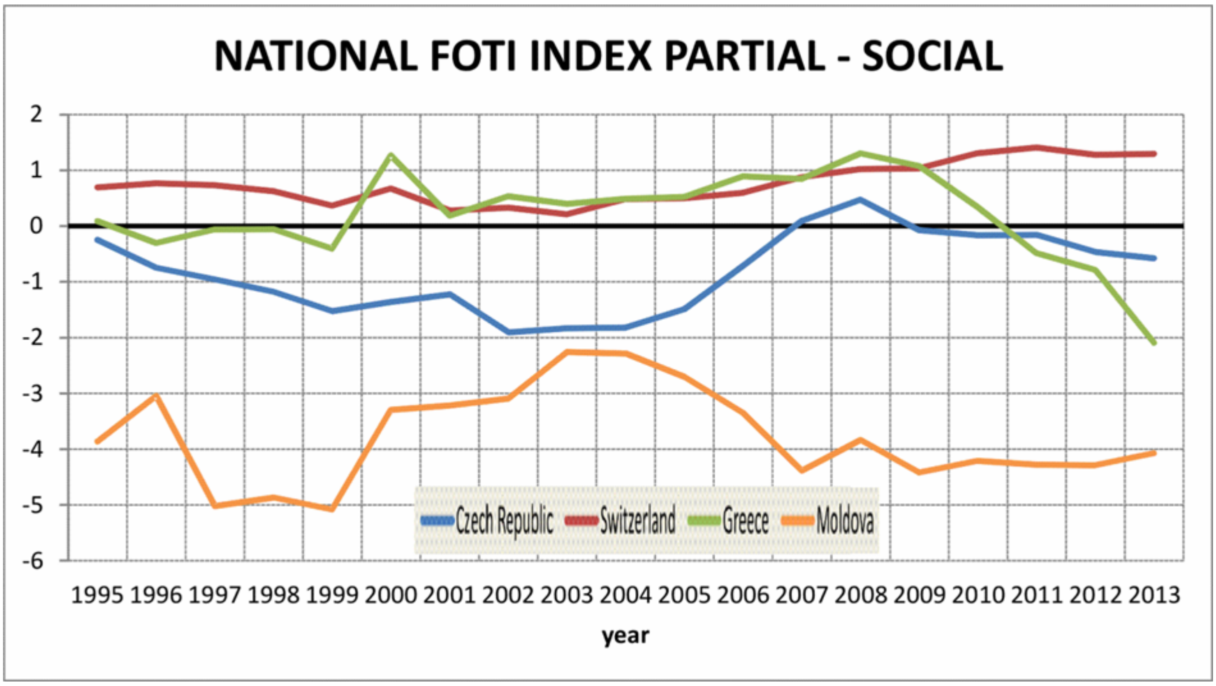
An analysis of the partial indices leads to very interesting conclusions (we can see in Figures 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). Until 2008, in all four countries surveyed, the trend in the economic FOTI (Figure 2) was almost balanced or it oscillated around a single value, which was nevertheless different for each country. Interestingly, since 2000, Moldova's values are virtually no different from those of Greece, which has been increasingly falling behind since 2008. The 2007-2008 decline was discussed above. The dominant position of Switzerland is not surprising, nor are the economic indicators for the Czech Republic. However, what surprised us was the slump that Greece suffered, even falling below Moldova's figures.

Figure 2: National FOTI Index Partial – Economic



Along with economic indicators, the drop in the absolute value of Greece's total FOTI was also brought about by a significant drop in social variables (Figure 3). This category includes demographic indicators (e.g. birth rate) and socio-economic indicators (unemployment in the population aged 15-24 years). It is the negative development of these indicators that has recently driven the Greek values down, despite the fact that in the social area, the Greek FOTI used to be on a level comparable with Switzerland. Thanks to the baby boom between 2004 and 2008 (and the associated higher fertility), the index for the Czech Republic grew and overtook that of Greece. Moldova is considerably behind in the social area, largely due to a low life expectancy, which is 13 years shorter than in Switzerland.

Figure 3: National FOTI Index Partial - Social



Probably the least surprising result of the study FOTI curve is the partial FOTI focused on environmental indicators (Figure 4); the curves for individual countries show a linear development. This is due to the structure of the environmental FOTI, or rather, the composition of its indicators. For example, the proportion of protected areas in a country changes little over time. The same applies to the percentage of inhabitants with access to drinking water. Conversely, indicators which assessed the air quality (CO_2 emissions) and GDP per unit of energy used showed slight improvements virtually over the entire surveyed period and in all four countries. The environmental indices of the Czech Republic and Greece are comparable. Switzerland has the best environmental index, while Moravia has much the worst, mainly due to CO_2 emissions.

Figure 4: National FOTI Index Partial - Environmental

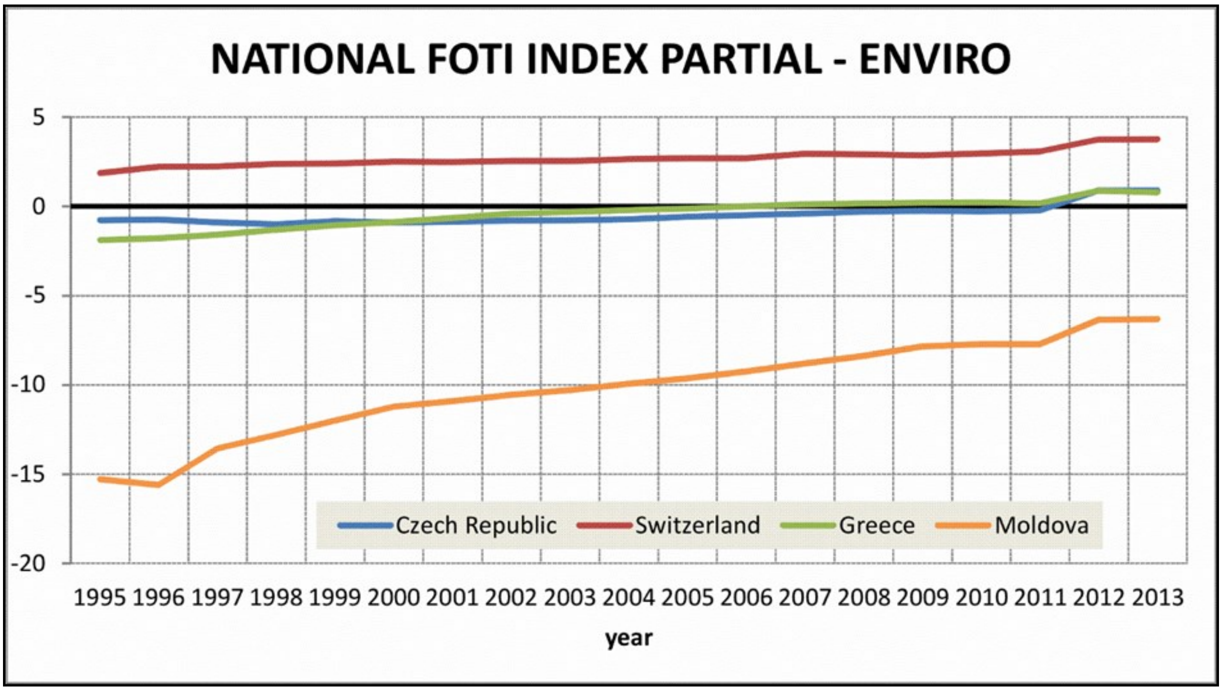
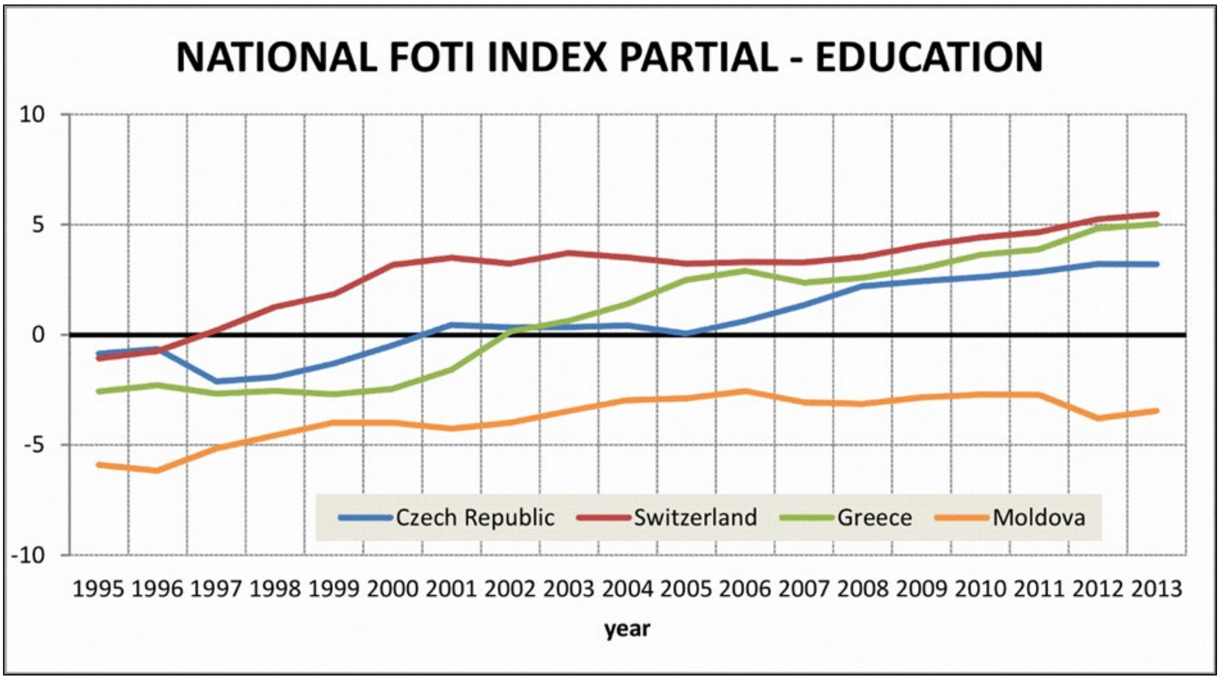


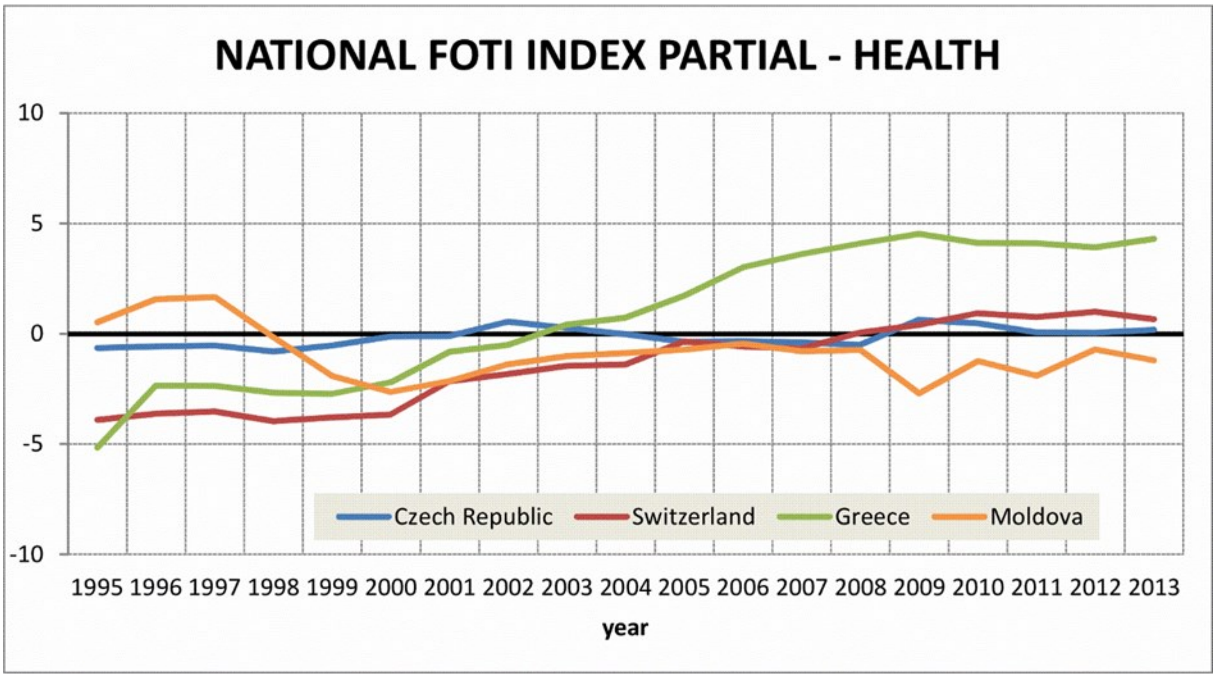
Figure 5: National FOTI Index Partial - Education



Findings based on the FOTI that monitored health indicators (Figure 6) were very interesting. This is the only category that is not dominated by Switzerland. Instead, Greece surpasses the other countries. It is likely that Greece owes its very good results in this category to the Mediterranean lifestyle, coupled with a healthy diet, lower stress levels and a favourable climate.

In addition, Greeks have very good access to healthcare and Greece is on a par with the other countries in investments in healthcare (measured by the proportion of GDP). However, it is obvious that for Greece the positive partial health index compensates for the negative trends in the economic and social categories, and this prevents a significant decline in the total FOTI index.

Figure 6: National FOTI Index Partial – Health



Conclusion

The Future Oriented Thinking Index does not aim to compete with existing indices that are used in practice (GDP, HDI, Ecological Footprint, etc.), but to monitor and evaluate important factors that determine societal development. We believe that a hitherto neglected key prerequisite for sustainable development and quality of life is future-oriented thinking.

Max Weber (2010) drew attention to Protestant ethics and their influence over the development of capitalism in Western Europe and North America. Grounding all current activities - including consumption, savings, investments, and hard work – on the vision of God´s salvation after death is a typical example of future-oriented thinking that determines one´s present behaviour and actions.

In 1989, Lawrence Harrison formulated four fundamental factors that facilitate economic efficiency and prosperity in a society: the radius of social trust, the rigor of the ethical system, the way authority is exercised (today we would probably say “good governance”), and attitudes towards work, innovation, savings, and profit.

The opposite may be the attitude of a person or a community living only for the moment, without considering the future. If the number of these people exceeds a critical limit, whether in a family, community, ethnic group or country, it is very hard to imagine that there would be any healthy, prosperous development.

The FOTI not only evaluates education, health, and economic indicators (as does the Human Development Index), but in combination with social and environmental categories, it also aims to comprehensively evaluate the development of a society. In this pilot study, the methodology for calculating the FOTI is similar to the methodology used in the SOFI (State of the Future Index). However, up to now we have not allocated weights to individual indicators, nor do we predict the future evolution of the variables (in the SOFI methodology this is established using the Real Time Delphi method). In the future, we would also like to expand the case studies and apply the FOTI methodology to other, non-European territories and developing countries. Another option for improving the methodology is the calibration of the absolute FOTI calculation. Alternatives to data standardization that would use global averages instead of the median values of the surveyed countries are under consideration.

The relative FOTI was also complemented with the absolute numbers we obtained as the sum of the standardized, and thus dimensionless, values. This allowed us to supplement the data concerning the positive or negative developments in the 4 countries with information detailing the countries' actual levels. In our study, the best situation in terms of the absolute FOTI is in Switzerland. While the great difference between the absolute index values of Switzerland and Moldova was predictable, the relative FOTI suggests positive developments in Moldova. All four countries show a positive trend in the total FOTI. Partial index analyses, which assessed the surveyed countries in five areas (economic, environmental, social, education, and health), showed relatively great dynamics in the variables.

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The "celebritization" of development – Bono Vox and Angelina Jolie as actors in development[1]

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Abstract

This text explores the topic of celebrities in development, which is a phenomenon the boom of which has kept accelerating since the 1980s. Its subject matter lies in celebrities partaking in setting the agenda of development on the world stage. Even though the origins of this phenomenon date back to the 1950s, the 1980s in particular are connected with organizing a series of Live Aid concerts and can thus be considered a distinct milestone regarding the permeation of celebrities into the world of development. In the article we offer a general assessment of the phenomenon of celebrities in development as well as two concrete examples (Bono Vox and Angelina Jolie) that vividly demonstrate how it works in practice and what strategies celebrities opt for.

Key words: celebrity diplomacy, development, Bono Vox, Angelina Jolie, *Live Aid*

Introduction

The discussions about development and its individual development issues have undergone a profound transformation throughout the past 60 years ranging from theoretical approaches to analyzing the abovementioned (from the modernization theory, over the dependency theory, to post-development), to practical tools to solve particular issues (covering large development projects that often end up as "white elephants" as well as the unprecedented rise of grass-root projects). One of the areas that illustrate the shift in the development discourse is the participation and nature of players entering development matters. Whereas the first few decades of development were marked by a distinctly state-oriented approach that considered a state the sole actor in the field of development cooperation, the gradual transformation of the development discourse and the increasingly frequented assertions about grass-root development made non-state actors the new significant players in the field of development.

Apart from various non-governmental organizations or local groups individuals, too, have become a considerable section capable of profoundly influencing and setting the trends in the international development agenda. As such, celebrities represent a specific group that impacts development issues and the importance of which for the development discourse has begun being more thoroughly examined since the 1990s, which is related to the expansion of new communication networks (the Internet) and to the celebrities' abilities to express their political views to world public. For the "celebritization" of development, which has been increasingly taking place since the 1980s, two crucial moments stand out

– an unprecedented expansion of the number of (and, consequently, the significance of) NGOs that, given their nature, tackle topics connected with development, human right issues and, at the same time, with organizing a series of so-called live concerts which ushered in a new era of the media coverage of development issues (Thrall – Stecula 2017: 3). Even though the public engagement of individuals in political matters is anything but a brand new phenomenon, with the rise of mass communication means and new media the possibilities of celebrities for influencing political (and development) issues have been considerably broadened and today celebrities represent notable movers of the development discourse (West 2008: 5). In line with the more perceptible appearances of celebrities in the media, with their abilities to introduce pivotal topics of the public life, and with them playing the roles of (un)official ambassadors, the phrase celebrity diplomacy has been frequented through which numerous development issues are paid attention unheard of before (Cooper 2008a: 10).

With the expansion of celebrity politics, activism and advocacy, questions arose about whether its positives outweigh (or not) the negatives and about the extent to which celebrities are capable of contributing to agenda-setting. Part of the discussion on the importance of celebrities in solving development issues lies in considerations about the legitimacy of celebrities who, as personalities none voted for, are not subjected to any system of independent policing and can freely set the agenda as they see fit. There are also those concerned with why celebrities in particular should have the ability to determine the development discourse and whether they have the required expertise to assess the individual issues in a wider context. On the other hand, the proponents of celebrities' engagement highlight their aptitude in appealing to, and galvanizing, global society, and in making the citizens of countries in the North ponder over the issues of the global South (Yrjölä 2014: 10).

This article endeavors to capture the phenomenon of the "celebritization" of development, while utilizing two personalities – Bono Vox and Angelina Jolie – to more closely illustrate its premises. The first part of the text is devoted to operationalizing the basic terminology and typology of the "celebritization" of politics from which the "celebritization" of development stems (development is one of the topics celebrities engage in, but not the sole one). Afterwards comes a section dedicated to a brief overview of celebrity politics. Using the examples of two celebrities we intend to demonstrate how these introduce development topics, what areas they focus on, and what strategies for the purpose of agenda-setting they select. Bono Vox poses as such a preeminent celebrity engaged in development that Cooper (2008: 48-51) even coined the term the "bonoization" of development to refer to a particular type of celebrity diplomacy. The second celebrity is Angelina Jolie who "ascended" the development stage in 2000 as a consequence of her personal experience with the situation in Cambodia during the filming of *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider*.

Although both personalities can be considered important actors in the "celebritization" of development, the reasons for their involvement in it differ considerably, which corresponds with a generally ambiguous assessment of the celebrities' engagement in development.

Celebrity politicians, political celebrity, celebrity diplomacy, celebrity expert

The discussion about the nature of the "celebritization" of development needs to commence with defining celebrity politics from which the "celebritization" of development is derived. As such, we encounter various typologies the authors of which always follow some particularly selected factors and use them to characterize the individual categories of celebrity politics. Perhaps the easiest, but also the easiest one to understand, is a typology introduced by Jogn Street (2004, 2011, 2012) who specifies two categories – celebrity politicians (CP1) and political celebrity (CP2). The CP1 category includes 1. politicians with some background in the field of show business or in the entertainment industry, who, for some reason, decided to enter politics. To exemplify, we can mention former American president Ronald Reagan or Jesse Ventura, who left the world of sports to become a governor of the state of Minnesota. 2. Professional politicians utilizing show business tools in their political careers to ameliorate their media image belong to the CP1 category too. Former German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder who shared the stage with a famous band called Scorpions, a musical performance by Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi who, in tandem with Tom Cruise, performed a song by Elvis Presley, or a well-known saxophone number by Bill Clinton as part of the *Arsenio Hall Show* would all meet the definition.

The CP2 category (Street 2004: 438) consists of musical, film or sport celebrities who take the advantage of their positions and fame to publicly present their political opinions, yet their goal is not to run for elections (or somehow strive for legitimacy). This group entails a myriad of Hollywood starts such as Cher, Susan Sarandon, Robert Redford or the abovementioned Bono Vox and Angelina Jolie. It is this exact category on which the article focuses and by using two examples it demonstrates the ways political celebrities follow to bring attention to development issues.

The term celebrity diplomacy the nature of which emanates from an assumption that in the contemporary world diplomacy is not confined to professionals only, but, in fact, everyone can exercise it, is, without any doubt, connected with celebrity politics (Cooper 2008a: 2). Through celebrity politics famous personalities articulate selected topics and attempt to, using their specific networks, confront the public with issues they deem crucial. The range of topics celebrities cover is very wide, nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of them, one way or another, revolves around development issues. Today the best-known example of celebrity diplomacy is appointing famous personalities UN Goodwill Ambassadors or Messengers of Peace (Fall – Tang 2006: 2).

For celebrity diplomacy to succeed it is imperative that a particular personality is famous and popular enough, which, to an extent, hinders the phenomenon of the successful "celebritization" of development in the North. Even though the countries of the South have their own well-known celebrities (Uruguayan actor Osvaldo Laport or African singer Youssou N'Dour), their reach pales in comparison to personalities such as Angelina Jolie, Brad Pitt, Bono Vox, Cher or Madonna, and in the countries of the North, from which the vast majority of means for development comes, hardly a handful knows them. Individuals we can label celebrity diplomats have at their disposal good access to the media that are willing to listen to them and by doing so contribute to setting the topics celebrities consider fundamental. The media find such personalities interesting because of their fame and popularity among the masses of individuals pliable to their opinions. Also, celebrity diplomats boast special ties with important world politicians and, alongside them, take part in key international negotiations during which various topics are discussed.

The term celebrity expert, itself referring to celebrities who concentrate on a particular, oftentimes a narrowly defined, segment of topics, is closely linked to celebrity diplomats. Such experts offer a plethora of concrete pieces of information gained during field trips in affected areas, while their "encounters" are regularly accompanied by a camcorder that documents the "sobering" of a celebrity. Celebrity experts are believed to be able to better mediate the suffering and the issues the developing world struggles with, because their experience is, all in all, on par with the experience of a regular person (Richey – Budabin 2016: 6).

History of the engagement of celebrities in development issues

The phenomenon of important personalities openly commenting on the public life has a long history with the first known character being American writer Mark Twain who criticized the policy of American president T. Roosevelt at the beginning of the 20th century (Wheeler 2013: 49). We can also mention the participation of Ernst Hemingway in the Spanish Civil War, the engagement of famous pilot Charles Lindberg in the American policy of isolationism in the 1930s, the endorsement given by actors Paul Newman and Jane Fonda in a campaign to end the war in Vietnam, or the outspoken stand Stevie Wonder took against the apartheid regime in South Africa. In the 1980s the issue of nuclear energy and its usage became a substantial topic for celebrities with a series of concerts titled "*No Nukes*" raising the awareness about the threats connected with using them (West 2008: 2-3).

Leading experts in the field of celebrity development consider the year 1953 to be a landmark regarding the engagement of publicly known personalities in development, when famous American actor Danny Kaye was asked by the UN to become the first Goodwill Ambassador, which earned him the nickname *Mr. UNICEF* (Thrall – Stecula 2017: 3)[2]. His voyages to Thailand, the Korea Peninsula or Indonesia were captured in a documentary titled *Assignment Children* that has been seen by more than 100 million spectators.

Actor Peter Ustinov took this thought one step further by pronouncing himself a "world citizen" with Russian, Swiss, French, Italian and Ethiopian roots and not only became a notable proponent of the UNICEF, but also of the UN as a whole. In the 1980s Audrey Hepburn officially broadened the ranks of Goodwill Ambassadors of the UN, who, given her childhood spent in the occupied Netherlands while being exposed to starvation, turned into an extraordinarily revered activist that shared her experience from Somalia or Ethiopia with the American Congress (Wheeler 2011: 12). Given her civil and humane approach, Hepburn in particular inspired other celebrities with respect to some appropriate means of promoting the media coverage of development issues.

Other famous personalities include actor Marlon Brando, who helped the UN acquire the resources for combating famine, or George Harrison, whose concert organized in the 1970s attracted much publicity and its revenue was distributed to Bangladesh to aid starving refugees. At that time Norwegian actress Liv Ullman became a Goodwill Ambassador of the U.N., whose activities were oriented toward child protection with due attention paid to the situation in Cambodia devastated by the rule of the Khmer Rouge. Singer Harry Chapin also merits our attention given that in the 1970s he managed to amass around 500 000 USD per year to combat famine (West 2008: 2-3). One of the most famous actresses partaking in development issues is Sophia Loren whose engagement aptly demonstrates the weaknesses of celebrity development. Even though Lauren succeeded in popularizing the thought of celebrity development, during the first few years of her activity one could repeatedly see her inability to reconcile her new role with her former career as an actress. Her arrival to a UNHCR meeting in a luxurious Rolls Royce showed a complete lack of understanding of the symbolism of her behavior, and supported the voices repeatedly hinting at the inaptness of celebrities to comprehend the full extent of the issues they promote in the media (Cooper 2007: 128). The matter of human rights, too, permeated the agenda of Richard Gere who chaired the *International Campaign for Tibet* insofar that his zeal for protecting the rights of Tibetans lead to a conflict with the UN, which he accused of devoting insufficient interest to this issue (Wheeler 2011: 12-13).

From "live" concerts to global partnership

Nevertheless, an era-defining breakthrough regarding celebrities and their abilities to draw attention to development matters came to pass in the 1980s with the organization of a series of "live" concerts titled *Live Aid*, which were orchestrated by Bob Geldof, an Irish musician. These concerts, meant to aid starving Ethiopians, unleashed an unprecedented interest of world public in development issues and marked the beginning of an era in which celebrities broadened the ranks of the architects of the development discourse. Thanks to television, people in 150 countries were able to watch the event, which induced mass feedback initiating a wave of solidarity like never before[3]. The reasons explaining why Geldof in particular became one of the symbols of the successful "celebritization" of development have something to do with, inter alia, his origin. Geldof, as an Irish middle class member, never belonged to the privileged social class, which lent his statements and activities much credibility. When Geldof spoke about the marginalization of Africa, he was fully aware of him facing something similar in his life and thus his appeals to straighten the relations between the rich North and the poor South were perceived as completely authentic. Geldof managed to foster an image of an apolitical activist capable of poignantly contemplating the challenges surrounding Africa and making notable world politicians pay attention to his postulations. Even Paul Wolfowitz, the president of the World Bank (who can hardly be considered an eager proponent of solutions to development issues) commended Gedolf on his rhetorical skills and called him "*an inspirational man* (Yrjölä 2014: 90)."

Despite the mounting criticism concerning *Live Aid* that started to emerge as years were passing (a portion of the accumulated resources ended up in the hands of armed groups, which used them to purchase weapons), the idea of organizing live concerts caught on insofar that in 2007 it made manifest again in the form of organizing *Live Earth* and in 2010 the *Hope for Haiti Now* concerts (Thrall – Stecula 2017: 3). This effort to promote public activism during a concert performance also occurred within the context of human rights issues, thanks to, most notably, Bruce Springsteen and Sting who joined forces with the Amnesty International and staged concerts drawing attention to the topic of political prisoners (West 2008: 3).

From the 1990s onward we have witnessed a considerable increase in the interest of various kinds of celebrities in global issues from which climate changes – a topic so popular it even became a theme of the "carbon neutral tour" of the bands *Pearl Jam* and *Coldplay* or movies *The 11th Hour* with Leonardo DiCaprio as its lead actor – warrant due attention (Boykoff – Goodman 2009: 398). The transformation of climate also stroke a chord with actor Orlando Bloom who, after having finished filming *Pirates of the Caribbean: At World's End,* paid a visit to Antarctica and stated: "*I saw how tragically fragile the ice caps are* (Boykoof – Goodman 2009: 399)," which earned him an applause and guaranteed high attendance of his movies. Ben Affleck took a considerably more elaborate approach to such issues, when, in 2010, he became a celebrity expert on the region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Apart from his fellow colleagues from show business he not only underwent spectacular journeys to unusual places, but after having acquainted himself more thoroughly with the situation in this central African country he established the Eastern Congo Initiative with a goal of initiating its socio-economic development. Affleck's activity endeavors to popularize the challenges in the DRC, and also promote the cooperation with high-ranked US representatives responsible for American development so as to enlighten them about the bottlenecks of the American development model. (Richey – Budabin 2016: 14).

Madonna qualifies for being put in the category of humanitarian celebrity given her engagement in the south-African state of Malawi since 2006. She focuses on child orphans and on improving their living conditions via the Raising Malawi organization that she initiated for this purpose. Yet her activity has sparked many controversies.

Critics have repeatedly accused her of inspiring false hope among the locals and that at her heart lies the intention of promoting her own marketing brand. Madonna's organization has aroused big expectations among the locals and as such their evaluations are regularly more positive, because the locals feel (rightfully so?) that Madonna has been doing more for popularizing Malawi than local politicians (Richey – Budabin 2016: 15-16).

Much credit in the taking-off of the "celebritization" of development needs to be given to former UN General Secretary Kofi Annan, who saw the participation of celebrities in UN activities as a welcome means of not only raising the awareness about, and the prestige of, the UN itself, but also of obtaining more financial resources for its functioning[4]. As one anonymous observer described his tenure: "*The UN has become a celebrity hotel[...]and anyone in Hollywood who wants to show there's nothing trivial about them checks in with Kofi*" (Cooper 2008: 28). Thus, a project *called Celebrity Advocacy for the New Millennium* became a practical expression of Annan's effort that strove to involve celebrities in solving development issues. Furthermore, the establishment of this project was supposed to correspond with the eighth MDG, which endeavored to create a global partnership for development. During the initial meeting with the selected Goodwill Ambassadors of the UN – soccer player Ronaldo, actor Ustinov and a trio of Nobel Prize for Literature holders Nadine Gordimer, Harry Belafonte and Seamus Heaney – Annan called for support of *the Millenium project* in coordination with all who can contribute to fulfilling its goals (Cooper 2008: 28; Thrall – Stecula 2017: 4). Nowadays Emma Watson has attracted the awareness of world public when her emotional appearance at the UN headquarters marked the beginning of the *HeForShe* campaign, which aims to empower gender equality (Dwight 2016: 19).

Bono Vox and the phenomenon of the "bonoization" of development

The personality of Bono Vox, born as Paul David Hewson, belongs to the most often discussed examples of the "celebritization" of development and serves to illustrate how a media star can become an influential player in the field of setting the development agenda. His career with the U2 band propelled him to stardom during the 1980s and made an Irish singer an acclaimed and world-known musical celebrity. His journey from a pop star to a humanitarian activist commenced in 1984, when he joined Bob Gedolf and his *Band-Aid project* that was meant to accumulate financial resources for drought-stricken Ethiopia. The Band-Aid project was immediately followed by a series of *Live Aid* concerts in London and Philadelphia in 1985, which marks the year of Bono's ascension to the development stage (Yrjölä 2014: 85). After a few fairly unsuccessful attempts to draw media attention to particular topics (the environment, the struggle against apartheid, the criticism of the "American way" in Nicaragua), the brink of the 1990s brought a spectacularly resounding entry of Bono into world politics. To uncover this sudden shift, we need to invoke several occurrences. First, the end of the Cold War fostered much interest across the international environment in development issues and so their solutions were no longer a mere side-lined agenda.

At the same time, Bono fixed his gaze and energy upon the fight against global poverty as a root-cause of all the other development issues. Among the most popular instances of Bono's activity belongs the support for the Greenpeace campaign against nuclear energy, the heightened media coverage of the war in Bosnia or the meeting with Pope John Paul II in 1999, which strove to raise awareness about the situation in Africa and secure the increase in development resources disbursed by international donors (Bhatnagar – Mittal 2011: 55).

Establishing ties with the Pope unraveled another of Bono's particular traits – a deeply religious undertone embodying his engagement and stemming from his family background. For religious branches are precisely the ones who considerably promote and catalyze the pervasion of Bono's thoughts into conservative segments of society that remains largely unaffected by media outputs on social media networks.

Bono's activities became such a distinctly prominent trait of the "celebritization" of development that it made A. Cooper (2008: 48-51) coin a brand new term for this kind of behavior – "bonoization" – which is based on Bono's (or other celebrities') abilities to combine two perspective during his actions – the perspective of a celebrity outside world politics (an outsider), and the perspective of an active ambassador who puts his new diplomatic tools to a good use and is capable of commanding respect among notable personalities from world politics (an insider). As a famous musician, Bono manages to appeal to the masses via his concerts, which are primarily apolitical in their nature, yet during which he excels at conveying his political conviction to his audience in an acceptable form. The power of Bono's approach also resonates with him having a sufficiently large enough amount of relevant information at his disposal that he then takes the advantage of during the dialogues with world politicians, which makes him (rightfully so) seem knowledgeable about the subject matter. Therefore, the "bonoization" of diplomacy represents an apparent example of how individuals can transform world politics and introduce new issues for discussion beyond the mere scope of rewarding media appearances (e.g. during film or musical award ceremonies) by disseminating their messages through serious news sources too.

Jubilee 2000 and DATA

The first case aptly illustrating the "bonoization of development" may revolve around the *Jubilee 2000* campaign the slogan of which was "*drop the debt* (Make Poverty History 2017)", and its goal to convince the largest world creditors that debt relief is a "sine qua non" for improving the situation in third world countries. The origins of the Jubilee 2000 campaign are not associated with Bono, yet its founder Jammie Drummond saw celebrities as a means of drawing attention to the issue of the debt relief of the most heavily indebted countries. World public, which had remained lax and disinterested up until then, was, thanks to Bono's performance during the Brit Awards ceremony in 1999, notified of the *Jubilee 2000* project and outline the impacts of international debt on the economies of the poorest countries in the world. Next day an article was published in the *Guardian* in which Bono appealed to the governments of the developed world and drew some concluding remarks in favor of debt relief (Friesen 2012: 68–69). The publication of the article in a reputable journal was precisely what revealed one of Bono's strategies of addressing social elites through the prism of on-point, restrained and emotionless arguments. This strategy was further magnified by Bono's cooperation with Jeffrey Sachs, who belongs to globally acclaimed economists lecturing at world's leading universities, and whom the *Time* magazine labeled one of the hundred most influential personalities around the globe. Bono wrote a preface to Sachs' 2005 book *The End of Poverty,* which is viewed as one of the most influential current publications exploring third world issues. During the year of the release of this book Bono was named the *Time Person of the Year* on the basis of a poll of the abovementioned *Time* magazine (Time 2005).

Bono's second engagement in a struggle against international indebtedness is centered around the *DATA project*, which stands for Debt, AIDS, Trade, Africa, in return Democracy, Transparency, Accountability for Africa, and was established in 2002 (Cooper 2008b: 7). The name of the project implies that its chief task is to improve the awareness about the phenomenon of international indebtedness and its consequences with respect to Africa. The *DATA project* thus demonstrates another trait of the "bonoization" of diplomacy – a close partnership with international politicians. Bono's ties with Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, with whom Bono repeatedly met at the beginning of the new millennium and who pledged to articulate debt relief issues in important international meetings, profoundly affected the incorporation of debt relief issues into the international discourse. In 2001 Bono partook in a G8 summit, yet his participation was mired in an incident. One of the photographs showed Bono smiling, which, given that the summit venue was swarmed with protests against the domination of the G8 countries, was deemed rather inappropriate. Many activists have labeled Bono a person befriending those responsible for the indebtedness of African countries and denigrated him for servility when approaching the G8 negotiations (Jackson 2008: 116-117). In order to gain more substantial financial support for his project Bono visited a meeting of the *World Economic Forum* in Davos in 2005, where he, together with Bill Clinton, Thabo Mbeki or Tony Blair, presented himself as a proponent of cutting international indebtedness.

Despite criticism that Bono has had to face, thanks to his personal ties with the Canadian Prime Minister, French President Chirac and British Prime Minister he indeed succeeded in incorporating the matter of international debt relief into the agenda of the G8 summit, which represented a remarkable accomplishment of Bono's activism. As part of *the DATA project* he, together with other influential personalities (cyclist Lance Armstrong or actor Chris Tucker), staged a road trip across America in hopes of appealing to wide public and introducing them to the importance of the overall project. One of the key moments came to pass with an interview published in the *Christian Today* journal, which saw him attempt to contextualize his motives for the DATA campaign within a broader religious narrative, and to invoke Christian arguments to convince American religious adherents that aid is their obligation. In the end, Bono was able to harvest the fruits of his labor with one of the most distinct achievements of his DATA campaign being the executive order signed by American President G. W. Bush in 2003 that established the *President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief* (PEPFAR), which eventually tripled American ODA disbursed in Africa (Jackson 2008: 123-129).

Within the context of the "celebritization" of development, the DATA platform fulfils another role by serving as a hub for professionals and advisors for other celebrities such as Angelina Jolie, whose closest mentor named Trevor Neilson happens to work for the DATA. Similarly, Brad Pitt or George Clooney searched, at the inception of their engagement in development, among the DATA activists for individuals who would advise them on how to set development issues and how to reach success in celebrity politics. in political celebrities (Cooper 2007: 128-129).

During his negotiations with world politicians Bono also uses, apart from promoting the media coverage of concrete issues (an innate aspect given his celebrity status), conventional diplomatic tools, which is a substantial departure from the strategies of other celebrities. Whereas numerous celebrities rely on the power of media presentation and on emotional appearances, Bono is well aware of the fact that in order to successfully push a topic one is largely dependent on the ability to pragmatically negotiate with power holders. In comparison to e.g. Geldof, Bono uses the weak points of world politicians to his advantage, pits the individual representatives against each other and attempts to engage in a political game at the end of which lies the acceptance and tabling of his interest (Cooper 2008a: 7-8).

The ONE and RED campaigns

The One campaign followed a 2004 DATA project and sought not only the identical goals as the DATA, but also the expansion of American ODA by 1% (Jackson 2008: 164). Apart from Bono other notable celebrities too ((Justin Timberlake, Brad Pitt and George Clooney) lent their hands to promote this cause with Bono combining the insider and outsider approach again during the campaign. As an insider he spent much time with world politicians and beside the abovementioned dignitaries he personally negotiated with the then US Foreign Secretary Condoleezza Rice or with the President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso (The Guardian 2005). As an outsider he staged a series of 8 *Live Aid* concerts, which took place shortly before the G8 summit so as to put informal pressure from ordinary citizens interested in African issues on the participants of the summit. Even though Bono was disillusioned with the conclusions of the G8 negotiations, his activism has remained unwavering and in the next years he began turning his attention to the G20 platform, which also encompasses influential emerging powers such as China, Brazil, India or the Republic of South Africa (Cooper 2011).

One of the branches of the ONE campaign is titled the RED or PRODUCT (RED)™ campaign the nature of which emanates from the idea of corporate social responsibility that postulates that large transnational corporations share certain societal responsibility and should also financially endorse projects improving the living standards of ordinary people. Financial resources gained from the sales of products of various TNCs should be invested into fighting against HIV/AIDS in Africa. This project has seen the participation of multiple brands such as *Emporio Armani, GAP, Converse, Cola-Cola or DELL,* that had their products sheltered by the RED activity branded with the red color (Cooper 2007: 130, RED 2017). Despite fairly considerable media attention that the campaign, thanks to the involvement of large corporations, attracted, one serious drawback of de facto justifying consumerism merits further notice. The crux of the campaign lies in purchasing consumer goods that many of their consumers do not need at all, while their purchases are justified on the grounds that they donate to a good cause. Current brands involved in the campaign are more often than not considered too luxurious, which makes them affordable for some buyers only. These buyers tend to be accused of eschewing the responsibility to contribute to development via their purchases of RED products, because they feel that "they have done simply enough already." This may negatively impact the overall sum allocated to development activities (for more about the criticism, see e.g. Richey – Ponte 2008).

Angelina "Angie" Jolie

Whereas Bono represents a celebrity engaged in development partly because of his strong religious background, Angelina Jolie exemplifies a celebrity affected by personal experience from a developing country. The year 2000 and the shooting of the flick *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* in Cambodia, where Jolie got to know a local orphan, marked a milestone in her transformation from an actress to a development activist. She liked him so much that she named him Maddox and adopted him in 2002. During the next couple of years she resorted to this move two more times regarding an Ethiopian girl called Zahara and a Vietnamese boy named Pax (Jackson et al. 2016: 155, Tracy 2008: 96, Cooper 2008a: 33).

Since its inception, "Angie's" involvement was primarily focused on aiding children in the developing world, which reflects her personal experience gained in 2000. Since 2000 "Angie" has begun undertaking voyages to the developing world so as to better acquaint herself with the local living standards, while paying close attention to child orphans living in difficult conditions in refugee camps. In 2001 UN acknowledged her efforts by granting her a Goodwill Ambassador of the UNHCR (UNHCR 2017) status; a breaking point which ushered in a resounding surge in Angie's activities. During the following years Angie undertook a swath of journeys to developing countries (Sierra Leone, Kenya, Namibia, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, etc.) and as a celebrity diplomat she succeeded in introducing the phenomenon of international refugees to various important international forums. A case in point of her involvement is best seen at her visit of the Mae La refugee camp on the borders between Thailand and Myanmar in 2009. Her one day stay was accompanied by much attention from the world media, which helped bring the issue of refugees in this part of the world into the limelight and was positively viewed not only by local inhabitants for being paid well-deserved attention to, but also by the global media that, to an extent, took the advantage of fusing Angie's attractiveness as a popular actress with a then marginalized topic. It was especially thanks to Angie's personal charm that the phenomenon of refugees was taken up by the inhabitants of the North, who were considerably astonished by a popular actress embarking upon journeys into dangerous corners of the world and emotionally presenting a situation she found herself in (Richey – Budabin 2016: 12-13). In 2012 her position at the UN was strengthened by the then UNHCR António Guteress who appointed her a UNHCR Special Envoy (Dwight 2016: 20).

Angie's growing interest in development issues was significantly buttressed by her personal transformation accompanied by e.g. the change of her look and the way of her presentation. Her attractive appearance in tandem with her enormous fervor for the developing world made the *People* magazine label her the "*most beautiful person in the world*" in 2006 (Duvall 2007: 6). The media repeatedly emphasized her transformation from a woman "vamp" to a loving mother-wife fearlessly crossing inhospitable places and drawing attention to hot-button issues of the third world. Angie's transformation, backed by the media, from an open-minded woman "vamp" using her charm, to a woman in the service of higher good for humanity left the impression of a "corrected" woman among the world public, which understood what her true destiny was. This earned her the "*Ambassador Mom*" nickname conferred by the aforementioned People magazine. Her transformation is well captured in a documentary called "*What's Going On?*" where she starred as a guest, or her own book *Notes From My Travels* documenting her experiences from humanitarian journeys (Duvall 2007: 14-16).

Presenting motherhood as an actual fulfilment of woman's fate turned Angie into a symbol of a "mother without borders" and represents her crucial strategy of achieving development goals (Mostafanezhad 2013: 492). In line with Angie's interest in issues facing children in the developing world, experts on the "celebritization" of development began hinting at one common feature shared among celebrities involved in development issues. Whereas for famous men, such as Geldof or Bono, one may generally invoke their inclinations to meeting with top world politicians, women such as Angie, Hepburn or Madonna typically concentrate on topics associated with children or women rights and utilize emotional tools (adoption) for presenting them in the media. A question remains, though, whether such generalizations can serve to boost stereotypes paying a lip service to men's rationality and women's emotionality, and undermine development (which should be based on gender equality, i.e. the equal treatment of both sexes) itself.

A landmark moment of Angie's engagement in development came as a consequence of her wedding with a well-known and popular actor named Brad Pitt. This famous couple, nicknamed "Brangelina," literally unleashed a media craze at the end of which was an international audience fascinated by the range of activities this married couple started to undertake in the field of development. Apart from the aforementioned adoption of two orphans this famous pair also established *the Jolie-Pitt Foundation* in 2003 through which various projects are financed. It is noteworthy that Pitt himself donated many financial resources for this joint project the distribution of which depends on Angie alone (Kapoor 2013: 17).

Drawing heavy inspiration from, and dedicating the individual projects to, her children, Angie has also made inroads in other areas beside child orphans, with one of the larger topics being environmental issues and communal development. In this context, the year 2003 saw the establishment of *the Maddox-Jolie Pitt Foundation*, which fixes its gaze upon one particular province in Cambodia (Duthel 2012: 17). Another foundation – *the Shiloh-Jolie Pitt Foundation* – is named after Angie's biological daughter Shiloh born in Namibia, and aims at protecting sites of natural heritage in one region of Namibia (Naankuse 2017). *The Zahara Children's Center* bears the name of her daughter Zahara, and seeks to aid children affected by the HIV/AIDS (Global Health Committee 2017). In relation to giving birth to Shiloh, Angie's biological daughter, one strand of criticism about Angie's behavior as a development actor emerged. The birth, which took place under hard-line security conditions, sparked much public interest and raised a question of whether the famous couple could have spent this moment somewhere private without the costs incurred and/or donated such resources to one of the many development causes. Similarly, Angie's triple adoption incited criticism by some observers for rendering women in the developing world incapable of taking care of their children and awaiting the arrival of a "white" woman willing to offer a helping hand.

The final notable topic centers on the issue of girl and woman rights especially within the context of sexual violence that many women in the developing world have to face. The *Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative*, established in 2012, which endeavors to provide support for the victims of sexual violence and ensure adequate prosecution of the perpetrators, would merit closer attention (Myrttinen – Swaine 2015: 496).

Conclusion

This article captures selected aspects of the "celebritization" of development, which, as a phenomenon, we have been encountering more regularly. Popular personalities have been increasingly more active in venturing into the field of diplomacy and through their opinions conveyed to the world public profoundly shape the international development discourse. The first examples of the public engagement of celebrities in development date to the 1950s, yet it was not until the 1980s and the 1990s that the "celebritization" of development expanded and was propelled to new heights owing largely to the expansion of the new media

Bono Vox became a role model for the "celebritization of development," whose involvement in the field of development remains so substantial that his way of exerting influence on international politics was labeled the "bonoization of diplomacy." The nature of this approach stems from the ability to link the dimension of a celebrity appealing to masses with being an active participant in important international political meetings, during which top world politicians deliberate and make decisions about solving development issues. His prowess in mobilizing the public and, at the same time, in poignantly discussing with, and convincing, power holders represents a symbol that the majority of other celebrities held in much reverence. Regular consultations of other celebrities with Bono himself or his team members who are involved in various projects serve to prove this point.

Angelina "Angie" Jolie stands for a celebrity who "corrected" herself and traded her careless, freethinking life for developmental activism, while the characteristic feature of her involvement rests on emphasizing her role of a mother travelling around the world and showing compassion for abandoned children. Her transformation was considerably amplified by the media that shun some positive light on the diverse feats of Brangelina, the famous couple, and created a media image of a pair that devotes all its time to development issues.

Yet when evaluating the role of celebrities in development we should not let the media, which sometimes create a mere illusion of reality, carry us away. The participation of celebrities should provoke questions about whether it is indeed appropriate for celebrities, merely because of being interested in a particular topic, to influence the scale and the character of international aid and to determine how the international community should proceed in tackling development issues. A question also remains about the extent to which the interest of celebrities in the developing world is genuine and how much of it is merely a part of their media campaigns directed at boosting one's own popularity.

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Notes

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[2] The meeting between Kay and the UN representatives was a random one and took place during an airline between London and New York that had to undergo an emergency landing. During the landing, Kay made acquaintance with Maurice Pate, the executive director of UNICEF, who brokered a meeting with the then UN General Secretary (Wheeler 2011: 11).

[3] It is estimated that the concerts yielded around 60 million USD (Ponte – Richey 2008: 716; Jackson 2008: 30).

[4] An often quoted example illustrating the heightened awareness about UN activities is the participation of Nicole Kidman in the UNIFEM project, about the existence of which the overwhelming majority of world public had no idea before 2006 (Bhatnagar – Mittal 2010: 51).

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Providing aid in complex refugee situations: A case study of Belgrade

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Abstract

This paper aims to provide a reflection on the humanitarian response to the "migration crisis" along the Balkans route during 2015. Firstly, the characteristics of and dissimilarities to other crises are identified in terms of the engagement of non-traditional actors, the repeated responses at several posts en route and the limited timeframe for relief operations caused by the temporary presence of the respective beneficiaries in one place. Based on this contextual analysis, the case study examines a project which originally aimed to provide information and basic protection activities to asylum seekers travelling through the Belgrade area, but had to be scaled up to take into account a greater number of beneficiaries with more diverse needs than was initially anticipated. Similar developments in other relief activities along the route allowed an identification of the basic lessons learned for the responders on the ground, which would be useful when establishing future projects under similar conditions.

Key words: asylum seekers, refugees, Serbia, humanitarian aid, migration

Introduction

The migration situation in the European Union (EU) states that occurred in 2015 exceeded the standard capacities and procedures of the EU and its member countries in dealing with the refugees, and it became a humanitarian crisis (Miliband & Gurumurthy, 2015; UNHCR, 2016a). Hence, the article focuses on the humanitarian perspective in relation to the needs and responses of various humanitarian actors. Traditionally, displacement is either protracted in one place or people move from one place to another after some time, so there is enough time to establish provisional refugee camps. The situation in 2015 was quite different, especially in the European context – asylum seekers were travelling to a particular destination and they passed through urban and rural areas which were not prepared for such an unprecedented influx (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2016). Furthermore, numerous obstacles, such as lack of financial resources, health issues and physical barriers forced them to stay at several places on the way for uncertain periods of time; usually a couple of days but sometimes longer. Coupled with the lack of response from the governments of the transit states and official authorities, this led to responses from various actors, some of them non-traditional (Bordignon & Morriconi, 2017). Although their efforts are very meritorious, their engagement has had consequences inter alia on the asylum seekers' needs fulfilment, their interactions within the group and with other stakeholders, such as the host populations, who have their own expectations.

Therefore, there is a need to analyse how aid providers should react to such a crisis in order to achieve a good solution for all and a win-win situation.

The current migration crisis in the European Union and especially along the Balkans route has posed many challenges for the main duty-bearers because of its complexity and dynamic character (UNHCR, 2016). It has confirmed the necessity to strengthen organizational capacities and processes in order to ensure timely assistance in an efficient and sustainable manner. As of early 2017, this crisis has not ended and other mass population movements are predicted due to climate change and deterioration in conflicts (Brzoska & Fröhlich, 2016). This paper is practically oriented in order to provide a reflection on the humanitarian response to the crisis. It aims to make available lessons learned from a project launched to provide humanitarian assistance for the temporary beneficiaries who emerged from the mass movements of asylum seekers through the Balkans.

Starting with an analysis of the context of the crisis from the perspective of a literature review, the article is based on a case study of a project developed by a consortium of international organizations, international and local non-governmental organizations and local authorities. From August 2015 the project originally aimed to provide information and basic protection to asylum seekers, mainly those travelling from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan through the Belgrade area towards European Union countries. After the initial phase, the project had to be scaled up to take into account the greater number of beneficiaries and their actual needs, which were more diverse than initially assumed, especially when considering the absence of other aid providers. A similar development in other relief activities further along the Balkans route allows us to draw certain guidelines and parallels for engagement in timely and cost-effective aid support under such conditions.

The "migration crisis" in Europe

The migration situation in Europe which began in 2015 has been labelled "the largest humanitarian crisis of our time" by the European Commission (DG ECHO, 2015: 1). Traditional theories explaining international migration (Massey et al., 1993) are less powerful when investigating the reasons for forced migration, which can be explained in the political realm. Moreover, the boundaries between forced and voluntary migration are becoming increasingly blurred. Hence, people crossing the Western Balkans have been referred to as "mixed flows" of migrants and asylum seekers. Most asylum seekers who enter the European Union have come from states which have experienced war or other forms of state collapse and they are eligible for a form of international protection under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the Common European Asylum System. The statistics show that Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis were the main nationalities of the asylum seekers, lodging around 145 100, 79 300 and 53 600 applications respectively (Eurostat, 2016). During the summer of 2015, the Serbian-Hungarian border became the main entry route to the European Union until it was closed in mid-September and replaced by other migration routes. According to Frontex (2016), 763 958 people travelled through the Western Balkan route in 2015 alone. Several hubs appeared along the route where asylum seekers could be taken care of by a myriad of actors, including the state.

The current debate on refugees in Europe is very state-centric, despite its salient aspects in the rise of non-state actors, such as international organizations, NGOs, and volunteers involved in the field. It has been acknowledged that the international refugee regime has become more multifaceted than was the case in the past as many different actors have emerged in the field of refugee protection. It is questionable whether these organizations and networks can offer meaningful protection to asylum seekers without the support of the state as that will provide people with protection through legal instruments such as asylum. Nevertheless, the presence of these organizations is important and will be further discussed in this paper.

The UNHCR is the main agency responsible in situations of mass displacement and its primary task is to protect refugees. A closer look at the UNHCR statute reveals that the work of the UNHCR "shall be of an entirely non-political character; it shall be humanitarian and social and shall relate, as a rule, to groups and categories of refugees" (UNHCR, 1950). It is difficult to argue that effective help can be ensured without advocacy on behalf of the refugees. Furthermore, refugees should be able to voice their concerns. While migrants and refugees are being positioned as "universal humanitarian subjects" (Malkki, 1996: 377), it can be difficult to involve them in providing evidence about their own needs in an appropriate forum.

By 1990, Hathaway (1990) had already argued that the competence of the UNHCR had evolved in the direction of stressing its material assistance role; and this is consistent with the EU states' desire to keep refugees away. Since then "the ability to control migration has shrunk as the desire to do so has increased" (Bhagwati, 2003). The term migration management is an umbrella term used by different actors when they intervene in refugee situations, as it depoliticizes migration related policy-making (Geiger & Pécoud, 2010). However, it is not only state and international organizations that have a say in refugee situations. It has been asserted that new forms of horizontal counter-politics have emerged in opposition to the politics of the state (Kallius, Monterescu, & Rajaram, 2016: 3). In more than one case, the refugees themselves have become active participants in the political realm instead of being passive spectators.

Humanitarian response to the "crisis"

In the previous section, we discussed the nature of the current migration crisis and the actors dealing with it. This part continues the analysis by describing the specifics of the humanitarian response to the asylum seekers' needs in the context of disaster management, humanitarian aid and refugee protection. Different stakeholders as well as volunteers became involved in the provision of aid to asylum seekers during the summer of 2015. Whether the engagement of non-traditional actors took place in order to fill the void left by the state's inaction or to complement the work of others, it has become a significant phenomenon that deserves further attention. However, there is a clear dichotomy between providing material support and giving adequate protection to refugees. Without the real protection of states, little can be done to provide aid to people on the move and to help them with their needs. Moreover, giving material aid can mask the precariousness and uncertainty of a person's status. The project that took place in Belgrade in 2015 tried, first and foremost, to offer protection. Humanitarian aid only came second.

There is a need to fill the gap between the literature related to humanitarian aid and the literature focused on refugee protection. It seems that the convergence of the issues related to refugees and humanitarian aid can be covered by the term refugee regime complex. We are currently witnessing a refugee regime complex, "in which different institutions overlap, exist in parallel, and are nested within one another in ways that shape their states' responses towards refugees" (Betts, 2013: 71). The UNHCR no longer acts in its own name, but selects several implementing partners. These include national and international non-governmental organizations and municipal organizations. Finally, there are numerous volunteers who are not affiliated to any organization but nevertheless offer their assistance to refugees and migrants. The result is that everyone contributes their part but no one is held responsible if there is any misconduct.

As discussed above, we were witnessing an atypical humanitarian crisis. Most authors agree that there are a few cornerstones in every crisis, no matter how it emerges: it is a threat to life and dignity for a significant number of people and at the same time it exceeds their own capacities; it mostly occurs during or after a situation of armed conflict, a natural disaster or, as is more often the case nowadays, a complex crisis influenced by many more factors, such as climate change and political instability. Correspondingly, the humanitarian response is an action which aims to save lives and alleviate suffering (Martin, Weerasinghe, & Taylor, 2014; Blaikie, 1994; DG ECHO, 2007; Walker & Maxwell, 2008).

Hence, humanitarian action can take many forms, based on the needs of the affected people and the context in which it is provided. Nevertheless, there are certain rules and norms which facilitate the humanitarian aid delivery process (James, 2008). The details of this migration crisis and the subsequent response to the needs of the asylum seekers were analysed within the framework of the Code of Conduct, Sphere standards, Core Humanitarian Standard and incorporated guidelines (Sphere, 2011; CHS Alliance, 2014; ICRC, 1994). Thus, we identified the dissimilarities and exceptional factors in the context of the humanitarian needs and the humanitarian response. Three aspects are the most significant with respect to the aim of this research and are discussed below: a) the actors engaged, b) multiple locations of the response activities and c) timeline of the response (McLaughlin, 2015; Squires, 2016; Hanquet, 1997; Dumont and Scarpetta, 2015; UNHCR, 2015; UNHCR, 2016; Lilyanova, 2016).

Engagement of non-traditional actors

One of the main distinctions in this crisis is the engagement of non-traditional actors. A more detailed analysis can thus explore who should be providing the humanitarian assistance and who actually does it. Concerning the implementation of humanitarian programmes, the international humanitarian architecture generally incorporates the following main actors in humanitarian settings: United Nations humanitarian agencies, the International Red Cross and the Red Crescent Movement, international non-governmental organizations, national and local non-governmental organizations, governments, donors and regional intergovernmental organizations (White, 2016; ALNAP, 2015; Mac Ginty & Peterson, 2015). Although there are increasing calls for a strengthening of the local actors' roles and the emphasis to be placed on subsidiarity in humanitarian aid provision (World Humanitarian Summit, 2016; Gingerich & Cohen, 2015), the humanitarian architecture is still mainly designed for international actors such as UN agencies, The Red Cross and international non-governmental organizations (Hilhorst & Jansen, 2010; Mac Ginty & Peterson, 2015). In the refugee settings, one particular UN agency for refugees, the UNHCR, is the main body responsible, within the framework of international refugee law.

Although many of these actors were active in their responses to this crisis, a significant role was taken by foreign volunteers. The involvement of the UNHCR and international non-governmental organizations was initially limited, due to the lack of support from some national and local authorities and due to different geographic priorities with regards to the seriousness of the crisis in Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and other countries (Dumont & Scarpetta, 2015; UNHCR, 2016a; McLaughlin, 2015). The mass involvement of foreign volunteers is very specific, not only for refugee crises, but for all humanitarian settings and it is also problematic from a legal point of view. In fact, the volunteers' activities were covered neither by the international humanitarian law, nor by the international disaster response law, and their operation in the field had little legal basis (ICRC, 1949; IFRC, 2011).

The engagement of non-traditional actors such as volunteers raised another important issue - the lack of accountability and professionalism (UNDAC, 2013), which is a long-term problem even for traditional humanitarian actors, and it greatly affects the quality of the humanitarian aid that is provided (Hilhorst, 2002; ALNAP, 2015). Thus, the non-formal actors could work directly in the field while being not obliged to follow or even be aware of any measures to ensure accountability, such as the Code of Conduct, Core Humanitarian Standard, Humanitarian Accountability Partnership Standards, Sphere Standards etc. (Sphere Project, 2011; Joint Standards Initiative, 2014). This also meant they could relinquish responsibility to various stakeholders and in some cases this led to the provision of misleading information, short-term oriented assistance and ignorance of the rights and responsibilities of other actors, such as host governments (McLaughlin, 2015; Squires, 2016).

Other significant aspects were related to the heterogeneity of the beneficiaries. They came from various countries and ethnic groups, they came for a range of reasons and they spoke a variety of languages - all factors which influenced the quality of the response (Miliband & Gurumurthy, 2015).

Repeated response

The place where assistance is provided usually depends on the needs of the people affected and the respective response coordination, which determines who does what and where. In a refugee setting, specific models such as Refugee Coordination Model could be adopted but the aim of all coordination models, tools and mechanisms is to increase efficiency and effectiveness, as well as other aspects of humanitarian response (UNHCR, 2013; Saavedra & Knox-Clarke, 2015).

In major humanitarian crises the coordination is usually organised through the cluster approach and this creates a platform for an improvement in the implementation of humanitarian assistance through coordination among the actors involved within a respective sector (IASC, 2015; Cubilié, 2007). Nevertheless, not all clusters are established everywhere and for many reasons the effective functioning of the clusters suffers; the distance from the direct beneficiaries, the involvement of all relevant stakeholders and the lack of relationship-building (Stoddard et al., 2007; Street, 2009). Moreover, in a refugee setting the cluster approach is generally not applied due to the limits of accountability transfer (UNHCR, 2016b) and thus the coordination in such situations can be negatively affected by the diversity of the actors and their backgrounds, funding-related barriers and unpredictability (Balcik et al., 2010; Stobbaerts, Martin, & Derderian, 2007).

A significant deviation from norms and guidelines could be observed here. The location and the methods of assistance management were obviously affected by the movement of the beneficiaries. However, a lack of coordination, the engagement of non-traditional actors and the difficulty of conducting the needs assessment (be it due to such objective/ legitimate reasons as the brief presence of the beneficiaries in any one place or for subjective reasons such as a lack of professionalism in the responders and their false confidence in their ability to estimate the needs of the asylum seekers based on good will) caused chaos, an oversupply of certain goods and a shortage of others. Hence, the situation led to duplications and gaps and manifested itself as the remains of donated items at various provisional camps or, on the other hand, images of starving people (Dumont and Scarpetta, 2015; UNHCR, 2015). While admitting the low predictability of future scenarios, the uncertainty was mainly limited to the geographical locations of further interventions, whereas most of the needs could easily be predicted from general guidelines (Hanquet, 1997; IASC, 2011) or from similar occurrences of mass refugee movements in the past (Salama et al., 2004; Pottier, 1996). Furthermore, an efficient response was limited by the lack of functional information sharing among various actors in different locations, and by the provision of aid in the territories of multiple states (UNHCR 2016a).

Temporary presence

The speed of the humanitarian response was seriously affected by the temporary presence of the asylum seekers in particular locations. As discussed above, the asylum seekers were mainly travelling on a route towards Western and Northern European countries and so in most cases they only stayed in any one place for a couple of days. The reasons for halting their journey and staying in a location included physical (especially fatigue), financial (depletion of the cash reserve) and legal (denial of entry into a country) barriers, which explained the temporary presence of the asylum seekers and their will to move on as soon as the barriers were removed (Frontex, 2016; Kingsley, 2015; BBC, 2015; Dumont & Scarpetta, 2015).

In almost all humanitarian crises, the participation of the people affected is desirable and the level of participation can vary from passive information to empowerment and community managed activities. Whereas it is not always possible or effective to achieve the highest level, humanitarian actors in the past decades have identified this issue as crucial in reducing the adverse effects of relief efforts, specifically a dependency on humanitarian aid (Arnstein, 1969; Byrne, 2003; UNHCR, 2008; Harvey and Lind, 2005).

The lack of time available to work with the asylum seekers caused severe problems throughout the programme cycle, starting from an inadequate needs assessment which led to the provision of redundant material assistance, and at the same time other needs were not met (UNHCR, 2015; UNHCR, 2016a). The role of the beneficiaries was influenced by the fact that the humanitarian actors and responders focused on the implementation phase, particularly on protection and basic humanitarian needs, with the immediate provision of aid to people who were exhausted and new to the environment. Moreover, the beneficiaries formed very heterogeneous groups at each place and had no significant links to each other. These reasons meant that the participation of asylum seekers in the response activities was very low and the affected people usually played a passive role in receiving material assistance. This was even accentuated by the repetition of similar response at various places on the route (UNHCR, 2016a; Lilyanova, 2016).

Methodology

The case study for this paper was undertaken using qualitative methodology and the main research question was how the response of humanitarian actors in Belgrade can be improved to better address the needs of the beneficiaries. In order to answer the main research question, we created three specific subquestions: (i) What are the actual needs of the beneficiaries? (health status, nutritional status, equipment, access to water resources and sanitation facilities); (ii) How are the response activities organised? (project management, financial resources, human resources, coordination arrangements and function); (iii) What is the impact of the response activities? (satisfaction of the beneficiaries, perception of the response activities by the host population, and their quality as perceived by the volunteers and staff members).

The data collection methods involved direct observation, interviews and key informant interviews. The primary data were gathered from the interviews with asylum seekers, volunteers and key informants. A purposeful sampling was employed in order to collect as much relevant information as possible in a short time at the beginning of the project, in August 2015. A total of seventy asylum seekers were interviewed, as well as twenty volunteers, host community members, staff members and representatives of involved organizations. A much higher amount of time was spent on the participant observation and this will form a source of substantial data, corresponding to the fact that the field teams provided aid to approximately 120 people per day. The observation was non-sequential; the sampling is oriented towards the most vulnerable groups and was influenced by the fact that the people in this setting vary and stay in one location temporarily. All interviews outputs were anonymous. The data gathered by the data collection methods (mainly transcribed texts and field notes) were analysed by open coding and categorization related to all data collection methods and all research questions.

The goal of the analysis was to identify potential humanitarian needs, success factors, limits and pitfalls of the project. The analysis was carried out through reduction to the most substantial data (during and immediately after the interviews, because of time limits) and the subsequent mixed inductive interpretation within the frame of specific research questions, guidelines, previously described guidelines and lessons learned. It was a quasi-inductive approach, used in order to achieve quick results with an acceptable validity level in relation to adjustments to the project activities. In order to increase the validity of the lessons learned, the results of the research were discussed and verified by the consortium representatives as well as the employees, volunteers and interpreters.

Experience from launching a response

The main part of this paper focuses on the lessons learned from a project launched to provide humanitarian assistance for temporary beneficiaries during the mass movements of asylum seekers through the Balkans. The data and the project details were anonymous, in order to protect the implementing agencies. After the initial phase, the project had to be scaled up to take into account a greater number of beneficiaries and their needs, which were more diverse than initially assumed, especially when considering the absence of other aid providers. The information about the project is drawn from the internal documents of the main implementing agency.

On the basis of the needs assessment and its mandates, the consortium planned and initiated a project aimed to provide assistance in terms of protection, material aid and the dissemination of information via the establishment of an information centre. In addition, it was planned for several outreach teams to be deployed to offer medical, psychosocial and legal support directly in the field. In August 2015, at the time of the projects launch, the consortium consisted of five actors, including international non-governmental organizations, local non-governmental organizations, local authorities and other international organizations. The project relied on volunteers and approximately five permanent staff. The project was to last until December 2015, but due to the protracted nature of the crisis, the project is still ongoing as of early 2017.

The project was needed because of the massive influx of asylum seekers to the Belgrade area, mainly from Macedonia and heading towards Western and Northern Europe. At the time of the project's initiation, several thousand people per day were coming to the country and staying in the capital and surroundings for periods of between three and seven days. The total number of asylum seekers in Belgrade at any given moment was estimated to be five to six thousand because approximately ninety-eight percent of asylum seekers travelling through Serbia stopped in Belgrade. The demographic structure of the asylum seekers was similar to data provided by other sources as discussed above and approximately half of them were Syrians, followed by Afghanis, Iraqis, Pakistanis, Eritreans and others. The majority of the asylum seekers were men, travelling with their families, as individuals or with other men (usually in homogenous groups in terms of nationality).

During the rapid joint needs assessment conducted by the consortium, it was found that the major needs of the asylum seekers were based on their legal and physical status, previous experience and future plans. Many were in poor health due to their long journeys, and beside physical injuries their ailments included malnourishment and dehydration. The legal status of the affected population was influenced by the manner in which they entered the country, i.e. through the use of mainly illegal crossings in order to avoid potential problems with authorities and in order to be able to seek asylum in their target country. These efforts and practices exposed them to smugglers, who provided them with a minimum or false information. Their legal invisibility and increased vulnerability meant there was a lack of access to the services offered by the state and other actors; in some cases, abuses of power by police and local authorities were also reported. In addition, many unaccompanied minors were travelling on the route and a majority of the asylum seekers, especially the most vulnerable, suffered from a lack of the financial resources necessary to complete their journeys.

Potential improvements for the project

Despite the very short notice before the start date and struggles with the lack of suppliers, materials and places to provide the assistance, since the beginning of August 2015 the project has succeeded in the provision of at least basic information. This was important due to a high turnover of asylum seekers, and the first groups received at least some support. From the first days, managers could overcome major operational obstacles and the project was recognised by other stakeholders as it liaised with new donors and partners. Later it was extended to activities such as the distribution of non-food items. One of the most significant examples of good practice was identified regarding coordination – the organizations involved were willing to cooperate with other actors from different sectors, and that was crucial in overcoming the lack of experience of the people active in such situations. The local authorities and local non-governmental organizations, whose field of operation is normally focused on different situations, could benefit from the know-how of international organizations, and the latter could benefit from the knowledge of the local context and the availability of human resources, such as volunteers, who would be less attracted to working for smaller organizations.

Nevertheless, there were several aspects which could be improved in order to achieve greater efficiency, effectiveness, sustainability and better coordination. The outcomes of the research show that improvements are desirable in several areas (see Table 1).

Table 1: Areas to be improved during the response

Reporting mechanisms	• a shared system for recording details of beneficiaries, including biographic data, recorded needs, the location of their stay and notes for potential follow-up assistance
Communication	• a shared contact list of all organizations and specialists for various types of assistance in line with the procedures and equipment for instant communication about the urgent needs, e.g. radio or smartphone applications
Material assistance distribution	• food and non-food items suitable for temporary stay and potential movement
Coordination	• cooperation of outreach teams providing basic assistance in the field with specialized service in the centre (identifying the most vulnerable) • clear definition of roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders
Accountability	• identification of the volunteers and staff members in order to ensure they are not involved with smugglers and opportunistic operators • clear communication of the objectives of assistance to the staff and beneficiaries in order to prevent false expectations
Human resources	• regular supervision of all project workers • contracts and guidelines for all staff and volunteers • interpreters should be aware of their role
Safety and security	• be aware of tensions during distributions or panic after information spreading

Discussion

This article analysed the context of the 2015 refugee crisis and demonstrated the characteristics of the corresponding humanitarian response. The findings suggest that although some features were similar to other humanitarian crises, this one was different due to the engagement of non-traditional actors, repeated responses and the temporary presence of the beneficiaries. In addition, the dynamics of the movements and the subsequent reactions of states and duty-bearers showed that there is a lack of preparedness for such situations in Europe, especially in terms of regulations, capacities and cooperation. Hence, the humanitarian community and, more importantly, the non-humanitarian actors, encountered new challenges in how to approach the needs of the migrant flows on the European continent.

The outcomes of the case study research in the field can support efforts to establish a humanitarian project which would be implemented when similar mass movements occur. Some key points emerged from the implementation of the humanitarian assistance and these can be used in different contexts by various actors, from policy officials to unofficial volunteer groups. Although on a local level the crisis was quasi-rapid, on a global and regional scale it appeared to have a slow onset. Hence, it is possible to improve the immediate response through the anticipation of movement and scenario development, improved ability to learn from previous stops and enhanced cooperation and information sharing between actors from different countries (possibly facilitated by international actors).

One of the main characteristics of the crisis was that the assistance was delivered by actors with different scope of activities. The lessons learned from the project may provide guidelines for those who decide to act in a situation of limited preparedness and with the involvement of inexperienced and ad hoc actors. To overcome this limitation in the future, it is possible to utilise the stand-by capacities of already existing organizations. They may be prepared for different types of disasters/situations but they could at least have basic competences and be ready to act in a much shorter time, in the sense of emergency preparedness for a refugee crisis (Blaikie, 1994; Hanquet, 1997).

Another important caveat is the significant implementation delay; the situation, the context and the needs change dynamically, no matter how rapid the initial needs assessment (Balcik et al.; 2010). It is recommended that needs assessments be carried out continuously and the relevance of project activities should be checked from time to time. In general, the needs of beneficiaries were similar to those in other situations of mass movements in complex crises (shelter, health, water, food, protection) (Sphere, 2011; Salama et al., 2004). However, their priorities were influenced by the fact that the ambition to reach certain destinations overwhelmed the subjective perception of other needs.

Having the flexibility to adjust a project where necessary and the ability to cooperate with relevant actors are crucial if the response to people's needs is to be carried out in an effective manner. Plans for scaling up and especially extending the range of activities should be ready before the situation requires major changes (James, 2008). It is possible to enhance efficiency and effectiveness by incorporating new partners and by cooperating with other actors working in the same field. Nevertheless, clearly defined roles and responsibilities are the necessary preconditions for beneficial cooperation. Existing tools may be used for information sharing, such as shared documents via the internet, with respect to data security and already available equipment (e.g. instant messengers utilizing mobile internet connection or radio to be borrowed from a local radio-club).

The subsidiarity and delegation of responsibilities among project staff while communicating mission objectives can increase flexibility in decision-making as well as the long-term well-being and availability of highly engaged staff. The standardisation of procedures and the training of volunteers are essential for impartial assistance (ICRC, 1994). Due to the flow of people it is important to regularly carry out rapid assessments on the ground and to ensure high efficiency in contact with beneficiaries, in order to target as many of the most vulnerable as possible.

In order to improve accountability, careful human resource management is required. Some volunteers and interpreters may be tempted to assist with any tasks required by beneficiaries, such as information on how to overcome the legal obstacles and cross the borders. This can have negative impacts on accountability, which can be limited by the definition of clear objectives and roles (CHS Alliance, 2014). An explanation to all staff concerning humanitarian principles is important in order to be a reliable partner for local authorities as well as a professional actor towards the beneficiaries (Walker & Maxwell, 2008). In terms of security, the systematic distribution of food and non-food items, as well as the sharing of official and valid information, can prevent panic. The preparation of procedures and venues for crowd management and the training of relevant workers will increase their ability to deal with a high influx of beneficiaries into one place.

Conclusion

Although the flow of asylum seekers to Europe is not a new phenomenon, developments in 2015 have proven the validity of the often-voiced calls, mainly from southern European countries, for higher solidarity and an integrated approach by all duty-bearers such as international organizations, international and local non-governmental organizations and local authorities. For various reasons, the migrant flows expanded to many continental countries and the situation deteriorated as the relevant stakeholders were caught unprepared. This was amplified by the lack of cooperation and the enforcement of currently existing procedures. The dynamics and the inadequate response meant that the features of the crisis were different to other refugee-related situations in Europe, and also different from other humanitarian crises in general. This analysis has identified the specifics of the crisis from a humanitarian point of view and it has described the case study of a multi-stakeholder-led project and the lessons learned. This should be of benefit to those actors who will encounter a similar situation, so the next response can be carried out more efficiently and effectively and the relevance of its activities and the sustainability of the outcomes can be ensured.

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Arsenic Mitigation in Bangladesh from the Recipients' Perspective: Evaluation of a local non-governmental initiative

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Abstract

Arsenic contamination of groundwater in Bangladesh is one of the largest examples of poisoning in the world. It affects millions of people because groundwater is the main source of potable water in the country. This paper qualitatively evaluates an arsenic mitigation initiative in Bangladesh from the perspective of the recipients. The initiative was implemented by a local non-government organization, the Thanapara Swallows Development Society (TSDS). The objective of the evaluation is to influence the decision-making of the aid-providers through empirically driven feedback. The paper uses the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework to assess TSDS's activities in arsenic mitigation from the perspective of the recipients. It then translates the evaluation's findings into recommendations in terms of community development.

Key words: Arsenic mitigation, Bangladesh, community development, groundwater

Introduction

Arsenic contamination of groundwater in Bangladesh is one of the largest examples of poisoning in the world, and it was first discovered in 1993 (United Nations International Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2008, p. 1; Ahmed, 2005, p. 283). Groundwater is the main source of potable water in the country[1]. Estimates of the number of Bangladeshi people exposed to arsenic vary from 20 to 77 million (Ahmed, 2005, p. 283; Hossain, Islam, Gani, & Karim, 2005, p. 163; Jiang et al., 2013, p. 20) out of a total population of about 150 million (Government of Bangladesh [GoB], 2011).

Arsenic is found throughout the environment due to both natural and man-made processes (Gilbert, 2012, p. 128-129; British Geological Survey and Department of Public Health Engineering [BGS & DPHE], 2001, p. 4). Most environmental problems related to arsenic have natural causes. However, humans have considerably influenced the occurrence of arsenic in the environment through activities such as burning fossil fuels, using arsenic in pesticides and herbicides (BGS & DPHE, 2001, p. 2), and smelting for copper, lead, and zinc (Gilbert, 2012, p. 128).

It has been found that groundwater resources in the north of the country contain smaller concentrations of arsenic than in the south (Ahmed, 2005, p. 285).

Islam and Uddin (2002) claim that the distribution of arsenic in groundwater relates to the geological structure of the country. The number of Bangladesh's 64 districts where arsenic was detected varies, depending on the source from 61 (Moinuddin, 2004, p. 8), to 60 (Jiang et al., 2013, p. 22), to 59 (Hossain et al., 2005, p. 164). There are also extreme variations in the extent of arsenic occurrence from the district to the village level (Ahmed, 2005, p. 284–287). Arsenic pollution is mainly a problem of rural areas[2]. The extent of pollution affecting people is altered when different guideline values for arsenic in drinking water are used (see Figure 1). The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends a limit of 10µg/litre, while Bangladesh has 50µg/litre (Department of Public Health Engineering [DPHE], n.d., Health effect section, para. 2). Most developing countries have the same limit as Bangladesh (Moinuddin, 2004, p. 8).

Figure 1. People affected by arsenic as a % when the Bangladesh Drinking Water Standard is used (left), people affected by arsenic as a % when the WHO guideline value is used (right)

Chronic exposure to arsenic causes serious health conditions such as skin lesions and hyperkeratosis (World Health Organization [WHO], 2012, Health effects section, para. 1; Food Agriculture Organization [FAO] et al., 2010, p. 8), cancer, hypertension and cardiovascular diseases, anaemia, diabetes and neurological effects (Smith, Lingas, & Rahman, M. (2000), p. 1096; WHO, 2012, Health effects section, para. 2-3; Gilbert, 2012, p. 132; UNICEF, 2008, p. 2). These health issues have socioeconomic consequences for individuals as well as the whole society. Arsenic contamination is interlinked with poverty and its deprivation trap.

Water management is at the core of arsenic mitigation, along with awareness raising and the identification and treatment of those affected. Provision of safe water requires the use of existing water resources or the construction of new alternative resources. The technical options are various: well switching, chemical water treatment or pond sand filters, or alternative water sources such as hand-dug wells, deep tube wells and rainwater harvesters.

In 1996, the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) implemented arsenic mitigation programmes. The government has been supported by a number of donor countries' and UN agencies, and international and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Milton, Hore, Hossain, & Rahman, 2012, p. 2). Only a few of the initiatives were actually implemented in terms of community development.

Community development is, however, a basic tool for achieving social development (Stoesz, Guzzetta, & Lusk, 1999) and a key strategy in poverty alleviation and other areas (Cox & Pawar, 2006). Arsenic mitigation cannot be done without the cooperation of the people it is supposed to help. That is why this paper examines the local arsenic mitigation initiative from the perspective of its recipients.

Methods

The study described is a qualitative evaluation. Its *general objective* was to influence the decision-making of TSDS through the provision of empirically driven feedback concerning its arsenic mitigation work. The *specific objectives* were; 1) assess the activities of TSDS in arsenic mitigation from the perspectives of the recipients and 2) translate the evaluation findings into recommendations for TSDS in terms of community development.

The evaluation questions were:

1. What are the recipients' perceptions and experiences of TSDS's arsenic mitigation work in the community of Miapur, Bangladesh?
2. How can the work of TSDS in Miapur be transformed into community development?

Qualitative methods were used because through them a project's story can be told by capturing and communicating the views of the participants and the details of the project overall (Patton, 2003). The study combines two seemingly contradictory, and up to now rarely connected, approaches: the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) and community development. These approaches can become complementary, further developing and easing each other's strengths and weaknesses, respectively.

The categories of the SLF were used to frame the perspective in data collection and analysis. The Framework is a tool that helps us to understand the peoples' livelihoods, especially those of the poor (Department for International Development [DFID], 1999). The SLF is a widely-used approach (GLOPP, 2008) that has rarely been connected to the concept of community development. The transformative features and principles of community development can enhance the approach and the SLF can compensate for the weaknesses in community development. That is why the evaluation findings were translated into the recommendations based on the community development concept by de Boer and Swanepoel (2011).

To ensure the quality and reliability of the evaluation study, the different strategies suggested by Guba (1981) and Patton (2003) were followed. The triangulation of methods and sources was used. As much information as possible was collected in order to enable a comparison of this research context with other possible contexts. Also, the referential adequacy materials were collected and tested against the findings. The sampling was not intended to be representative or typical but to provide the maximum amount of information available. Different data collection methods were used to complement each other, and to strengthen stability. Other researchers and experts were consulted during the inquiry.

Potential underlying epistemological assumptions were reflected on through the use of an ongoing journal and by establishing peer debriefings.

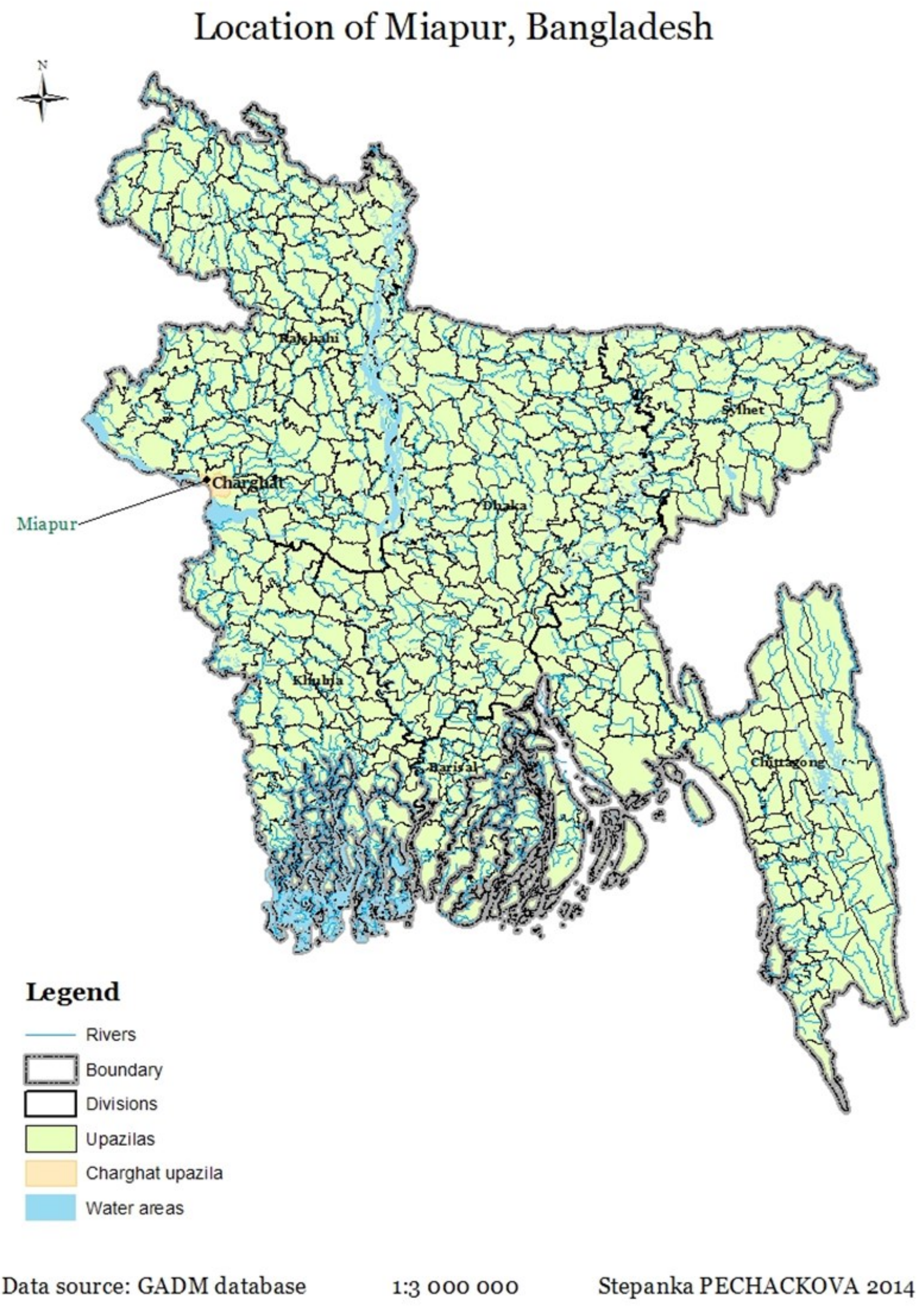
Research Implementation

The evaluation was initiated by the author, as a part of an internship at TSDS, and built on direct field experience. No such evaluation regarding the organisation had been done before. The respondents in the research were the arsenic-affected community of Miapur. This particular community was chosen from the two locations where TSDS arsenic mitigation work has taken place. It was selected because of its accessibility and the richness of information it could offer.

Data were collected through reviews of secondary sources and personal documents, observation, participatory mapping, and semi-structured group and expert interviews. Valuable information was provided via the informal communication with the staff of TSDS and the inhabitants of Miapur. Most of the data collection took place in one location in the centre of the village, or at TSDS headquarters during the period June – August 2013.

Non-probability sampling was used in the data collection, more specifically purposive sampling and snowball sampling. The population was accessed with the help of TSDS staff[3]. In order to have as much variability as possible, it was ensured that all parts of the population were represented in the sample: arsenic patients, the users of alternative mitigation options and the participants of awareness campaigns. The members of these groups intermingle. There were a total of 16 interview respondents aged from 15 to 60 and 22 participants in the mapping, with men and women equally represented. The two experts selected for the interviews were Bangladeshi nationals; one was a project manager (Expert 1) and the other was one of the top-managers of the organization (Expert 2).

Figure 2. Location of Miapur



The method of 'observer as a participant' (Disman, 2002) was followed--the observer is in social interaction with the community members but does not belong to the community or participate in community affairs. The influence of the observer on the community was reduced by them behaving as 'normally' as possible, for instance by travelling to Miapur using public transport and avoiding extra attention.

Hands-on mapping was selected for this qualitative evaluation study, specifically sketch/paper mapping. Sketch/paper maps show the community-identified land features from a bird's eye view. The participatory mapping sessions enabled us to get a broader picture of the locals' indigenous knowledge concerning the area, particularly in terms of arsenic contaminated and safe water resources. It also helped to establish trust between the author as an evaluator and the residents of the village.

Situational Analysis

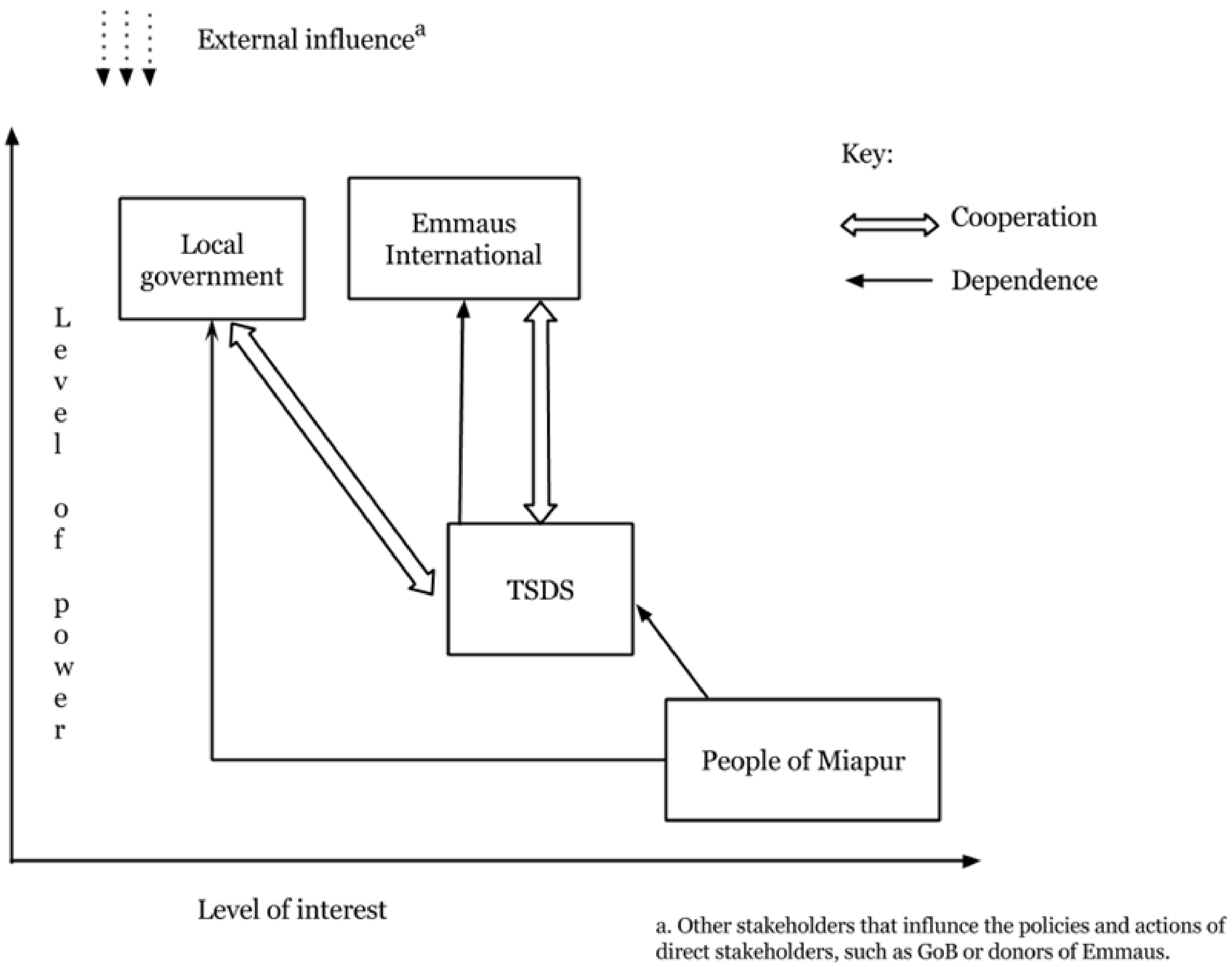
Miapur is located in Charghat upazila, in the Rajshahi District of northwestern Bangladesh, next to the Padma (Ganges) River. It is a village of 2.08 km2 with around 2,000 inhabitants[4]. Almost all the villagers are Muslims, expect for a small Hindu minority. Most of the people work in agriculture.

Arsenic was first discovered in the water sources of Miapur in 1998. Since then, various arsenic mitigation initiatives have taken place in the village under different donors. All the initiatives were implemented by TSDS. TSD was always the provider of assistance, whereas the inhabitants of Miapur were the recipients. The role of the local government bodies in the mitigation was limited. They neither interfered in the mitigation activities, nor did they have much interest in being involved (Expert Interview [EI] 2, Group Interview [GI] 1).

The donors – Development Association for Self-reliance, Communication and Health, Swiss Development Cooperation, and NGO Forum – gradually phased out their activities in Majpur, for different reasons. For one, it was simply the time frame of the projects. Another reason was the 'low' rate of arsenic contamination in local tube wells, which had dropped below 30% (EI 1, 2). At the time of the evaluation in 2013, the active phase of arsenic mitigation work in Miapur was over. The existing activities involved arsenic patients' treatment and maintenance of established alternative safe water resources

The relationships among stakeholders can been seen in the stakeholder map (see Figure 3.). The map is based on the Power versus Interest grid stakeholder analysis, as described in Bryson (2004, p. 30). Two types of relationships were identified: cooperation and dependence.

Figure 3. Stakeholder Analysis



Evaluation

The recipients' perspective

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The SLF illustrates the main components of and influences on the livelihoods of the recipients and the typical relationships between the components and the influences. It defines five core asset categories or types of capital upon which livelihoods are built: *Human, Natural, Financial, Physical,* and *Social*. People require and draw on these *Livelihood Assets* in order to achieve their objectives or *Livelihood Outcomes*, using chosen *Livelihood Strategies*. Both (Livelihood Assets and Livelihood Strategies) are shaped by the *Transforming Structures and Processes*, which also influence the assets. All are operated within and interlinked with the *Vulnerability Context*. Livelihood Assets are understood to be the people's strengths, their capital, but not in an economic sense.

Natural and physical capital

Natural capital and Physical capital are more interrelated than usual in cases of arsenic contamination of water. Adequate infrastructure and access to safe water resources are necessary in order to deal with arsenic contamination. In accordance with common practice, TSDS focused on screening and marking the contaminated tube wells and providing arsenic-safe water sources. The situation regarding arsenic contamination in Miapur improved over time. The respondents in all group interviews emphasized the difference between before and after TSDS began to work in the village. They suggested expanding the current activities because some new arsenic contaminated water sources had been found. The quality of the alternative mitigation options provided by TSDS and the quality of their water were seen as good. The respondents themselves performed the maintenance. However, when the need for repairs or other issues occurs, the respondents "come to get [Expert 1's name]" (GI 3).

Human capital

Efforts to improve the recipients' Human capital centred around patient identification and treatment and awareness-raising activities. The activities began with the screening of arsenic contamination and included workshops in schools, courtyard meetings and Village Development Committee (VDC) activities. The caretaker training and briefings provided the recipients with some degree of skill so they could maintain the alternative water sources, but the sessions did not lead to the people's complete independence from TSDS's support. After TSDS started their awareness activities, "a lot of development" (GI 2) could be seen. The quality of awareness activities did not overly concern the recipients. Their answers were mostly short, not exhaustive: "I attended a few meetings with this program. It was nice" (GI 3).

There was a widespread awareness of the arsenic contamination and the mitigation initiatives in the village. The participatory map drawn by the respondents supports the evidence. The respondents also showed their knowledge of arsenicosis, of how the disease occurs and is treated. The respondents stated that the medical treatment of arsenic patients had improved compared to the past, but they missed the previous regular patient checks[5].

The communication channel through which most of the respondents learned about arsenic was the awareness-raising activities of the local organizations and institutions, particularly TSDS (GI 1, 2). Another communication channel that cannot be overlooked is word of mouth: "We live in the village and we know everything about all families, and that's how we know about it [about the people that cannot afford the arsenic treatment]" (GI 3).

The recipients' view corroborated the findings that children can act as family or community change agents by spreading awareness and thus reducing the exposure to arsenic (see Hanchett, Nahar, Agthoven, Geers, & Rezvi, 2002). "It's really good if someone discusses in the school because if they tell their mother…children don't follow their mother but they obey their teacher and they are little bit afraid of the teacher so if they discuss the issue in the school and the teacher also tells them about this, then they realize yes, we should use" (GI2). Also, Human and Social capital can increase if arsenic mitigation activities are linked with water quality and sanitation. "In Bangladesh many people suffer from diarrhoea and cholera and that is why the government has taken some steps and that's why the Swallows also believe we should do something about this and people can be safe, that's why Swallows organized a few meeting and they concerning people about this" (GI 2).

Social capital

Social capital is developed through networks and connections, including membership of more formalized groups with rules and norms, and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchange (DFID, 1999). Arsenic mitigation activities in this category are particularly represented by the VDC . The committee was autonomous and aimed to address arsenic contamination in the village. Regular meetings served as an opportunity for discussion, exchange of information and solving problems. However, when the committee was disbanded the recipients did not continue such activities by themselves.

The vertical, i.e. patron/client, rather than horizontal networks, were observed. There is a strong relationship between Expert 1, who is the representative of TSDS and the specific person who provides aid, and the recipients. Expert 1 knew the recipients personally and communicated with them on a daily basis (Observation). The representatives of TSDS are the first people the recipients turn to for help. When "…they face some problems…they ask Swallows" (GI 2) and "come to get [Expert 1's name]" (GI 3)[6]. On the other hand, the recipients felt that the VDC enabled them to be self-dependent and they stated the need to remain as such: "We should become independent, not dependent on someone" (GI 2).

Sympathy and a sense of mutuality could be seen within the community. The respondents pointed out that there were some people in the village who could not afford the treatment, even though they did not experience this problem themselves. "Someone who is really poor, he is not able to pay 20%, so she suggests if we can provide fully free it'll be great." "…and he has one suggestion, if Swallows give all medicine fully free it will be really helpful for them because someone really poor and they can't bear this 20%" (GI 3).

The social stigma around arsenicosis that is rife elsewhere in Bangladesh did not seem to be an issue in Miapur. None of the interviewees mentioned any kind of negative feelings towards arsenic patients, nor did the author observe any kind of stigmatization. The arsenic patients, including those with visible skin lesions, moved freely and openly around the village, without any signs of fear. They were treated equally within the group during the mapping session, the group interviews and in the arsenic medicine distribution camp. We can definitely attribute this state of affairs to TSDS's awareness activities in the village[7].

Financial capital

Human capital, especially health and the ability to work, influenced the Financial capital of the recipients. They "don't took work properly and they can't work in days or they can't walk in two days" which "…is bad for their income" (GI 1). The negative effects on the recipients' incomes were reduced due to the support of TSDS. The arsenic patients paid 20% of the cost of their treatment, which was considered helpful by the recipients. However, the recipients identified the group of arsenic-affected people in the village who were excluded from the provision of treatment due to financial constraints (see Social capital section). The recipients share the cost not only in the treatment, but also when building the alternative arsenic free water sources. Interestingly, the recipients found the cost-sharing necessary in order to create a sense of ownership and commitment: "Yes, we have to pay something, if we pay something, we will take care it more, like otherwise if it would free, we didn't care." (GI 2)

Transformation Structures, Policies, and Processes

The transformation structures and processes within the SLF are the institutions, organizations, companies, policies and legislations that shape livelihoods, in this case, in the context of arsenic contamination. The recipients are directly influenced by the non-governmental organization TSDS, and by the local government and their policies and actions. The relationship between themselves and these structures was reflected in the respondents' answers and behaviour. On one hand, the recipients trust and rely on TSDS. They did not complain about the organization's work, but only suggested changes. On the other hand, no trust was expressed towards the local government. It was said that the local government provided little or no help in terms of arsenic mitigation. All questions about the local government brought about heated discussions, which suggests responsiveness to the topic.

Vulnerability context

The Vulnerability context is important because it directly impacts on people's asset status and their access to assets. The Vulnerability context is manifest through trends, shocks and seasonality (DFID, 1999). The recipients did not identify any major problems regarding their vulnerability. Only seasonality in relation to the availability of water in the village was a minor concern (G1, G2, G3).

The providers' perspective

The comparison of the recipients' perspectives with those of TSDS shows the chain of aid-providers that exists in the area. Both perspectives describe the issues of participation, power distribution and dependence arising within the chain. The level of participation in arsenic mitigation in Miapur ranged from extractive to consultative; the middle of the participation ladder. The recipients' roles were as informants, workers and collaborators, and the level of their ownership was low to moderate.

Participation did not reach the transformative or mobilization level which occurs when the recipients initiate and own the actions (see Chambers, 2006).

However, TSDS's arsenic mitigation was actually based on the recipients' needs and was as flexible as possible within the chain of existing aid-providers. The organization's ability to stand up for the recipients' needs when communicating the conditions of cooperation with big international donors suggests that the organization is inclined towards the recipients rather than the donors, and that it is aware of its own power.

It was TSDS that "took responsibility" (EI 2) for taking action in Miapur. There may be a few reasons for that. It could be a question of both reputation and feelings of empathy and caritas, as TSDS is one of the biggest, longest-working, and thus very well-known, NGOs in the area (Observation; Review of Secondary Sources). Another reason might lie in the relationship between the providers and the recipients of aid. The locals expect the outsiders to help them and the outsiders accept this order of things. Also, the insufficient local government services would not have provided the needed mitigation services. It is the aid-provider in this situation that holds the power in the sense of having the ability to take action and make decisions that influence the whole community. "...Otherwise, when taking permission [from the local government], we are free, we just have money and we do everything we want" (EI 2).

There is an important issue of dependence emerging. As TSDS depends on its donors, the people of Miapur depend on TSDS. The providers' ability to implement arsenic mitigation activities is derived primarily from their donors. Empowerment of the recipients was achieved partly through VDC but the Committee stopped its activities due to a lack of funding. Aid is impersonated in TSDS's representatives. Even though the recipients experienced power through VDC and expressed their desire to become independent, they still relied on TSDS when dealing with arsenic contamination. At no time were the arsenic mitigation activities initiated and managed by the people themselves (see Human capital section).

A lack of empowerment in the affected people of Miapur is also demonstrated in their access to information. This is not only in terms of their education and access to the communication infrastructure, but also in terms of the information TSDS provides them with. After research conducted in Miapur found high levels of arsenic in the local food chain, the information was initially deliberately kept from the inhabitants of the village. This was done in order to save the affected farmers' incomes. Even though TSDS eventually informed the locals, the contaminated crops were still sold. (Expert 1, personal communication, July 15, 2013).

Recommendations

The recommendations for future work of TSDS in Miapur arise from the evaluation findings presented in the previous chapter. The recommendations are framed by de Boer and Swanepoel's (2011) concept of community development.

This features an integrated approach, collective action, needs orientation and objective orientation. It happens at the grassroots level, is asset-based and is democratic. If successful, it leads to awareness, further development, the demonstration effect, learning and community building. The ethical principles behind community development are human orientation, participation, empowerment, ownership, sustainability and release. These ethical principles are achieved in a practical way through learning, compassion, adaptability, and simplicity.

The concept does not necessarily have to refer just to the community of Miapur. Community development principles and practices can be applied to all the activities TSDS implements. That would enable the development of local sustainable communities and their release from the deprivation trap.

Features

Integrated approach

TSDS implemented all the usual actions taken to mitigate arsenic contamination of drinking water, including screening, awareness-raising and patient treatment. However, other factors can worsen the effects of arsenic contamination, such as the socio-economic situation of the affected people. Ideally these factors should be identified and addressed, along with arsenic contamination. For example, TSDS could involved the people affected by arsenic in the microcredit program that is running in the village (Expert 1, personal communication, June 10, 2013). Also, the efforts of different stakeholders in the area need to be more coordinated. A joint plan of action with the local government bodies and other relevant stakeholders should be developed and implemented.

Collective action

The arsenic mitigation implemented by TSDS involved collective action, particularly in the form of VDCs. But these actions ceased due to a lack of funding. The recipients did not attempt to continue their collective actions, nor were they encouraged to do so by the providers. TSDS needs to involve the recipients more in the management of arsenic mitigation projects.

Needs orientation

In terms of orientation of needs, TSDS's arsenic mitigation work is very good. TSDS addressed the needs identified by the affected people and flexibly changed its activities accordingly. These needs were communicated clearly so the community understood them. It is desirable that such an approach continues. The only aspect that can change is the level of people's participation in the needs assessments.

Objective orientation

As well as the needs, the objectives in arsenic mitigation were clearly stated. People dealt with specific tasks, such as how many new water resources needed to be built.

This focus helped the people take action. Future projects should also state their objectives as clearly as possible.

Grassroots level

Arsenic mitigation in Miapur did not have a grassroots orientation. No activity was led by the community members themselves. Rather than facilitators, outsiders such as TSDS were initiators and provided change and action towards development. TSDS and the community of Miapur need to reconsider this vertical relationship of provider and recipient. The relationship should become a partnership. In order for that to occur, there must be an actor of change to facilitate action at the grassroots level. Ideally, TSDS should become such a facilitator since it has been working in the community for a long time.

Assets-based

The reason TSDS did not facilitate a grassroots level of arsenic mitigation actions could be that they were not fully aware of the assets that were at their disposal; the people. Such assets ought to be identified as well as the needs. Since they were neither identified nor used, they could not improve. TSDS should start building their activities around the arsenic affected people's assets, not just their needs. Thus, the people can become more self-aware, confident, and ultimately, independent.

Democratic

Arsenic mitigation in Miapur was not very democratic. The local government only played a marginal role. It did not give those affected by the arsenic; people from the poor rural population of Bangladesh, an active sense that they could use their democratic rights. In order to ensure an integrated approach, local government needs to be more involved than it has been so far. TSDS, local government bodies, and the community of Miapur should work jointly and in a coordinated fashion on arsenic mitigation in the village. The community members need to be aware of and encouraged to use their rights as citizens and to participate in democratic processes.

Successful community development activities lead to:

Awareness

Community development generates a form of awareness when people become aware of themselves, of their needs and their assets. TSDS successfully generated awareness of arsenic contamination in Miapur. However, the organization failed to support the self-awareness of the local people. To develop this kind of awareness, TSDS should apply an assets-based and democratic approach, facilitating the full use of the people's potential.

Further development

Community development projects often trigger further activities which in turn lead to further development. Yet this was not the case with the arsenic mitigation in Miapur.

However, if TSDS follows the role of a facilitator, builds on the locals' assets and shares leadership, such development will be achieved.

Demonstration effect

If TSDS applies the features and principles of community development, their arsenic mitigation projects can achieve success and broadcast their effects over a wide area. The projects will not only have physical results, but also psychological benefits. The locals will be able to see what they are capable of as well as the value of cooperation. Such projects may spark other activities and initiatives elsewhere and serve as examples of good practice.

Learning

Learning was part of the arsenic mitigation projects. The people of Miapur gained a certain degree of skill regarding the maintenance of safe water resources. They had the opportunity to develop their management skills through VDC. They also gained knowledge about arsenic contamination and water and sanitation. Yet the learning part lacked multidimensionality, conceptuality, and the active role of the people. In the next project it is important that the local people's learning is facilitated in a strategic manner, with their active involvement.

Community building

On one hand, the arsenic mitigation work strengthened the Miapur community, particularly on a practical level. It provided the locals with the safe water and sanitation infrastructure which are essential for their lives, as well as for their dignity. On the other hand, to build the community fully, TSDS needs to enhance leadership and institution building in the community through capacity building, collaboration and the sharing of leadership responsibilities. Thus, the community will become truly self-reliant and sustainable.

Ethical principles

Human orientation

TSDS focused more on basic needs, such as the lack of safe water, rather than on abstract needs such as self-reliance. Although the latter are equally as important as the former. Therefore the organization should pay more attention to these abstract needs, even though they might not be formulated directly. However, the lack of awareness of people's abstract needs was compensated for by the human approach TSDS has towards the Miapur community. It is an example of good practice which should be followed further.

Participation and empowerment

People should participate in all aspects of community development projects. TSDS only partially involved the local people in the project's management. To bring about community development, the capacities of TSDS's members and the whole community need to be built. For that to occur, participation and community engagement at the highest levels are necessary.

One of the primary roles of community development is to empower people; to give them the power and the right to make decisions while supporting them with the necessary knowledge and skills to make good decision-making possible. TSDS partly managed this in the Miapur community through the VDC activities. But the committee did not reach its full potential. TSDS needs to facilitate a process of self-awareness and capacity building, leading to a sustainable and self-reliant community. In a radical view, participation leads to equity. It gives the community members the power to fulfil their rights as democratic citizens. It is a question of how much this can be achieved in a local context.

Ownership

The lack of ownership may have been one reason the community members did not initiate or self-manage any actions. A sense of ownership and commitment are essential for successful community development. To ensure these, TSDS needs to apply the principle of participation.

Sustainability

In the environmental sense, the existing activities in Miapur were as sustainable as possible in the local context. It was a small project, using local sources and technologies. In the sense of self-dependence, the community did not achieve sustainability. The initiatives such as VDC and the amendments to alternative water sources did not happen without TSDS's direct intervention.

The quality of the environment and its protection is very low in Bangladesh. There are no waste and wastewater treatment systems available. There is a great lack of awareness; no legal provisions exist and there is no progress in this area.

Release

Arsenic mitigation in the Miapur community did not release the local people from the deprivation trap of poverty because that was not its goal. TSDS alleviated the effects of arsenic contamination but did not aspire for more. It is up to TSDS whether or not they pursue a more integrated approach in the future, which would lead to the community's sustainability, and possibly even its release from the deprivation trap.

Practical principles

One remarkable aspect of TSDS's work is that at all times its staff behaved as humanely as possible. The people affected by arsenic did not just become numbers or items in a prescribed framework. Naturally, using common sense and a sympathetic approach, TSDS applied the practical principles of community development: learning, compassion, adaptability and simplicity. 72

Since the principles were followed naturally, they lacked conceptuality. In order to achieve the best results, the principles should become part of the organization's strategic planning, guiding their activities in the field. TSDS should particularly focus on developing the learning part of their projects, not just for its staff but also for the community members. TSDS works flexibly according to the changing needs of a community, yet developing adaptability in the sense of creativity and innovation would enhance its work. Finally, the NGO can serve as an example for other organizations and institutions in the way they practise compassion and simplicity in their field work.

Community development initiatives include certain features that lead to the development of sustainable communities and release those communities from the deprivation trap. Ideally, TSDS should identify all the features of arsenic mitigation and address them in an *integrated approach*[8], such as involving the people affected by arsenic in the microcredit program that was running in the village (Expert 1, personal communication, June 10, 2013). Also, a joint plan of action with local government bodies and other relevant stakeholders should be developed and implemented. Arsenic mitigation carried out by TSDS involved *collective action*, particularly in the form of VDCs. These actions ceased and the recipients did not try to continue with them, nor were they encouraged to do so by the providers. TSDS needs to involve the recipients more in the management of arsenic mitigation projects.

Discussion

This study is one of the first evaluations of TSDS's projects. It is the first study to evaluate the arsenic mitigation work of TSDS from the perspective of the recipients. The only other study concerning arsenic mitigation in the village of Miapur was done by Nahar et al. (2008). Their research was aimed at the health and socio-economic effects of arsenic contamination of groundwater. The authors reached similar conclusions to this study: "All respondents were aware of the arsenic problem in the groundwater. Nearly all the respondents enjoyed the facility of having a water source (tube well) within their home arena". Moreover, their survey "identified a marked absence of discrimination and neglect in behaviour toward arsenic victims", which is contradictory to the usual norms in Bangladesh.

This study has its limitations. First, the evaluation was conducted at an unfavourable time, which prevented the maximum level of participation[9]. Second, there were significant cultural and language barriers. Finally, the interviews were limited because of bias and assumptions on both sides; on the author's side as an evaluator and on the local people's side as the respondents. Since this is the first evaluation that has dealt with the arsenic mitigation activities of TSDS, there is a great deal more to study. The next evaluations could be done on a larger scale with long-term engagement on the site and a wider sample. The inquiries could be carried out in collaboration with the community members at the highest level of the participation ladder and thus contribute to the development of the community. There is also room for the use of quantitative research methods. Thematically, it would be interesting to further examine the differences between the providers' and the recipients' perspectives, especially in terms of their values and principles.

Summary

Arsenic contamination of groundwater in Bangladesh has vast socioeconomic effects that are interlinked, and can easily be overlooked because they have occurred over a long-time period. There have been plenty of arsenic mitigation initiatives in Bangladesh, and they have involved a number of different stakeholders. Arsenic mitigation usually consists of screening, patient identification and treatment, awareness-raising, and the provision of alternative safe water sources. Few of the initiatives used community development practices.

This evaluation study qualitatively assessed the arsenic mitigation work of the Thanapara Swallows Development Society, a local non-government organization, from the perspective of the recipients, using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. The evaluation findings were transformed into recommendations in terms of community development. The study aims to influence the decision-making processes of the TSDS organisation.

The arsenic mitigation projects implemented by the Thanapara Swallows in the community of Miapur were successful in terms of mitigating arsenic contamination to a minimum level. The recipients perceived the organization's work as satisfactory, helpful and an improvement on the past. The organization is an example of good practice in following the practical principles of community development: learning, compassion, adaptability, and simplicity. However, there is a lot to be done in terms of community development. The distribution of power in the existing chain of aid-providers should be balanced towards the members of the community. It is necessary to build the capacities and self-awareness of the community members, while supporting and involving them in all stages of aid. The whole process needs to be done conceptually, within the strategic planning of the organization. Thus, the community can become empowered, sustainable and self-reliant.

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Notes

[1] One of the big development successes in Bangladesh achieved mainly due to Western donor driven activities since the 1970s.

[2] The capital city of Dhaka, although almost entirely dependent on groundwater (Ahmed, 2005, p. 286), has a more or less arsenic-free water supply (Moinuddin, 2004, p. 8).

[3] The language and cultural barrier could not be overcome without local translators and facilitators. All aid recipients in Miapur were approached. Taking part in the evaluation was voluntary.

[4] In 2005, according to Nahar, Hossain, and Hossain (2008) Miapur had 1,733 inhabitants. Given the annual population growth of 1.5% in Bangladesh, the population should have been around 2,000 in 2013.

[5] The relationship between income and arsenicosis and the costs of treatment that were often mentioned in the interviews are discussed in the Financial capital section.

[6] The transcribed statements from the group interviews are stated as they were translated from Bangla to English by an interpreter, including the mistakes in English grammar. The third person "they" indicates the respondents.

[7] However, the local girls and women might have problems getting married if they suffer from arsenicosis (F. Hoque, personal communication, August 18, 2013).

[8] Italics indicates a term used in the community development concept by de Beer and Swanepoel (2011).

[9] It was the monsoon season and the holy, fasting months of Ramadan. The monsoon season is characterized by large amounts of rain, high temperatures and humidity. Ramadan is a holy month in Islam when fasting and spiritual contemplation takes place. Muslims do not eat and drink from sunrise to sunset during this month which affects their physical and psychological states.

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Olomouc, Czech Republic

The aim of the Foresight, Environment and Development program is to prepare foresight-focused professionals for careers in environmental and developmental policy and practice. The duration of the program is 2 years. Students will be awarded the title of “Magister, abbreviated as “Mgr.” which is equivalent to the Master of Science (M.Sc.). The Foresight, Environment and Development program is the first of its kind in the Czech Republic and in the region of Central and Eastern Europe. Annual fee is 3000 EUR for out of EU students. Students from EU states do not pay the annual fee. Number of scholarships are offered by university and by other institutions.

Foresight is the ability to describe what may happen or may be needed in the future, while considering the future as something that we can create or shape. Foresight assumes that the future is not pre-determined, but that it can evolve in different directions. Foresight includes thinking about the future, debating the future and shaping the future, using participatory and multidisciplinary approaches.

Development is a branch of social science that addresses issues in development policy and practices. Environment is an academic field that systematically studies human interaction with the natural world, particularly the factors that have an influence on human wellbeing and sustainable development.

For more information about the programme and entry requirements for potential students, please visit http://www.development.upol.cz/english/study/fed-master-program/.

Call for Papers for the fourth issue of the Development, Environment and Foresight

Development, Environment and Foresight (DEF Journal) opens the **Call for Papers**. Researchers dealing with topics related to the scope of the journal are welcomed to submit abstracts to the editorial board.

In case you are interested in publishing in DEF Journal, please send your **abstract** (400-700 words) to Jiri Panek (**Jiri.Panek@upol.cz**).

The Development, Environment and Foresight journal is publishing articles about the recent research achievements within the Environmental Studies, Development Studies and Foresight.

The goal of this journal is to track the development tendency of these fields of expertise and make contributions in the development of the subject.

The Environmental Studies is the interdisciplinary academic field which systematically studies human interaction with the environment. The main interests are solving complex problems, and includes particularly the factors that have an influence on human´s well-being and sustainable development.

Development studies are a multidisciplinary branch of social science which addresses issues of concern to development and development areas, while focusing both on development policy and best practices.

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We accept **Research Papers**

Research papers should deal with topics of Development, Environment and Foresight, ideally as an inter/multi-disciplinary approach.

Papers will undergo double blind-review process by two reviewers and editor.

Normal paper length is around 5000-8000 words. Very short papers are unlikely to be complete and will be rejected. Excessively long papers will subject to careful scrutiny - and authors can expect to be asked to reduce the length. If necessary, you may choose to split a paper into two - but each paper must stand lone as a complete paper.

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