#Makeadifference

A thesis exploring motivations and purpose for social media use within Norwegian Citizen Initiatives for Global Solidarity

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Abstract

This thesis explores motivations and purpose for social media use within nine Norwegian Citizen Initiatives for Global Solidarity (CIGS). There is little research about these small development actors in Norway and especially regarding how social media is used. Their contribution to the international development scheme is often not recognized, but it is believed that their influence is substantial. As many others, the initiatives use social media to document and inform about their projects and interventions. Considering we are in the midst of a pandemic; this study has also taken a further look at how COVID-19 has affected the CIGS and their social media presence. In humanitarian aid, social media is often used to convey messages about "others" and engage viewers to donate time and money towards the cause. Since the initiatives are small, they are dependent on close relations to followers and donors. This study finds that civil initiatives want to contribute towards structural issues of poverty and promote an insight to beneficiaries, but that the way of communication leads to a perceived distance between "us" and "them".

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1. Introduction

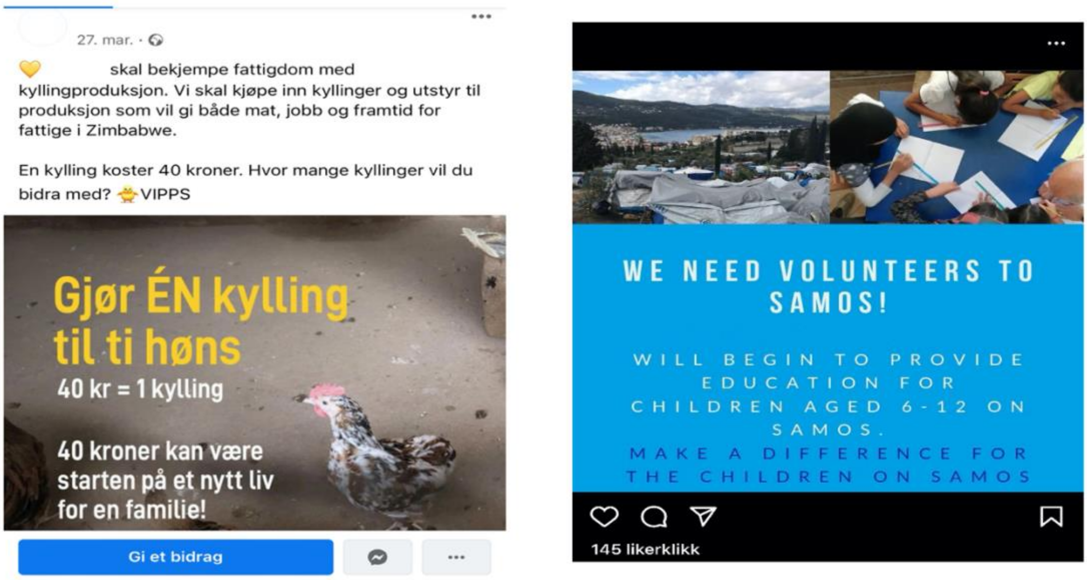
The implementation of social media and technological advances transform the way we perform development work. The rapid expansion and use of mobile phones, computers as well as internet availability in most parts of the world allows for new ways of interacting and communicating. New media technology creates an opportunity for individual actors, development initiatives and organizations to disseminate information on different platforms. This can be through the use of photos, written messages or videos. Whilst such information sharing earlier required a lot of skills and knowledge, the technological transformation represents a small revolution in terms of how we can provide information to the wider publicum. This information includes sharing opinions, giving insights and experiences of "others" into social media platforms (Veil, Buehner, & Palenchar, 2011). In the field of development work, established development organizations have gained a massive public audience through their social media channels and are continuing to grow daily. For example, UNICEF has reached an impressive number of 6,9 million followers on Instagram and more than 11 million likes on Facebook. This means that they are able to spread awareness and information to millions of people with just a click.

Against the backdrop outlined above, one can say that the implementation of social media in development work has created a shift in who can perform development and how. When the refugee camp called Moria, located in Lesvos, Greece was on fire in September 2020, a range of small to larger sized development organizations posted articles, Facebook posts and Instagram pictures of the incident, calling for support. The posts created a massive internet trend and important hashtag labels. Save the Children (Redd Barna) shared a slogan saying "50 is not enough" as a campaign against the Norwegian governments decision on only accepting 50 children from the refugee camp into Norway. This campaign was shared by thousands of people and the hashtag was adopted by a range of different groups involved in development work and activism. This is thus one example of how social media has created a new way for development actors to communicate the work and engage with the larger civil society. Such tools for communication works for the larger organisations as well as for the smaller. Whilst Save the Children is an example of a large actor with years of experience, the Norwegian based A Drop in the Ocean, (Dråpen I Havet) is an example of the type of actors which has emerged with the field of development work and humanitarian work also relying much on social media for its interaction with donors and civil society. A Drop in the Ocean started as a citizen initiative resulting from the so-called refugee crisis experienced in Europe in 2015 and was initiated by a Norwegian woman with strong ties to Greece. Whilst just wanting to provide some immediate relief back in 2015, the initiative has evolved into a full, small scale NGO engaging thousands of Norwegians in help refugees in Greece. Much of this development has been facilitated through the use of social media. Such small initiatives are referred in different ways and by different names. Some call them Private Development Initiatives (PDI), explained as small-scale, voluntary development organizations with an often hands-on and personalized approach to humanitarian and aid related work (Kinsberg, Schulpen, & Ruben, 2017, p. 223). Others have referred to them as CIGS, citizen initiatives for global solidarity (Haaland and Wallevik 2019) or citizen aid (Fechter & Schwittay, 2019). In the following I will refer to them as CIGS.

This thesis will give an insight to the use, motivation and purpose of social media within smaller CIGS from Norway. Over the years these actors have described themselves as an aspiring potential to the world of international development by implementing a more direct connection to local communities in developing countries (Kinsberg, Schulpen, & Ruben, 2017). Though their audience may be small and more selective such as family and friends, it is certain that CIGS are using social media to promote their work, fundraise for money and show their contribution as development actors.

1.1 Research rationale

A few years back, during an exchange to Uganda, I noticed the high number of western NGO and volunteer workers in the area. Classmates said that most of these development initiatives are just normal people from the Global North who came to Uganda for other purposes but ended up starting an organization. Of course, after spending years studying development, it felt a little unfair that I just then realized that one can become a development actor without any formal education or experience, but this topic has later turned into a field of academic interest for me. I have asked myself: how do the actors manage to get money for their projects? How are people recruited? What strategies are implemented? My experience when exploring this informally was that the answers could often be found through their social media profile and activities.



Screenshot Facebook and Instagram (for clarification, these screens do not belong to any interviewees)

Figure 1, screenshots

In my process trying to explore these questions further for my thesis, I asked some of the actors running the initiatives I had come to know in Uganda if they of any small Norwegian organizations who operated in the area which they did. Then, a close family member told me that she knew someone who sent clothing and money to a school they had started themselves. All of sudden these initiatives were not so uncommon as first assumed, and increasingly so as pictures like the screenshots above popped up in my Facebook and Instagram. When looking into the topic it became clear that there an emerging literature about the small actors, but that little research has been done on their social media presence. CIGS seem to be not acknowledged or hidden in the larger development universe. According to Haaland and Wallevik it may resonate in the fact that established organizations refer to the initiatives as "amateur aid" (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017). If they are not acknowledged, then who are holding them accountable? The question becomes pertinent to ask considering how aid agents who are helping a significant number of people in vulnerable situations seem to post public content to the big internet without anyone to hold them accountable. This question has been raised by Kinsbergen and colleagues as well (2017).

Social media is a strong tool for communication and connecting people. Social media platforms are used in many different ways and within international development the idea is often to convey information or messages on issues like poverty reduction, health care, community development and crisis management. Alexander states that it creates a listening function since it has the ability to share information from or for people who usually do not have that opportunity (Alexander, 2014, s. 720). Social media platforms provide a contextual breakdown of larger social issues which again connects the reader to the matter in a meaningful way (Criado, Ignacio, & Villodre, 2018). As well as creating ways to inform about world issues, it also gives viewers an insight into how the various organizations operate. Though it can contribute towards transparency and accountability, one must be careful not to be fooled by appearance. According to Kinsbergen and colleagues, CIGS are often focused on activity-based projects that covers the needs of the specific targeted groups (Kinsbergen, Schulpen, & Ruben, 2017, p. 224). This hands-on and very personal method is subject to discussion in terms of its potential contribution to development. Scholars argue that the small development actors are often missing the structural cause of the issues and that CIGS lack evaluation and accountability (Kinsbergen, Schulpen, & Ruben, 2017, p. 225). In this thesis work, the overall aim to objective is to understand Norwegian CIGS motivations and purpose for using social media. Based on these objectives I hope to understand if social media is a tool for development within Norwegian CIGS.

Both through reading existing research findings and through my previous experience, I believe that social media can give valuable insights to how these small volunteer organizations operate and present themselves. Considering how I have done my research in the midst of a pandemic; I was also interested in knowing how the social media use possibly changed as a consequence of travel restrictions and limited interaction with the field. Below are my research questions.

1.2 Research questions

1. **What are the motivational factors and purpose for using social media?**

2. **How do CIGS use social media to communicate their development initiative?**

3. **How has COVID-19 affected the CIGS and their social media use?**

4. **To what extent can social media be considered as a tool for development?**

2. Background and literature review

As stated above, this thesis aims to learn more about Norwegian CIGS and their presence on social media. The need and wish to make a difference for people in other countries makes people want to act. Through social media these initiatives collect funds, connect with other people and show how development is done on a small, but very engaged, level. In development organizations, and especially non-profit ones, trust and transparency is crucial. Social media is not only a place for cat videos and funny memes, but also to provide an insight into other people's life, also from an aid perspective. This chapter starts by looking into some common traits of CIGS and social media. The chapter then gives a broader understanding of how social media is used in the context of humanitarian aid and development work.

2.1 Citizen Initiatives for Global Solidarity

International development is often associated with traditional aid actors such as established NGOs and multilateral organizations, even governments are part of international aid through for instance bilateral aid agreements. Though over the years there have been a significant increase in celebrities, businesses and "everyday people" entering the field of development (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 50). People have been criticizing larger aid organizations for using more money on administrative costs than on the actual aid scene and many have felt that an increasing level of bureaucratization of development aid has provided less room for folk-to-folk engagement. This again has spiked an interest for everyday men and women to develop their own development initiatives (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017, p. 204).

CIGS normally partake in development activities on a voluntary basis and is predominantly small scale without governance funding (Kinsbergen & Schulpen 2013, Haaland and Wallevik, 2017, Fylkesnes 2019). They are also typically middle-aged women and men where most have combined a paid job with volunteering on the side. Despite their lack of experience and exclusion from larger development actors, their projects are often to be seen on social media and in newspapers. They are often praised for their good deeds and outed as heroes for helping the poor with nothing in receive. Social media is also used as a way to show their projects, generate funds and advertise for what Haaland and Wallevik calls "aid tourism" (2017, p. 205). This means that friends and family can contribute through their initiative with aid activities in exchange of culture and experiences.

Haaland and Wallevik have attempted to categorize different types of CIGS initiatives into four groups. The first group is the *accidental aid agent,* who enters the field of development by happenchance. These agents did not have an urge to nor intended to do volunteer work in the global south but ended up doing so because of a first emotional encounter (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017, p. 206; Kinsbergen, 2013). Commonly, they are met with an encounter that triggers so strong emotions that they feel the need to do something. For example, the first meeting with extreme poverty or children living on the street. Then, the second group is categorized as the *aid-entrepreneurs*. These initiatives typically have some previous experience working within larger and more known development institutions, but then chooses to establish a project of their own to continue their engagement in the field (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017, p. 206). The aid entrepreneurs are more skilled in the field of development than the first group and some are able to access funds from instance NORAD, the Norwegian Development Cooperation. Third is the *young solidarity workers,* a group which consists of young people who travel around the world, normally for studies, volunteering or in a so-called gap year. They often end up volunteering for established or smaller organizations as English teachers, within orphanages or similar. According to Haaland & Wallevik, these initiatives are also more present on social media during their time visiting the receiving country (2017, p. 207). The social media presence is often to create engagement around their initiative in order to gain funds through for example fundraising. The final group categorized is the *trans-locals,* which can be described as an initiative created by an immigrated person from the global south and a Norwegian, both living in Norway, that are teaming up to establish a development initiative (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017, p. 207).

For this study, most of the participants belong to the accidental aid agent group, but also aid-entrepreneur and young solidarity worker. Some may not be in a clear category as the initiative has developed over time. These categorization of initiatives, as outlined by Haaland and Wallevik, has been helpful for gaining a deeper understanding of the interviewees and their responses. The initiatives publish real-life photos which are used to generate a flow of resources as well as create new initiatives through recruitment and engagement. Before looking into literature on social media within development, a general discussion of social medias will be presented.

2.2 Social media

With the availability of social media, CIGS have been able to expand through easy access to a broader audience and fundraising (Appe & Schnable, 2019). But what is social media? Boyd & Ellison defines social media as: “social network sites as web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system» (Boyd & Ellison, 2007, p. 211). Scholars argue that social media is highlighted through specific platforms such as Facebook and Instagram (Miller, et al., 2016). Take for example Instagram, as a platform: how it works, and the basic idea is to convey short messages with a numeral limit. If you think of this platform as a place where millions of people get their information from and how different it is for each purpose one can surely argue that the most important thing is not which platform is being used, but rather the content. It is the content people publicize through text, pictures and videos that decides why social media matters and its significance (Miller, et al., 2016, p. 1).

Social media platforms continuously go through changes and are thus in a process of constant development. However, this study does not aim to focus on the platform itself, but rather what people post and what is communicated through them. Why do we post, what do we post and where are the potential consequences? Miller and colleagues argue that technologies have changed us and given us a way to communicate and interact which was not possible before (Miller, et al., 2016). It is hard to define, at least based on the platforms, what is social and not. In theory, it is only called social media if it is shared by more than two and in a somewhat open space.

The biggest advantage that social media has is that it favors a visual mode of expression. On Facebook people can craft and personalize both pictures and text, which increases the level of engagement and possibly helps towards both funding and recruiting (Miller, et al., 2016, p. 88). The CIGS have indeed dived right into effective strategies to generate funds and involvement, whether this is from a need to cover expenses since they do not receive public funding or because of social media knowledge is hard to say. WhatsApp and Facebook have played a significant role in recruitment processes and are far more effective than information that is passed through word of mouth by friends, family and extended network (Miller, et al., 2016, p. 89). These recruitment tactics have been an essential part of increasing engagement and the number of followers.

Miller and colleagues explain how independent entrepreneurs use Facebook as a marketing channel (Miller, et al., 2016). First, social media is for the most part free or at least low-cost. Second, it is a way for non-professional actors to show and market for the services they deliver. Miller presents an empirical example of a lady called Usha. Usha had a clear goal of establishing herself as a sought-after storyteller by bringing life to the ancient roots of traditional storytelling and making it possible for others to join an educational platform from home. As a new and self-made entrepreneur, she decided to use social media as a way of marketing and organizing everyday tasks (Miller, et al., 2016, p. 96). Usha is not so different from the case of CIGS. In a way, one can argue that the small development initiatives are also entrepreneurs, but instead of advertising for a product or service they are advertising for development actions and projects. The projects often revolve around direct support and tangible results such as building schools, health clinics or orphanages and similarly to entrepreneurs, they need to establish trust in order to generate engagement and support through funds.

2.3 Social media in the context of development

In a humanitarian aid setting, development actors provide relief for the civil society affected by structural issues such as poverty and inequality or crises. Increasingly, CIGS document their work with photos of beneficiaries and project details. By utilizing social media these initiatives can reach a broader audience and potentially involve larger efforts. During the corona crises, it has been crucial for many of the small aid actors to use tools that enable publicity without actual presence. When the CIGS founders and volunteers travel or spend time in the areas in which their projects are, it also creates more engagement. Evidently this engagement is hard to recreate in periods with physical absence from the actual site where they are working. Özdemir brings attention to social media as a tool for online advocacy (Özdemir, 2012). Because of this, CIGS are able to keep live into their projects even in periods of absence in the receiving area. By posting continuous updates about their interventions as well providing an insight to beneficiaries, viewers are fully updated on the projects and local happenings. Facebook and Instagram also allow CIGS to inform potential donors and viewers about the various issues' beneficiaries (and founders) are facing and ways to solve them, often through fundraising. “Social media, which have been introduced by the further development of Internet technology, especially Web 2.0, has had a significant impact upon public relations and advocacy activities of non-governmental organizations in particular” (Özdemir, 2012, s. 23). The goal for CIGS may not be to politically engage in big topics, but arguably it might be necessary.

Figure 2, Guo & Saxton's pyramid model

(Guo & Saxton, 2014, p. 70)

According to Guo & Saxton (2014) can social media advocacy be broken down into three stages: (1) reaching out to people, (2) keeping the flame alive and (3) stepping up to action. These stages can be seen in how the CIGS use social media too. As I will show later in this thesis the organizations first try to engage as many people as possible by posting pictures and videos, especially from the local area. Once there has been established a relationship or trust between supporters and viewers, the next step is to keep the engagement up and try not to lose too many. As an example, if the initiative has started an orphanage, they will provide pictures of children and some of their stories to maintain the interest of the viewers. When enough information is shared, the last step is to create action. For the CIGS this means to create fundraisers or asking followers to donate. This way of advocating creates an alternative way of participating within international development, both for CIGS and society. CIGS founders do not normally have much experience in the field of development nor specialized strategies for marketing or advocacy, but their social media activity does give an insight to how they work (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013). Haaland and Wallevik presents an understanding that social media is used to show the project and disseminate concepts of development aid (2017, p. 205). It can also be used for donors and beneficiaries.

Skills and knowledge within social media are key to building and sustaining the personalized aid CIGS bring to the scene of international development. Building this knowledge and positioning themselves on social media gives independency and possibly enables a trust-worthy relationship with donors and beneficiaries (McKay & Perez, 2019). Social media changes the way we perform development and vice versa, or in the words of McKay & Perez: "a brokerage focus complements the study of social media, (…) expanding our account of 'digital humanitarianism' to show how not only human actors but also technologies, images, platforms and algorithms shape aid delivery» (McKay & Perez, 2019, s. 1904). Sometimes the world is faced with situations we cannot predict, and development actors are forced to think and act differently. The next section will present a further investigation of how a crises situation affects development.

2.4 Towards crisis management

Due to COVID-19 many development actors have gone from sustainable, long-term development to crisis management. Social media has recently played a significant role in natural disasters for connectivity and distributing information (Gao, Barbier, & Goolsby, 2011). CIGS all over the world has been forced to pause ongoing projects and move their work online. CIGS have to obey laws and restrictions set due to COVID-19 as well as keeping life to projects, this is a challenge considering most places in the world have strict measures such as quarantine and keeping social distance. Taken into consideration that CIGS often have direct and tangible projects that requires physical presence such as orphanages, schools and health centers, these restrictions cause serious challenges (Kinsbergen, Tolsma, & Ruiter, 2011).

According to Brechenmacher and colleagues has the corona crisis catalyzed new forms of civic mobilization (2020). Across the world there are citizens and communities who are coming together to form voluntary organizations, these initiatives are raising money for emergency relief, collecting medical supplies and protective gear to those who lack social protection. The CIGS in this research is no different, what used to be an initiative towards larger structural issues like poverty, have turned into small and often Facebook fundraisers to collect money for protective gear, sanitizing products, food and water. Research show that CIGS tends to have a “one man show” mentality (Fylkesnes, 2016, s. 62). This means that most of the project implementation and execution is organized and decided by the founders, but in the case of this global pandemic the physical responsibilities are left with the beneficiaries.

In recent years, CIGS have faced questions and doubts about legitimacy. Established development organizations and governments have voiced a mistrust in civil actors by questioning their level of accountability (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013; Haaland & Wallevik, 2017; Brechenmacher et al., 2020). Brechenmacher and colleagues argues that the action CIGS are taking in the corona crisis to fill in gaps from government responses may be a way towards increasing social networks and grow constituencies, which ultimately will strengthen their legitimacy in the public eye (2020, p. 5).

2.5 Guidelines and considerations

There are certain considerations one must take when discussing social media and over the years there have been various debates regarding what the recipients think of western charity ads. There is no doubt that nonprofit organizations are adapting market strategies that are created to allocate resources and attention. These strategies play an important role of generating income and enabling development activities, but to which degree?

During the early 80s people started to question the effects of charity advertising (Moore, 1979). Most of the larger organizations would use pictures of dirty children, explicit photos of people suffering from hunger, AIDS or polio and added texting such as “For some money you can help this child out of poverty” or similar. Moore argues that organizations in this time period was dependent on media exposure. There was a fine balance between creating engagement and not creating anxiety or guilt (Moore, 1979). Interesting enough, not much has changed. Chouliaraki presents a valuable insight to humanitarian communication (2010). Through the internet or other channels, we are exposed to photos, videos and written messages about humans that are affected by the injustice of politics and human welfare - a swipe on Instagram can lead you to pictures of starving children in the African nation. For each time one sees these photos we are provided a “subtle proposal to how we should feel and act towards suffering [...] and shape our long-term dispositions to action by way of ‘habituation” (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 110).

Though most development actors, especially CIGS, are not dependent on mass media anymore, there is still a need for media exposure. The difference is that it is now possible to create content and strategies without going through newspapers or magazines. Social media is here to stay and though there is no demand for a journalistic background to post content, there should be a broader discussion regarding ethical considerations. Chouliraki criticizes two emerging appeals: “the shock effect” and “positive image” (2010, s. 110). From early on, development actors have seen the effectiveness of using pictures that are explicitly showing human suffering to create a shock for the viewers. They are often half naked, wearing ripped clothes and visible ribs and even exposing effects from diseases. These images present a narrow representation of suffering humans where the “victim” is in focus. In line with providing people with a slight relief (of their own safety), the exposed bodies become a victim of poverty porn: “they do not reflect real human bodies but curiosities of the flesh that mobi- lize a pornographic spectatorial imagination between disgust and desire» (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 110). The shock appeal images are argued by Chouliaraki to evoke the legacy of Western colonial past through collective guilt but also provide a realization of the absurdity of injustice through “others” every day (2010).

As a response to “the shock effect”, “positive images” became the answer to showcase the better “reality” of the recipients. Using pictures of suffering victims from a brutal life, but with a focus on the victim’s agency and dignity (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 112). For example, showing recipients as active participants in development projects or provide westerners with a singled-out recipient where the person can make direct contributions towards the sufferer - also referred to as sponsorship agreements in this thesis. The “positive image” works as a way to make the giver feel a sense of fellowship or empathy. Arguably this underlines the narrative of a kind and generous donor and a grateful receiver (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 114).

Nelson argues that the use of explicit photos of people in vulnerable situations is a direct measure towards charitable actions (Nelson, 2018, p. 99). According to Idhe the idea is to awaken feelings such as anger and empathy through photos which again will cause us to donate money or react through our own channels (Idhe, 1990). This strategy is not uncommon within the international development actors and can be seen on most of their platforms. Now, the question remains: should morality and consideration be at the stake of accessing resources? Nelson argues that even if people posted more positive or at least less vulnerable photos it would still be the issue of privacy: “the right of privacy has long been identified as a key component of human dignity…” (Nelson, 2018, p. 17). The topic of «poverty porn» and explicit photos used by charitable organizations to raise funds has caused a massive discussion online. People in various fields all over the internet has contributed to the conversation and argues that aid actors are exploiting black and indigenous people for the reward of self-actualization or money. A volunteer advocacy organization called No White Saviors who is based in Uganda have made it their purpose to educate others about the topic. Shown below is an example from their Instagram account who has nearly 900k followers:

Figure 3, screenshot: Nowhitesaviors, Instagram

In conclusion, the various debates regarding politics of pity and appealing to audience through others suffering has caused for a closer examination of the strategic communication choices for humanitarian aid actors (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 122). Chouliaraki’s critique can be counted as a part of a shift within humanitarian communication, but CIGS lack of participation and engagement in the larger development field can cause for a problematic stance in the discussion – or perhaps even a lack of stance, given their limited interaction with or knowledge of dominant development discourses.

3. Theoretical framework

The literature review and theoretical framework represent different interpretive perspectives and are meant to complement each other and support my analysis. Other scholars have used motivation theories as theoretical framework for research on CIGS, and though there is research available on why the initiatives feel motivated to help (Fylkesnes, 2017), there is, as mentioned in the introduction, not a lot to find in regarding the motivation or purpose for using social media. Motivation can be described as the urge and energy that causes one to do action, perform or learn. It includes various points of views. From a psychological standpoint, "motivations provide the motor for behavior" (Fiske & Taylor, 1984, s. 5). Including a more practical take on motivation McClelland argues that every person has one of three main driving motivators: the need for achievement, affiliation or power (McClelland & Liberman, 1949). McClelland's theory also includes the motivation to achieve goals and solve problems. In an aid situation, one is often determined to solve issues or at least having a drive or desire to do a quality job. If it was not for motivation, most would easily loose interest and even discard the task. But what is the motivation or purpose for sharing aid related content on social media? At the base there are a few fundamental theories that have been used frequently of academical scholars in order to understand the working mind and how motivation is connected. In this chapter I present Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943) and second, Rutledge's renewed version of the model (2011). These theories lie a foundation for understanding the motivation to communicate. CIGS carry a massive enthusiasm in regards of "bringing about" change and this motivation is also a basis for posting on social media (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 57). Then, I provide a further explanation of what motivates organizations to post and last, I provide a presentation of creating a "warm glow" and "find your feeling" appeals.

3.1 Maslow’s model renewed

Who would have thought that connecting with others through social media could be as important as basic needs? Maslow argued in 1948 that the hierarchy of needs model resonates between many disciplines and that it speaks to a conceptualization of human motivation (Koltko-Rivera, 2006). It starts with the basic and psychological needs, also recognized as deficiency needs, then the last and more complex sphere, the need for personal growth such as esteem and self-actualization. Maslow posited the pyramidal hierarchy of needs where physiological and safety requirements must be met before one start to pursue needs as self-esteem and actualization, which is what has played a large role in aid and volunteering (Maslow, 148; Carbonnier, 2015). In Carbonnier revision of Maslow’s theory he argues that giving aid is also motivated by understanding the lack of basic needs. This means that initiatives are motivated to solve the lack of others basic needs while fulfilling their own self-fulfillment needs (2015, s. 193). Though, according to Rutledge has the adaption of social medias showed us that the understanding of Maslow’s model missed a fundamental part (Rutledge, 2011).

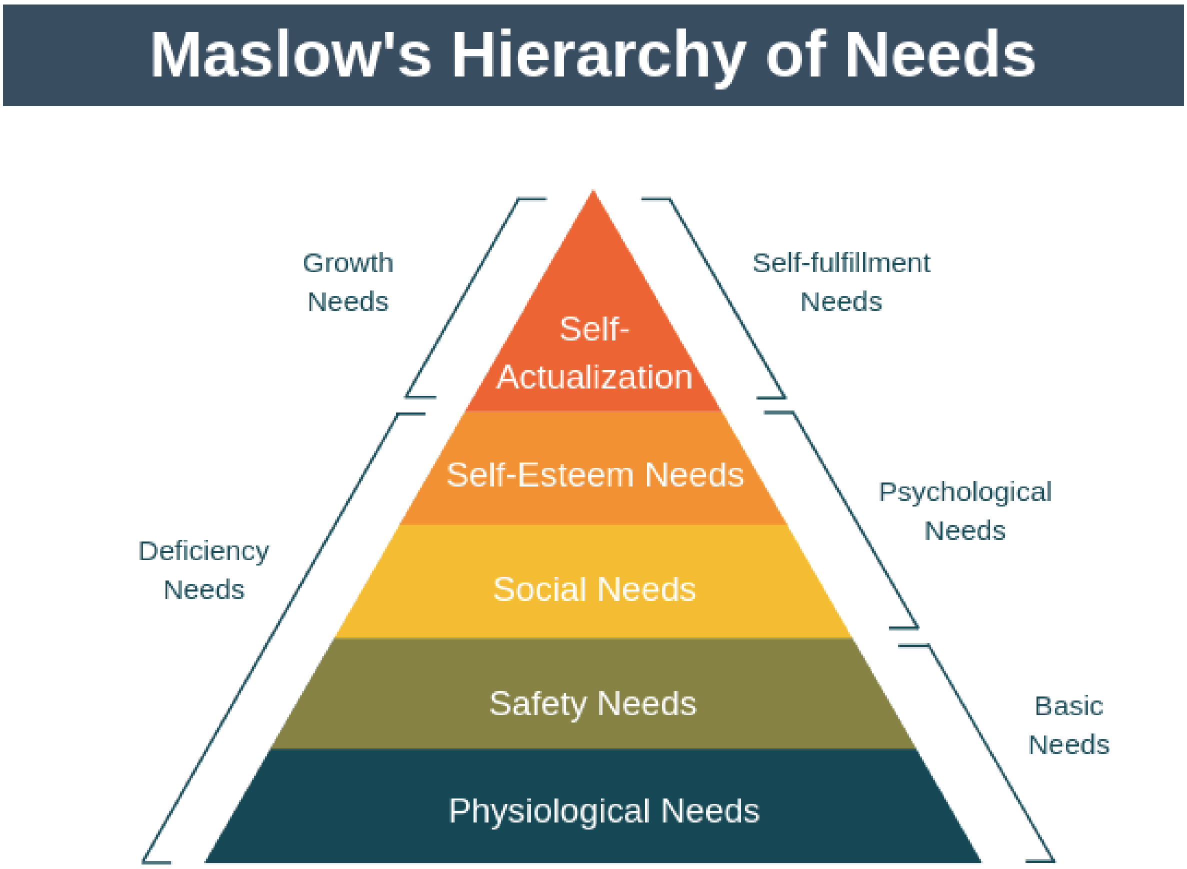


Figure 4, Maslow’s hierarchy of needs

(Psych-mental health NP, N.d.)

Hustinx argues that the changes within the field of non-profits and volunteering can be framed as a broader process of human development or a fulfillment of self-actualization (Hustinx, 2010, s. 237). Further, he states that the "modern" volunteers have come to the point where they articulate their own ideas and habits while affirming themselves as autonomous, and therefore challenging traditional structures of volunteering. Non-profit organizations and volunteering often look for opportunities towards self-realization and personal growth. There is an overall understanding that they should have a say on organizational matters and within the initiative. Stating that the search for self-growth and self-actualization is a predominant mechanism of volunteers (Hustinx, 2010, s. 251). Kinsbergen and colleagues writes that the psychological reward of volunteering becomes even larger when they think they are actually making a positive difference for recipients (Kinsbergen, Tolsma, & Ruiter, 2011, p. 64). Evidentially, the politics of self-actualization is dominant in the field of volunteering, but there is one problem. None of the needs Maslow presents, not even self-actualization, is possible without social connection and collaboration (Rutledge, 2011).

Figure 5 Maslow's hierarchy of needs renewed

(Rutledge, 2011)

According to Houston and colleagues (2014), social media is a terminology to cover various public or semipublic web-based platforms that enables users to connect with each other. Social media connects us in a way that it creates a new behavior, it is what empower towards goals, not creating them. “Facebook and Twitter did not cause the Arab Spring. But social technologies did connect people in a way that inspired them to act on existing motivations and goals» (Rutledge, 2011). Social media allows us to engage in the connective nature of society and the development of social capital through communication with platforms like Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp and Snapchat. Rutledge states that the need for social survival through connection is played out in most of the large networking platforms (Rutledge, 2011). The social media platforms used in this study have some emerging ways of creating connection:

1. Posting (for example sharing photos on Instagram)
2. Comments and likes
3. Sharing (for example users sharing each other’s posts)

According to Miller and colleagues, social media provides a sense of community feeling. Since everyone is using it, people constantly show reciprocal support through engagement in the comment section and likes. People want to connect with likeminded people that have the same interests and ideas (Miller, et al., 2016, p. 187). From an organizational perspective, Sheombar et al. argues that social media enables a communication between people inside and outside organizations (2018).

3.2 Motivations for posting

According to Oh & Syn there are some emerging motivational tendencies for sharing on social media to create a connection to the viewers. Social media has become an important communication tool for organizations to create relations to the public or in this case, donors and viewers. For this thesis I have chosen those most applicable motivations: personal gain, social engagement and reputation.

Personal gain is a motivation that is often commercially driven and usually there is expected an external reward. When personal gain is the motivation one post content with the intention of boosting or advertise for products or services (Oh & Syn, 2015, s. 2049). In the field of international development, it is always a *battle* of getting recourses (Appe & Schnable, 2019), also for CIGS. The content needs to be directed towards people who will "choose" them to donate to. There is a goal-setting mindset where accessing funds is crucial (Kinsbergen, 2014). The motivation for personal gain is not necessarily limited to market ideologies and business, but also to promote development services or humanitarian work, which again ties nicely with social engagement.

Social engagement can be described as one of the main motivators for people to use social media (Oh & Syn, 2015). In this aspect, people want to get in contact with others, collaborate and simply share their engagement with others (Oh & Syn, 2015, s. 2049). Volunteers are usually driven by internal motivation, which creates a feeling of fulfillment when sharing their passion with others through social media accounts. CIGS often work with hands-on involvement and are motivated by sharing project related content and even from the local community (Kinsbergen, 2014, p. 158). This engagement creates a bond between the organization and viewers, which is crucial for the connection with (potential) donors. CIGS are dependent on social capital and connections, therefore social media acts as a facilitator between the donors and beneficiaries (McKay & Perez, 2019). It is this engagement that keeps the organizations alive and creating a space for such is vital for sustainability. These connections can further be exchanged into capital, converting social capital (likes and comments) into donations and then into a personal relation between donors and recipients (McKay & Perez, 2019). Not only between CIGS and their close network, but also on a global perspective. The social media platforms provide room for all.

Lastly is reputation. Reputation is considered an external reward which motivates people to share knowledge, this knowledge is distributed to build reputation within a community or from viewers in general. They wish to be the top contributors in the field or community they are involved in (Oh & Syn, 2015, s. 2049). Miller and colleagues states that "people may also use social media to negotiate a balance between people they know and the potential role of strangers" (2016, p. 191). This is not far from what the informants in this study experience through balancing between personal network and possible donors. People are usually motivated to achieve or maintain positive reputation because it could lead to being viewed as legitimate, competent and trustworthy. According to Kinsbergen is the trust in development organizations is crucial. Donors that have trust in an organization donate 50 percent more than those without (2014, p. 98). CIGS are dependent on their reputation to access recourses or at least to receive a larger number of donors, but how can they come across to potential donors as trustworthy? Kinsbergen argues that in order for donors to gain trust in the organization, they need to be convinced that their donation will actually make a difference to the recipients (2014, p. 99). This has an impact on how CIGS communicate on social media.

3.3 Creating a "warm glow" effect and "find your feeling"

Most people share the idea that giving is rewarding; maybe to relief guilt, receive status or to experience what Andreoni explains as a "warm glow" (Becker, 1974; Andreoni, 1989). The need to help runs deeper than just to cover the need of the recipient, it reflects the needs of the giver. It provides a fulfillment to the desire of helping, arguably also to cover the need of partaking in something larger than ourselves (Malkki, 2015, p. 8). This feeling is by some described as "impure-altruism", as it indicates that donating and volunteering is not excluded to the selfless act of concerning for the well-being of others but rather the pleasure of knowing that "he himself" has donated money for a cause (Bekkers, 2004; Andreoni, 1990) Scholars argue that the emotional reward for donation is limited when the donors do not know if their contribution will make an actual difference (Bekkers, 2004; Micklewright & Wright, 2004; Kinsbergen et al., 2011). This supports the case of small initiatives like CIGS and why they seemingly are able to mobilize at a personal level.

As mentioned earlier, social media acts as a bridge between donors and the beneficiaries which creates feeling of "closeness". According to Kinsbergen and colleagues is the "warm glow" donors and volunteers receive also affected by the perceived distance between them and beneficiaries (2011, p. 63). When the distance from donors to beneficiaries is being experienced as "too far" it is also more problematic to understand personal needs and, of course, the effects of their donations (Kinsbergen, Tolsma, & Ruiter, 2011)

Through social media CIGS can provide a set of emotions to their audience. Volunteers that have trust in the organization's efficiency will experience a stronger "warm glow" from volunteering and therefore the chances of further donations and volunteering increases (Kinsbergen, Tolsma, & Ruiter, 2011, p. 64). In summary, sharing visible outcomes and creating a “warm glow” for viewers contribute to the constitution of pity, partaking and collective commitment. If CIGS can provoke the emotions of closeness and solidarity through social media, they have already secured potential donors (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 113).

As already mentioned, new technologies have made it easier for people to engage and communicate more than ever. Social media have become an important recourse for the mobilization of collective action and CIGS. The development of social media platforms has enabled people to engage in humanitarian aid through their own perception of cultural knowledge, instead of getting fed from conventional medias (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011). The “find your feeling” appeal is a strategy that conveys “inspiring solidarity” (Chouliaraki, 2013, p. 3).

According to Chouliaraki new social networks can work as a tool for effective online-activism without the individual having to do much effort, such as donating money (2013). The *technologization of action* has simplified the viewers mode of civic engagement and charities; “All we need to do is click under the “sign petitions” or “make donations” links” (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 117). This simplification of participation creates room for a broader insight to national, and more importantly, international issues that the global community is expected to care about. Though it is arguably positive that people now have the ability to engage in issues without worrying about geographical limitations or money, some scholars argue that the is type of activism creates “slacktivism” (Glenn, 2015, s. 82). A combination of “slacker” and “activism” which is described to disconnect the awareness and action social media provides. Slacktivism provides people with a sense of satisfaction through “doing something” when in reality there is minimal time and effort spent (Glenn, 2015). Chouliraki is worried about this type of activism since it provides a picture of engagement where the Global North are both actors and viewers, creating a narcissistic spectatorship (2013). Agonism through solidarity requires an affective proximity to the otherness while also providing a pensive distance between “us” and “them”.

4. Methodology

This chapter will present the methodological considerations for this thesis. First, I present the philosophical background and research design. Then, I continue with describing my methods for data collection and analysis, as well as how I have tried to ensure validity and reliability. Lastly, ethical considerations and challenges and risks regarding the research.

4.1 Research Paradigm

Norman Blaikie argues that social research is a way of solving problems or even influence and change social standards (Blaikie & Priest, 2017). To do this you need to question, describe and comprehend certain aspects of social life. The methodology of the research is based on the paradigm that leads the research activity and the questions of social life, more specifically, the questions of the nature of humanity and reality (ontology), the theory of knowledge that informs the research (epistemology) and how we can obtain that knowledge (methodology) (Bryman, 2012, pp. 27-34). A consideration of these three elements, ontology, epistemology and methodology, is a central feature to every social science research as they form and define to the conduct of information (Tuli, 2010). Through epistemology Tuli argue that we must ask "what is the relationship between the knower and what is known? How do we know what we know? What counts as knowledge" (Tuli, 2010, p. 99)? Therefore, in order to understand the problem researched, we translate these elements into one or more research questions (Blaikie & Priest, 2017).

According to Bryman one can consider epistemology to be concerned with what is regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). Positivism, which dominated nineteenth-century philosophy, argues that the purpose of research is scientific explanation (Tuli, 2010, p. 100). Interpretivism on the other hand, which is often seen as the theoretical framework for qualitative research, argues that the world is constructed, explained and experienced through people's interactions and a broader social system (Tuli, 2010, pp. 100-101).

Now, ontology is explained as such: "Questions of social ontology are concerned with the nature of social entities" (Bryman, 2012, p. 32). According to Bryman the ontological questions are grounded to the nature of reality. There are two broad positions: objectivism and constructionism. One can distinct these from each other by the contrasting views, objectivism is the reality you create yourself through the experiences you hold, a way of independent reality while constructionism assumes the reality is a product of social process (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). We cannot avoid being interpreters or viewers of the world around us. How we view the world is a complex composition of community, family and society in general. To conduct information about these realities is the essence of social research and to do so, one needs to look into the considerations of methodology. Methodology can be explained as the translation of ontological and epistemological principles into guidelines (Tuli, 2010, p. 102).

Based on the ontological and epistemological background of the researcher and nature of the research, the researcher chooses her strategy. According to Tuli it has become common for quantitative research to belong to the positivist paradigm and the qualitative to the interpretive paradigm (Tuli, 2010, p. 103). Put very simply, a positivist assumption will be that the world is a fixed and measurable reality, and an interpretivist or constructivist will argue that the world is complex, socially constructed and in constant change. As for my research, I am positioned within an interpretative paradigm, considering how I aim to explore the respondents' use of social media and their reason for doing so. This again has guided my research design and my selection of methods, which I will discuss in the next section.

4.2 Research design: the case study

Research design is the fundamental structure for the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2012, p. 45). It is important to apply a solid research design, as the chosen research design will work as a bridge between research questions and the actual implementation of research (Durrheim, 2006, p. 34). We make observations every day, when we see demonstrations in the streets, we can indicate that something is happening politically or socially and when we scroll through our Instagram feed, we can observe people's life or even learn about a project from another part of the world. According to Durrheim, research differs from these everyday observations because research is systemized (2006, p. 34). There are many ways to create solid research and through planning one can ensure that the research can be conducted with available resources and fulfils its purpose.

The aim for this study is to explore the purpose or motivation for using social media of individual CIGS in Norway. Bryman states that the basic case study involves a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case, but for this thesis the case is not limited to one initiative, but several initiatives (Bryman, 2012, p. 66). Case studies can be a single or multiple-case design, where a multiple case study enables the researcher to explore the differences within and between cases (Yin, 2003). Because comparisons will be drawn, it is imperative that the cases are chosen carefully so it is possible to predict similar results across the cases (Yin, 2003).

A multiple case study design is applied to this thesis. The use of multiple CIGS and their organizations strengthen the results by using constant comparison, thus increasing confidence in the conclusion. The unit of analysis for this study is therefore the phenomenon under study: the motivation and purpose of CIGS social media use, though within the limitations of the organizations studied.

4.3 Sampling/selection of informants

Through a qualitative research one attempt to obtain insights into particular organizations, communities or social processes within a forum or context (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). In order to decide on sampling techniques, it is important to establish a sampling frame. "Discussions of sampling in qualitative research tend to revolve around the notion of purposive sampling" (Bryman, 2012, p. 416). In this study, the sampling frame consisted of selecting various small Norwegian development initiatives that have a strong social media presence. As the study has a qualitative approach, I aimed for a number of nine initiatives, in order to get a deeper understanding of meaning, motivation and purpose rather than having a large number of informants, but with less in-depth information.

The initial idea was to sample information based on how often the initiatives use social media for development purposes and to what degree it is used. Through the in-depth interviews, using a semi-structured interview guide, it became clear that the purpose and motivation behind why the initiatives use social media for their interventions was reoccurring themes the interviewees spoke more eagerly about. Therefore, I started to focus on viewing the initiatives individually and with the use of constant comparison.

According to Onwuegbuzie this sampling design is also known as parallel sampling. Parallel sampling is a sampling strategy that uses comparisons of two or more cases (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007, p. 243). “These designs can involve comparing each case to all others in the sample (i.e., pairwise sampling designs)” (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007, p. 243). The purpose of pairwise sampling in this thesis is to use all selected cases as a set and then compare all the cases individually in order to grasp the fundamental phenomenon (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). The sampling consisted of a sample category with various sub-themes:

Sample categories	*Sub-themes*
Basic information	Type of participant Level of engagement Reason for involvement Frequency of social media use Relationship to social media

Illustration 6, sample categories & sub-themes

The sample size of interviewees consists of nine, representing different development initiatives. All informants are a part of or have founded small-scale volunteer organizations. Keeping in mind that the research is within the interpretive research paradigm, I have used purposive sampling and snowball sampling to choose participants that would be able to answer the research questions (Bryman, 2012, p. 416).

4.4 Recruitment

After deciding on a sampling strategy, it was time to recruit participants. All participants were contacted by e-mail. The first people contacted was gained through my extended network. Working from those, I applied the so-called snowball sampling method, which means that I was directed into contact with other potential interviewees. Yet other were recruited from open websites that provided a list of Norwegian NGOs and volunteer organizations, I also did a search on each initiative’s social media presence. By social media presence I mean how often they write, post and update about development or humanitarian aid related content. The criteria for this search were that the participants frequently posted content about their intervention on social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram. There will be mentioning WhatsApp as a social media as well, but since this platform does not provide full openness, it was not used during sampling and recruiting.

All participants received an introductory email, where I provided a brief explanation of the study and a question whether they would like to participate. Once they clarified this, I sent a formal note and a letter of consent for them to sign. In the following, I will present an overview of my data collection procedures.

4.5 Data collection

Given the research questions and objectives, I have used a qualitative research approach where I mainly applied in-depth interviews. The interviews were guided by a semi-structured interview-guide which led to deeper conversations about the research questions (Bryman, 2012, p. 470) . According to Bryman, semi-structured interviews contain little structure and allow the participant to talk freely (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). The ability for the interviewees to share their opinions and personal knowledge was crucial for this research. For many of the participants, development work is something that is sentimental and holds a lot of value for them. This is also confirmed in the literature, how many small aid actors are triggered by a first emotional encounter (Haaland and Wallevik 2017, Kinsbergen, 2014; Fylkesnes, 2019). Therefore, I started every interview by asking them to tell me how and why they got engaged in development work and aid. The same interview guide was used in all interviews, but some spiraled in different directions within the topic.

Due to the corona crisis, it was necessary to conduct the interviews virtually, this was crucial in order to protect both the participants and the researcher's health. All interviews were done over Zoom, as this is where the University of Agder (UiA) have a data processor agreement. Since I am currently located outside of Norway it was impossible for me to lend a tape recorder from UiA. Consequently, I requested and got granted approval to use an external offline tape recorder. All data, both personal and general, for this research was stored in UiA's password secure server (Office 365 – OneDrive).

4.6 Data Analysis

I transcribed all my interviews, and the interview transcriptions were examined using codes and themes in order to map out themes and patterns. As such, I applied thematic analysis to answer the research questions. Thematic analysis tends to explore common themes in the collected empirical data and is suited for deductive logic (Bryman, 2012, pp. 578-581). The literature and framework described in chapter two and three has further guided the analysis of my findings, building on existing work with this emerging field of citizen aid.

4.7 Reliability and Validity

Validity and reliability are essential characteristics of any research. These characteristics ensure the trust and consistency of the research and whether it is valid and generalizable. Validity is considered the methodological ability to examine what one wants to examine, the observational reflection of the chosen research. Bryman argues that validity is the reflection of integrity with the result and conclusions of the research (2012, p. 47). The validation of the project needs to be an ongoing process throughout, and not as an inspection at the end. Arguably, validity and reliability should be seen as an assess to qualitative studies, such as trustworthiness and authenticity (Bryman, 2012).

The interview guide is also aligned with the research questions to ensure that they are being answered. Transcription is also an important factor in the validation process, as it is written and converted formulations from real life conversations. Reliability is about credibility, a way to make sure that the researcher is taking social reality into account of trustworthiness. Of course, there are multiple aspects of what social reality is, but it is the credibility of the research that decides if it is acceptable for others (Bryman, 2012, p. 390). For example, it can be necessary through secondary data to reflect and examine the context of findings. As much as it is important that reliability is present, it is also important to not let it outplay creativity.

4.8 Permissions

It is the researcher's responsibility to get familiar with the guidelines and regulations at the University of Agder. This includes the *code of practice for processing personal data in research and students' dissertations*. One of the points in this code is the responsibility of handling personal data, which was explained in the “data collection” section. I have notified the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) Which handles assessments of research projects to ensure that personal data protection guidelines and laws are followed. As well as considering the formalities of applying, I have also made sure that the research is in line with the ethical guidelines provided by the National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Science and Humanities (NESH) which will be further described in the next section.

4.9 Ethical considerations

One of the main ethical principles in social research is to do no harm. In order to minimize the possible negative effects of social research, informed consent is essential. The participants need to be fully aware of the purpose of the research, the safety of their personal data and what role they play in the study. A letter of consent was created and distributed to all participants in this research.

Though this study does not include any vulnerable groups it is still important to abide by confidentiality and anonymity. In order to ensure understanding of ethical considerations I have read the national guidelines on the website of the National Research Ethics Committee. The project has obtained all the necessary approval. Furthermore, I will look into confidentiality and discuss them in the light of my methodological choices (Etikkom, 2019)

Finally, confidentiality and anonymity. Confidentiality within a qualitative research is something to pay much attention to and the participants must be informed about what is done with the data that is produced as a result of the interviews. Bryman argues that within quantitative research it is easier to make records anonymous and keep the participants unidentified (Bryman, 2012, p. 136). However, in qualitative research it is important to be thorough with anonymizing names, workplace, profession title or any indicator of who the participant may be, if agreed to be kept anonymous. As Etikkom states it is important that when the researcher promises confidentiality, it implies that any information that can be identifiable of the individual will not be passed (2019). To protect and anonymize the informants and organizations in this study, I have made small changes on the examples taken from their social media accounts. It is important that I show a high level of credibility as a researcher in order to gain maximum trust from the participant, this trust is crucial for the confidentiality between the researcher and participants (Etikkom, 2019). All of the points mentioned in this chapter has been followed.

4.10 Challenges and risks

Qualitative research often includes in-person observation or conversation with participants of the research in order to get a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Nowadays this interaction can lead to a life-threatening virus. The corona virus, also called COVID-19, has been at the top of our minds for more than a year. Not only has it affected the global picture, but it has also been devastating for individuals. Some have lost their jobs, their loved ones and felt extremely loneliness. Considering the nature of qualitative research, the interaction between participants and researchers is high and therefore it has been crucial to maintain the rules and legalities of personal data regulations.

The virtual aspect of the research was well planned, but the execution had its challenges. First, making arrangements to conduct interviews turned out to be a time-consuming process. Many of the participants had a busy schedule and thought the time of an estimated 45 minutes for an interview seemed long. Second, during the recruitment phase there was a lot of rejection. Out of about 30-40 e-mails only 11 people were willing to participate, though two possible participants pulled out because they believed they were too small or not suited for research. Most did either not answer or stop answering shortly after. About half of the participants were hesitant to join, but all participants contributed with true engagement and knowledge, which has been crucial for this thesis.

5. Presentation of empirical data

This chapter will provide an individual presentation of the organizations that were studied for this thesis. The presentations are based on the interviews and their social media platforms. Representatives from nine initiatives were interviewed and will be presented separately. The individual presentations will follow the following structure: background information; to what degree is social media used; purpose of using social media; and main motivators of sharing content. They will be presented from a narrative perspective and will be followed by a deeper discussion in chapter six.

The interviewees identify themselves with the organization and their volunteers when speaking about humanitarian aid and development, therefore they stick to saying “we” when answering questions. I refer to some of the interviewees as founders and others as members, this is because some joined the organization after it was established, but all are part of the boards of the various organizations. Often used is the word “local”, for instance when discussing local managers and local community which is a general term for the recipients and their roles. Other common words used is “engagement” and “information”. Engagement refers to engaging people to follow, like and comment on their posts, but also to donate, possibly volunteering and show interest about the organization’s work. Information refers to informing through social media about the project and project area, which includes specifying costs, showing how beneficiaries live, how they benefit from the project, progress on projects etc.

5.1 Organization 1

Background information

The establisher of the organization, travelled to Kenya with a different small aid organization to build an orphanage. After finishing the project, the small organization were done in the area. The founder had fallen in love with the country and decided that more work had to be done, he wanted to do more, which was his reason for founding a new initiative. He got a local friend and together they wanted to build a new orphanage. When returning to Norway, the founder decided to initiate a flea market where all excess money would go towards the coming project. To get the money to Africa, he would sow the money on to clothing so the authorities would not take it. Once he reached the local village, they bought land and started the building process. The interviewee I talked to as a part of this research became a member of the organization when he was in his twenties and are now thirty years old. After seeing a link on Facebook that asked for volunteers, he replied and ended up in the board. Not long after he took his first trip to Kenya. Now he has been in the organization for almost 10 years.

When he visited the village for the first time, the orphanage was nearly finished, but they were already about to expand, the involved personnel had taken in children to a house nearby that they rented. After some time, it was nearly 70 children living in the finished orphanage. According to the interviewee the people involved started to think about "what happens when they move out?", which was how a new project on education started. The organization started to collaborate with others in order to fund the building project and now they have a newly built school with around 200 students.

The organization sustains the projects through sponsorships and fundraisers in Norway, as well as small businesses in the local area. Social media has become a large part of this aspect as well as creating engagement.

To what degree is social media used?

The interviewee stated that social media is the most used publication channel, and that social media is used to a high degree to sustain the project and creating engagement in Norway. Sustaining the project includes feeding the children living in the orphanage, payrolls for local staff and maintain land area. It covers everything from the financial aspect to information. The information consists of weekly posts of the children, pictures from everyday life in the area and how much money is needed to do certain tasks. The interviewee stated that he is aware that certain content may be perceived differently than initiated which makes it necessary to have meetings and discussions regarding what is being posted. It is the people in the board that decides what content that will be publicized, the board consists of four people. There is no set strategy on frequency but normally they will post three times a week. The interviewee argues that Facebook and Instagram are the most influential and important platform they have. Instead of going from door to door, have stands and other ways of communicating, they are able to reach many people in a very short time.

Purpose of using social media

The organization uses Facebook and Instagram to create groups, post pictures and text to engage people. Facebook can be argued to be the main platform for sharing. They have nearly 3000 followers on their Facebook account and 500 on Instagram. Most of the text is written in Norwegian but the organization have several posts in English too. The interviewee reports that these channels are used because it is what they believe to be the easiest ones to communicate through and manage. He also stated that this is where most of their network and donors are active too. They try to reach out to new groups all the time, both for the purpose of fundraising and for information and engagement. They try to use as many photos as possible, both from when they travel to the project area themselves and those taken by the local staff.

In order to finance the daily running costs, improvements, staff payrolls and other unexpected external factors, social media needs to be constantly updated. Facebook is the fastest and most inexpensive way of communicating with current and possible sponsors. Sometimes there will also be cases of children or families that need extra money due to illness or similar and then they will collect money for that specific cause. For example, on one of their social media posts they have added a picture of a young boy with the text "this is a young 16-year-old boy who has already become a father. He is also suffering from a severe illness that requires hospitalization – we do not have room for him since our medical center is not ready yet. Please donate money so we can get him treated at the local hospital. You can transfer to xxxx. Thank you for donating". They will also post pictures of children to ask for individual sponsoring. These posts often include information about the child, including family history and how much money is needed. Though most of the content revolve around sponsoring and funds, the interviewee reports of another goal, that of creating a bigger understanding for the African culture. They will share videos of traditional dancing, children that are playing and food preparations and similar to give Norwegians an insight into "their" world.

Facebook is also used for recruiting volunteers and certain advocacy cases. The interviewee stated that the goal is to make as much impact as possible and therefore they need social media to spread awareness. The interviewee argues that by using real life photos and insights into what he describes as a hard everyday life, they will achieve attention and empathy from Norwegians. The interviewee argues that if they can give people a new view or teach them how it is to grow up in Africa, then they have successes.

Main motivators:

1. Spread information
2. Fundraising money for individual cases and in general
3. Cultural exchange

5.2 Organization 2

Background information

The interviewee who is now in his thirties now, started the development initiative when he was doing a world travel as a young adult. When he came to Gambia he was taken back by the country's beauty and communities, but also the high level of poverty. Before travelling he had been told not to engage in aid-work, but through connections he met a lot of different people. Once the initiative came in contact with the local community and saw that children did not have food, he felt the need to help them. That is when he got involved in the local situation and started using social media to raise fund for local projects. He created a Facebook group with constant updates. In the beginning, the group consisted mostly of friends and family. He would post detailed content about how much money he needed and for what purpose, a form of direct aid which could be compared to emergency aid initiatives. The initiative spread extremely fast and generated a solid number of resources. He argues that the success is because the money went directly to the cause and with rapid reports on the results. After proven effect and with the help of social media, he established a small organization, meaning that it was registered as an ideal organization.

Since the organization started several years ago, it has initiated and run many different projects. For example, well drilling to get water in the rural villages, crafts and food production and primary education. The most successful and long-standing project is the school they have built from funds gathered from social media which have hundreds of kids attending and paid staff. The financial aspect of the organization used to be fully reliant on social media marketing and fundraising but have now focused on local businesses instead. They have initiated small but effective businesses that generate enough money to pay staff, material and other costs, though larger projects are still covered by sponsors. This is because the organization is trying to make the projects self-sustained by the recipients.

The organization is focused on sustainability, in the beginning of the initiative the interviewee describes their work as mostly emergency aid to alleviate in a difficult situation, but now their main goal is to have the local people take full responsibility for the projects.

To what degree is social media used?

Social media is frequently used to promote projects, fundraising activities and updates about each initiative. The founder of the organization stated that since the projects now are pretty self-sustained, it is not so much to post about. Before they used to post daily content with how much things would cost, rapid updates and constant stories from the area. Most of the income during that time was dependent on social media activity and engagement, therefore it could not go long between each post. All content is managed by the founder, but local staff provides the pictures and videos. It is still of importance to give updates, there are many donors who have been giving money for years and they like to follow the page. He also stated that it is important to give insights here and there so people are assured that they are still doing what they are promising.

The interviewee reports that social media works as a way to legitimize their work and that this is an important aspect to posting updates. Many of the organization's sponsors have been donating for years which is why they feel that it is important to keep the updates frequent.

Purpose of using social media

The interviewee tells that the initiative relies on Facebook as its main platform, they have unsuccessfully tried other platforms as well such as Snapchat and Instagram. The organization has almost 5000 followers on Facebook and most content is written in Norwegian. In the beginning, he would post about specific projects, for example: one time they collected money for seeds to the local community and they raised all the necessary money, but because of a longer dry period in the country all the seeds got thrown away since they did not grow. Though this happened, he does not like to share these kinds of stories as they are quite negative.

Through our interview I got the perception that he likes to keep a positive note on what is being posted and mediated through social media. Often there are many challenging issues during the different projects, but he does not want to broadcast all these issues. The goal was always to be more than an aid-organization, and rather a development organization with a focus on long-lasting effects. The local people must contribute and “pay back” in a way, not just receive. For example, the students that are going to the organization’s school have to pay a small school fee and recipients have to run all projects.

WhatsApp is also used a lot since the recipients have been very ahead when it comes to that platform. The interviewee stated that this app is not so frequently used in Norway, but that the local staff and beneficiaries post stories from the projects and send it to larger group chats. Recently they started a Facebook page for the school, and it is run by the local workers. On the Facebook page the teachers post both learning material and information about the school. Through this page they receive requests from people who want to know more about the school, job applications and requests to enroll kids. They do not generate any funds from this site, but the interviewee argues it has been useful for helping more children.

Main motivators:

1. Fundraising
2. Connect and engage people
3. Updating about results

5.3 Organization 3

Background information

The interviewee who is in her fifties, heard about the organization through a colleague and got interested because the organization focused on giving money directly to the cause and not towards administrative work, which many describe is the problem with established NGOs. She was also very fascinated by the African continent; it was a dream to be able to go there. When the informant was younger, she used to dream about safaris and animals, and that is how she got “caught”, both by the organization and the external surroundings. The interviewee was sponsoring the organization before becoming a member. A volunteer trip was advertised to all sponsors. Moreover, before she left for Zambia, where the project is, the organization had a local coordinator who came to Norway to meet the sponsors, the interviewee got to talk to this coordinator and was very fascinated.

The founders of the organization the interviewee is in, travelled to Africa because of their studies. During the stay they lived close to an orphanage. There was some talk about a village not too far away that they should *not* visit due to the lack of security and traditional rites that often took place there, but even so, they went to visit the village. They noticed that many females were married away and according to the interviewee, treated bad by the local community. That is how they ended up starting a rescue center for girls. The founders showed pictures and told stories about the place and the interviewee immediately wanted to become a member of the organization.

When the interviewee visited the village after joining the organization, she was both shocked and fascinated. She did not see another white person for 14 days and the kids thought she was hilarious. Many years ago, when they built the rescue center, it was only 12 girls and now there are nearly 50 people on the property. Since there has been a lot of growth within the project, there has also been more need for funding. There are more people to feed, more staff to pay as well as security guards are not free either. To fund these expenses the organization use social media to advertise for sponsorship programs and single donations.

To what degree is social media used?

Multiple times per week the organization's founder will post videos and photos from the rescue center, this is mostly on the initiative of the local staff. The interviewee argues that the organization do not need to use social media as much anymore since they have many stabile sponsors as well as secure monthly givers. They do not have many standard Facebook fundraisers but rather informational posts about the girls who live on the property, the staff and project related content. Instead of using fundraisers, the founder sometimes posts on the official Facebook account about a monthly "subscription" to support the girls. For example: "If you donate 60$ you will care for one girl for one month". Social media is also used to show the everyday life of girls who lives at the center and of the local staff. The interviewee stated that the volunteers in the organization use their network to post about them. For example, the interviewee will ask her nephew to make a post about the organization. In that way the organization will reach a new audience and extend their reach. People who know them personally will advocate through their Facebook profiles which according to the interviewee creates a personal engagement.

The use of social media is often based on the need for money. She stated:
"Money money money, that is what it is all about". If there is something they need such as building a new house or investing in animals on the property, they will be more active on social media.

Purpose of using social media

As already outlined, funding seems to be important for the use of social media. However, there are also other important reasons mentioned by my informant. She refers to how the local project managers want to post videos on Facebook from everyday life, dancing and activities daily, but they limit it to being weekly instead. The interviewee thinks this initiative is amazing and believes it is a great way to show how the culture and life is there, but the engagement is not large. Everything the organization publish is in Norwegian, but the official website has English as an option. Out of 300 followers on Facebook only some are interested, it is usually the same people commenting and liking each time.

There are some difficulties with getting engagement from people and now it is mostly friends, family and some other sponsors that are supporting their social media appearance. They try to post content about their work and how much money is needed for a specific cause. The interviewee argues that the more personal, the more engagement and followers. There is a large focus on advocating for cultures and not trying to change it, they aim for a form of online culture exchange. Social media is a strong tool to generate money, but most of the resources come from personal connections.

Main motivators:

1. Culture exchange
2. Fundraising on birthdays
3. Updates on project and connect with people

5.4 Organization 4

Background information

The interviewee is in his sixties and has worked years within computer science and technology, this was a time where internet was not available yet. Through work he got familiar with working in the Global South and wanted to start a project in what he describes as the under-developed area. Since he already had knowledge in the technological field, that is also what became the main theme of the projects. By being in the field of his expertise he has gotten large sponsors and organizations to cover the expenses, therefore the organization is not dependent on social media marketing.

He is the founder of the organization and takes all of the decisions, but he gets some help from part-time volunteers. Especially the social media part has been difficult, he says, as he belongs to the older generation. The project runs in different parts of the world and is usually pretty small. He tries to engage in projects he is able to finish, therefore the expenses should not exceed 40 000-100 000 NOK. Organization 4 works in a different matter than other initiatives in this study, as the projects run small and are solely focused on technology and not directly to social matters. This being said, the initiative emphasizes that the work he does is hopefully making life easier for many.

To what degree is social media used?

When the participant started the organization, it was crucial to have a webpage, this is where he started to post detailed information about the project with pictures and text. But since he had finances to cover, he needed to find ways for people to support him. It was difficult since when the interviewee started to advertise for their PayPal account and used Facebook fundraisers, he noticed that they would take a small commission for the transactions, this was not in line with what he had promised about all money going towards the projects. He would instead talk to other organizations and initiatives that would help with sponsoring and funds of the projects, so that social media would be used as an informative tool instead. The interviewee reports that social media is used often, for example is the content about reposting research, show pictures of project progress, information and international technological progress. In comparison to other interviewees, the initiative often cooperates with other development actors.

Purpose of using social media

In the beginning of the initiative the interviewee would only use their website, but as the times have changed, he has realized the importance of reaching out to the masses. The organization has 500 followers and uses English when writing posts, though some re-posted articles are written in Norwegian. One of the main purposes was to generate more resources, hopefully money or technological help. He would go through different channels, but mostly relies on Facebook because it is what the interviewee is familiar with. The interviewee argues that purpose of social media is to inform people about how the organization uses updated technology to improve people's life.

After he started using Facebook as a way of showing their technology and project development, he got many requests from people who wanted to collaborate with him. He believes that people have reached out because it is easier to support technology-based aid rather than social ones. I asked him if he posted any pictures of the local community, which he answered: "no, not at all. My posts are very project-focused". He also says that because he is of the older generation, he has hired a volunteer who is younger and understands how the new social media platforms work. The interviewee argues that within the past years there has been a change in how development is performed. Nowadays most organizations will try to reach out to the masses and before, it was more so about being personal and send individual updates through mail or text. He has tried to adapt to the new wave of social media use, with remarkable success. "I started posting technological research and pictures from the technology we use and then people from all over the world started to contact me". In other words, the social media platforms have enabled the initiative to create collaborations with various actors.

Main motivators:

1. Posting about technology and research
2. Information about the projects
3. Engage people in renewable energy

5.5 Organization 5

Background information

The interviewee is in her forties and used to be in a different work field when she realized she wanted to do something different and more meaningful. She used to give monthly money to other big organizations, but it tells me in the interview that it was not enough for her. She wanted to be more hands on. This is how she started to look into aid related work on social media. She found a small development organization who advertised for volunteer trips to their projects in Kenya. The interviewee encountered poverty for the first time and reports that this encounter was a motivator to continue with humanitarian aid. The organization the interviewee went with was religious, which was one of the reasons to why she did not want to continue with that initiative. Not long after returning to Norway, she founded her own organization.

The founder had read about Sri Lanka and thought it was a beautiful country, therefore she decided to do humanitarian aid here instead of Kenya. She stated that she knew they also had many issues with poverty. The organization started to work within some of the poorest areas in Sri Lanka with street children. Without any experience she started getting in contact with people so they could create a day offer for homeless children. This project did not last long, and according to the interviewee this was due to the lack of experience and knowledge. The interviewee thought this decision was very hard, but a little while later the organization started up an orphanage project. The project lasted for only a year and after a lot of trying and failing he started to focus on sustainability and climate changes.

The organization consists of two people as the main contributors, it was hard to find someone to trust in the local area, but after some time there was a lady who shared the same passion for humanitarian work. She is now the manager of the organization. The initiative is highly dependent on social media to communicate about the project and with each other.

To what degree is social media used?

Social media is the main and only communication tool, it is used daily and to fulfill nearly all tasks. These tasks include to get in contact with potential donors and provide details about the projects. The founder is the one who posts on the organization's official accounts. The interviewee will post all kinds of content, as long as they draw attention to the cause and goal. The cause is to provide beneficiaries with solutions to tackle poverty such as growing plants and sell them, and the goal is to get enough donations through social media to sustain the project. The interviewee argues that she would not have been able to have projects if it was not for social media. They use social media on a daily basis to engage about the project, get in contact with others and to reach out to new people.

Purpose of using social media

Both WhatsApp, Instagram and Facebook are often used. WhatsApp does not offer "followers" as Facebook and Instagram, but the interviewee reports that there is a lot of engagement like messages from the local community. The organization has 3000 followers on Facebook and almost 1000 on Instagram. Everything is posted in English to reach an international audience. She tries to post pictures and videos from everyday life, but also from the projects he has going on. "I use it for everything, fundraising, information, reaching sponsors and also to make sure that we update people who believe in us". The interviewee argues that when you are a small organization trust is essential, this trust can be established with communication which social media is key in. For example: the organization had a Facebook fundraise to be able to buy seeds to the local village. While people were donating, they would post updates about how much money the organization had gotten so far. When the fundraiser was over, the founder would post photos of the delivery truck with seeds and the process of handing them out to people. They also updated weeks later with pictures and videos on how the plants were growing and of the recipients who received them. The interviewee argues that they have to post pictures regularly so that people may be more willing to donate again.

Another way the organization is using social media is to get more volunteers. Through Facebook the organization has people from all over the world following their page which is useful in the process of recruiting volunteers and local staff. According to the interviewee is the most useful strategy is to post a "searching for local volunteers" post on Facebook and Instagram. The following base she has managed to build up is mostly from Norway and Sri Lanka therefore it is easy to recruit new volunteers both in the receiving country and Norway. He is focused on women empowerment and wishes local women to engage in the project.

Since the initiative and organization is small and highly dependent on individual sponsors to function, social media is key. The interviewee has noticed that if she uses social media in a more strategic way, the possibility for more stable sponsors also increases. This means that the founder has gotten somewhat familiar with social media algorithms and what times it is beneficial to post. It is a way of communicating issues and successes the organization has, which makes people believe in them more.

Main motivators:

1. To reach out to as many as possible
2. Fundraising
3. International recruitment

5.6 Organization 6

Background information

The interviewee is in his sixties and have spent years working as a soldier in the Global South, according to him this is where he noticed how much other countries are lacking and the need for help. There were a lot of strong impressions from his time as a soldier which made it difficult to engage in aid-related work, but once on a holiday in India he asked his wife if they should consider helping some children in the area. It was a lot of poverty and they got in contact with some families, the interviewee explains that they simply could not decide or limit who to help, it was impossible to just pick and choose. This encounter with poverty and especially seeing poor children was what triggered him to start the initiative. The organization was funded by the interviewee and his wife, there are now four people in the board and some volunteers.

The initiative has spent a lot of time in the local area and learned about what the interviewee describes as differences between the local people and community. The recipients have had large issues regarding ethnic conflicts, which is why the interviewee focused on peacebuilding on the side of humanitarian work. They built a school some years ago where they demanded a mix of ethnicities, and the local government has been very happy with their initiative and has supported it. The first school that was built could suit 62 students, but on the ignition day more than 200 people showed up, so the organization had to expand right away. Now they are in the building process of a school that can take in more than 450 students. The founder also wants another school that follows the children from kindergarten through high school, this school will fit 650 students.

The organization is a team of multiple people, they have combined their job in Norway with the initiative. This means that the job in Norway sustains their personal life and the projects. All excess money from the business they have at home goes to cover project expenses and other necessaries. The organization have also started various businesses in the receiving country such as rice production to increase income. Both the business in Norway and the project in Southeast Asia is marketed through various social media platforms.

To what degree is social media used?

Social media is a daily routine for the organization. Every day they will connect with others and post about the project. The biggest motivation and highest degree of social media use is to generate recourses. The business in Norway is an initiative where they sell secondhand products. Since the business is connected to the organization, they post updates from that on the same platforms as. The products are posted on their channel so the audience can see and hopefully buy. For example, most of the posts are pictures of different items such as clothing and furniture with text that informs about the price and that they can ship it if wanted. In the information section, also called “bio”, they have written that all donations and purchases go towards the project. Products are sold nationally with clients all over Norway.

The founder of the organization has also recently decided on getting more publicity by opening a website and starting platforms for the recipients too, which they will be in charge of. Here the volunteers and local staff will post about the schools, the businesses or other information that they find valuable. The interviewee reports that they have not yet decided on which platforms this will be through, but that he has gotten younger Norwegian volunteers to look at it.

Purpose of using social media

The main platforms for spreading information are Instagram and Facebook, but they also use WhatsApp and their website and daily. WhatsApp is mostly for the local staff to post stories about the work they do, this generates messages and comments from their network in the local area. On Facebook they have 300 followers and 100 followers on Instagram. Most of the content is written in Norwegian but as stated above, the recipients have been trying to get the founder to open a social media account for the people in the receiving country. The interviewee reports that the local platforms will be in English and the local languages. The organization do not post many social media for fundraisers because they already have an income by selling stuff online and in store.

Before the coronavirus the organization sold all their products in-store, but the interviewee emphasized that they had to start being more creative. Therefore, Instagram and Facebook were updated with content about products. They also started shipping nationally in Norway, which enabled more people to buy from them. According to the interview they have almost doubled their income compared to other years. The founder believes that social media is the reason for that. It created a platform for sale and since the organization started to be more active on it, more people noticed them.

The interviewee argues that because he is older, he does not know much about the social media platforms which is why he has a team of two who help him, they will also be helping with the social media accounts directed to the local area. His goal is to focus on all groups within the area they work in and therefore it is crucial to have a platform where everyone can reach. So far, their reach locally has been through word of mouth, but he has realized that they miss a lot of people by doing it this way. The relation between the recipients and the organization is very close and he has a lot of faith that they will bring the project further, even if he retires.

Main motivators:

1. To reach out to people
2. To generate funds through social media marketing
3. Expand reach in receiving country

5.7 Organization 7

Background information

The interviewee who is in his fifties has previous experience in working with quality systems that are being implemented by cooperation’s and businesses in Norway. The interviewee tells me about a coworker who had been implementing these quality systems in the African nation for years and wanted him to join. After spending some time in Tanzania, the interviewee was fascinated by the country and saw what he believed was the need for help.

The interviewee then joined a small religion-based organization but was not agreeing with how they performed development. According to the interviewee they were too focused on up-keeping and not development. Him and three others then decided to establish an NGO that focuses on sustainability and education. The organization won a price in Norway which allowed them to buy land, the goal was to build a school that focused on technical education. The organization now has a development center with a kindergarten and elementary school as well as a health center. Though they managed to accomplish a lot, they were met with multiple challenges. The organization got scammed when trying to buy land, so they ended up getting a land area that was almost impossible to work with, because of this they had to buy extra land. The interviewee reports that they have started to rent out access land areas which generate some money.

The goal is to get skilled local workers that can run the projects alone with only some administrative and financial help from Norway. They try to hire qualified staff through social media and teach new skills to local people.

To what degree is social media used?

Social media is used often, and Facebook is the main platform. The interviewee stated that the most important aspect of using social media is to keep in contact with people that have contributed towards the project and those that have joined them on volunteer trips. This is done through constant updates about small projects that are being done such as planting seeds or building rabbit hatches for production. The organization always make sure to write a special thanks to those who have volunteered for them and contributes financially.

Another important aspect is to show people what the money is going towards. The interviewee argues that this is crucial in order to gain trust from followers and sponsors. For example, during the pandemic have they posted various updates on how they are managing the lockdowns and how students are affected. The organization try to post news from the area such as thoughts on political matters and re-posting informational articles written by local news or blogs. The interviewee explains that this is to show people that they are updated on local matters. Through social media they also connect with local people and show how everyday life is for the recipients. To manage social media, they have a team consistent of a few people from the board that makes sure they are active and that are handling fundraisers and so on.

Purpose of using social media

One of the main purposes of using social media is to reach people in the local area, they are constantly looking for skilled staff and recruitment is important. The organization has nearly 1500 followers on the Facebook account, which the interviewee describes as a good amount. Most of the content is written in Norwegian but the interviewee stated that they also use English to reach out to localities, though most sponsors are from Norway. The organization does often receive CVs and application letters, which has been a motivation to continue the frequent use of social media.

The initiative has multiple people on their payroll such as teachers, nurses, caretakers and other staff. To finance the projects the interviewee reports that they use fundraisers. In order to ensure trust between the givers and the organization they post content about what the fundraised money goes towards and that it is actually worth donating. The interviewee tells me that they often use birthdays as a reason to fundraise because they generate more funds. One of the birthday fundraisers on their Facebook have a written text that says: "Birthdays are still worth to celebrate, even in corona times. Helene's 40th birthday is coming up - she would like to give a gift to the children in Tanzania and hope you will do the same! They need it more than ever due to the situation in the world. Donate to xxx with the message "Helene". There are also pictures of smiling children in the post. They have a small market group who solely focus on social media, which has been beneficial for strategizing and reaching out to more people. Another important aspect of using social media is to show a positive image of the local community and the interviewee stated that one of the main goals for the organization is to create understanding between cultures. For example, the majority of the posts involve local people that are doing hard work in regard to the projects. The informant tells me that the organization want to create a better image of aid work with a broader focus on actual development and not just maintenance. Social media is key for this communication.

Main motivators:

1. Culture exchange
2. Fundraising
3. Recruitment of volunteers and local staff

5.8 Organization 8

Background information

The interviewee who is in his forties used to work in a hospital in Colombia as some sort of exchange and saw how much help was needed in the area. He found a small development organization that worked with poverty relief but did not agree with how they ran their projects. Therefore, he founded a small independent organization to help poor families and orphanages. To gather funds, he created a Facebook group where he updated on the situation in Colombia with pictures of the local children. When enough resources were gathered the founder started building an orphanage that could room up to 10 children. The receiving country has strict rules about orphanages, and they are not allowed to have more than 10 children but due to high demand they have gotten allowance to room 14.

The organization is small, and the interviewee is the only leader and decision-maker. There are some volunteers from time to time, but not many. In comparison to other informants in this study, the interviewee does not dedicate as much time to the organization due to family and limited free time. The interviewee reports that most of the communication with the recipients and coordinators is through social medias and calls.

As well as the orphanage, the organization are sponsoring families outside the facility by using a sponsorship program where primarily Norwegians can support "their own family". The project relies on engagement from Norway. The interviewees local (Norwegian) community contribute in various ways to financially support the organization through flea markets and selling goods. Social media is used to advertise for these initiatives as well as informing about the orphanage.

To what degree is social media used?

The interviewee stated that social media is crucial for the work they do. It is a facilitator for connecting with sponsors through communication. Since the initiative is small, the founder is worried about donors not believing their contributions matters. Therefore, he makes sure that the content provides an assurance to donors that the children are benefiting from all donations. For example, on the organizations Instagram profile there is a picture of a young girl with ripped clothes with the written text that says: “This girl has had a hard life, because of your help we will make her life better! #makeadifference #sponsoring #helping”.

The interviewee stated that he is hesitant about posting since the children are young and in a vulnerable situation. He explains that he has seen documentaries on the bad sides of the internet which has caused this worry. The interviewee also stated there are bad people in the local community that can do harm if they see pictures on social media. There is a compromise that has to be made, the organization needs to show that they are using sponsor contributions as well as protecting the children’s privacy. Their social media platform is meant for Norwegians and all content are written in Norwegian. They try to follow what other organizations do when it comes to content and frequency.

Purpose of using social media

Social media and their website are the building blocks of the initiative. Facebook is used daily as well as WhatsApp is a big part of the local communication. Before committing mostly to Facebook, they used to have personal sponsor-letters which included names and stories about their life, they still do this but on a smaller scale. They also tried Instagram but did not create the same engagement as with Facebook. The purpose of social media is mainly to generate funds and to make this possible it is important that they use photos from how it “really is”. The interviewee has had some issues with Facebook algorithms and has become more dependent on face-to-face communication. Because of that he has become more reserved when using social media.

There is a need for constant support, and to ensure that they need to include very personal pictures of both children and adults to prove that the money is going to the right places. In the country they perform development work in it is quite modern and they do not have to worry about huge cultural differences over social media. One thing they are worried about is that the use of social media in the receiving country will create jealousy and resentment amongst local people. Therefore, the initiative has made sure that no one from the local area has access to her or the organization’s page.

Main motivators:

1. Fundraise through their page and through followers

2. Gain/keep trust with their sponsors
3. Individual support for recipients

5.9 Organization 9

Background information

The interviewee who is in her sixties has worked for large development organizations in the past. Once on a travel to Congo she experienced a situation which caused for severe emergency aid. She was working for a different organization, and she was questioning how they handled the situation and the methods they used. The informant tells me that because of this she wanted to start her own small organization. Now there are multiple volunteers in Norway and staff in the receiving area. The goal of the initiative is to work closely with the local people as well as having a genuine motivation to help others. The interviewee stated: "the biggest difference from a person born in a developing country and for example Norway is our mind and choice – for Norwegians there is a foundation and faith within the soul that everything will be ok, no matter what happens. This is not the case for poor people, they cannot trust the government or the police. It is in my belief that we all deserve to feel safe and worthy". The initiative argues that this statement is a good way to describe her motivation for doing humanitarian aid.

The interviewee is inspired by wanting to do good without creating a begging society. She explained to me during the interview that this means that she does not agree with how other organization's perform development. These organizations assumingly help poor areas by giving them money without engaging the local people in the work. This is not how the organization wish to work.

They have multiple large projects; the organization has opened a school for children up until 16 years old as well as a food program which allows elderly people to eat 5 times a week. They also have a meeting place for women to increase creative thinking and networking. In the future they want to build an orphanage. Every year, with the exception of when corona came, the organization will travel down with volunteers who want to see how it is. On their social media platforms, they refer to this as "a travel with purpose".

To what degree is social media used?

Social media has become a strong tool to generate funds for the organization. They publicize content on their Facebook and Instagram often. The posts vary, but it usually includes local people receiving aid or of the staff working. The most frequent content is pictures from volunteer trips. For example, the founder posted a picture of volunteers who are doing project work and in the text she wrote: "This post is about finding ways even if our lives changes♡ This family lived in Congo for a while and helped with the feeding program for the elderly with the organization. They had to go home to Australia but never forgot about us. But they are still contributing. Thank you so much and as I usually say when people leave us; Please do not forget." These posts are meant to contribute towards getting more volunteers. The interviewee argues that social media enables the organization to connect with people. They have established sponsors from all over the world. Most of the content is written in English but some posts are in Norwegian. Though it is a small organization there is one volunteer who is helping with social media accounts and content, but all content needs to be approved by the founder. The founder writes most posts from her point of view and in I form, this is to get a personal connection with possible sponsors.

Purpose of using social media

Facebook and Instagram are the main platforms. The interviewee reports that these platforms seem natural as they are good for sharing information and most of her network is there. On Facebook the organization has nearly 2000 followers and 1000 on Instagram. The founder has tried to use snapchat, but it did not work as hoped. Through social media the interviewee reports that she wishes to convey information about the projects, the local area and the core values of the organization. When it comes to posting about the projects most of the content is pictures of smiling recipients and volunteers. The organization has various collaborations with other actors such as Norwegian schools, which is often promoted through Facebook. These collaborations are mostly connected with volunteering for shorter periods in the receiving country.

It is important that their followers or volunteers share the same value as the organization, therefore they try to educate the followers as much as possible. Multiple posts on Facebook and Instagram brings up the topic of respect. There are a vary of pictures of the local community where the founder adds a text saying "the core value of this organization is mutual respect. The founder stated that this is so the audience can learn and understand this way of doing development. According to her, this should be at the base of every development actor.

As for Facebook, the organization often runs fundraising campaigns as well as talking about specific cases that come up. For example, right now they are focused on taking care of elderly people in the local community, which they fundraise and use their current funds for. These posts include practical information about the project and how it is executed as well as beneficiaries. The fundraisers are a large part of the organizations budget, and the interviewee argues that social media is the best way for marketing due to its low costs.

Main motivators:

1. Show respect for the people in the projects
2. Share information
3. Fundraising for specific cases as well as general budget

6. Discussion & analysis

In the chapter above one got to understand the individual participants of this study. In the next section of this thesis, I am presenting a discussion about common themes of the organizations. Then, I am presenting motivation and use of social media and last, a presentation on purpose and COVID-19. All sections will be discussed against the backdrop of chapter two and the theoretical framework.

6.1 Common themes of the organizations studied

6.1.1 How it all started

The informants had different reasoning and motivation for entering the field of development. As mentioned in chapter 2.1, I present Haaland and Wallevik's attempt to categorize four emerging groups of CIGS: the accidental aid agent, the aid-entrepreneurs, young solidarity workers and trans-locals (2017, p. 206). For this study most belongs to the accidental aid agent and aid-entrepreneur, though there are some fluidities. One of the interviewees started as a young solidarity worker when he was travelling around the world during a gap-year. Later, the interviewee has emerged into an aid entrepreneur role. Another three interviewees started their initiative through a work-related encounter. Two had knowledge in a technical field and was introduced to the global south through a work-trip, this encounter sparked the idea of combining humanitarian aid and practical work such as implementing solar panels in the Global South. The other interviewee had years of experience within larger NGOs. Arguably, some of these interviewees do fit in the category of aid-entrepreneurs as they intend to establish projects that goes beyond traditional NGOs (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017). The further organizations got introduced to development work after an emotional encounter during a holiday.

Most of the informants in this study were able to kickstart their initiatives due to social media and its cheap marketing possibilities. Some founders, especially those considered "accidental aid agents" and "young solidarity worker", started sharing thoughts from their encounters in the Global South on social media to get friends and family to emotionally connect with what they were experiencing. One informant argued that he could not just "sit back and watch" children walking around hungry and therefore he had to figure out an effective way of giving help. Based on social media content, a certain "shock-effect", which will also be further discussed in chapter 6.3.1, has been used. Chouliaraki argues that this is a way to ensure the attention of potential donors (Chouliaraki, 2010). Other informants, especially the older ones in this study, have not used social media as a starting point for the initiative but rather as a further development of the organizations. This means that these participants used mostly closed communication such as e-mails and calling or text-messages to engage people in the process of doing independent humanitarian aid.

Following the trend that is seen in European CIGS, as well as for my study, the initiatives projects are tangible and concrete such as budling orphanages, one to one sponsoring for education and building schools (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013; Pollet et al., 2014; Fylkesnes, 2019). Though these projects were the usual case for ongoing aid, there was noted some different common themes for the beginning phase of the initiatives. One of the interviewees would look for quickly fixed problems that could be solved through rapid donations. For example, he would communicate and "hang out" with the local community, if he noticed that some did not have food or clothing, he would upload it on Facebook and ask for money to buy it. As such, the social media became an arena for getting quick funds. As the time went on and he received more donors, the more he could ask for. Eventually the initiative reached enough trust and positive feedbacks to start a larger project such as a school. Another interviewee has gone through a trying and failing phase, which seem to be common for most of the initiatives in this study. In the beginning of her initiative, she would try to map out areas that "needed improvement" but failed on every attempt of starting a project. Then the interviewee decided on connecting interests and aid which created a focus on climate and sustainability. According to herself this focus has created a closeness with the followers on social media since the people are generally more interested in those fields nowadays.

Characteristics of CIGS is that they are focused on symptoms of poverty instead of deeper structural issues. Most interventions are based on visible needs that require concrete solutions (Kinsbergen, Schulpen, & Ruben, 2017). A further extension of these assumptions can be drawn to this study as well: when the issues are visible and concrete, they are also easier to image and document. By documenting these issues on social media with their network, they are enabling a rapid and easy response solution for people to participate. Social media has created a room for CIGS to initiate and expand their interventions, which motivates towards future use and development.

6.1.2 Time investment, frequency of social media use and efficiency

Nearly all initiatives presented in this study have a fulltime job next to their initiative. Kinsbergen and colleagues argues that “the cost of volunteering depends on the value of people’s time” (2011, p. 62). People who have full-time jobs and less free time is less likely to donate time to volunteering compared to those with part-time or no occupation. The role overload theory[1] indicates that this is because the lack of free time makes it more precious (Kinsbergen, Tolsma & Ruiter, 2011). To a certain extent my results corresponds with this theory. Two of the interviewees holds a job that is connected to the organization. One founder has opened up a secondhand store where all income from sales goes towards the project. Another founder has started a business with various services in the same name as the organizations where most of the income goes to the projects. As well as having more time to focus on the initiative there is also seen a connection between devoted time to volunteering and frequency of social media.

The interviewees that stated that their job was connected to the organizations also spent more time on social media advertising for it. For example, one founder posts daily updates on Facebook and Instagram about what products are being sold and what difference you will make in someone’s life if you buy it. He does not distinguish the business and aid related content as he stated it is “for the same cause anyways”. The same can be seen of the other founder who have connected business and organization. There are daily overlapping posts about what services the business provides, and aid related content. The other CIGS spends only parts of their free time and energy on the organization. One of the participants stated: “I guess you can call it a type of hobby”. These CIGS only post aid related content on the organization’s account and with a lower frequency. Some of the interviewees reports that they post about two to three times a week, or as often as time allows them. Scholars argue that CIGS often find themselves in a vacuum of time and budget restrictions (Kinsbergen, 2014, p. 142). Kinsbergen argues that the initiatives facing larger time restrictions in their paid jobs are also using less time in their initiatives, considering social media as part of their

[1] Role overload theory is when an individual fulfills multiple roles simultaneously and lacks the resources to perform them (APA, n.d)

initiative, that statement is seen in this research as well (Kinsbergen, 2014, p. 155).

Time spent on the initiative and on social media also seem to measure a goal of efficiency, but how? The emerging theme is that through social media CIGS are able to express their devotion to volunteering. Nearly all informants stated that social media allows them to show others how much the initiative mean to them. Through this real passion potential donors will act. The social distance to the mediator is an important factor for the relation between giver and observer. Bekker emphasizes that if you are introduced to a charitable organization through a friend or someone you trust rather than a stranger it increases the chances of them making a contribution (Bekkers, 2004, s. 67). Bekker's theory underlines the fact that the CIGS in this research heavily relies on their close network, and it is through these connections that their initiative spread. One of the interviewees regularly posts in the form of a personal narrative to describe what has been done. For example, through one-on-one sponsorship they provide money for school fees to young students in the local community. On the organizations Facebook account, the following is written: "Hi friends! I am standing here with four students who are getting money from you guys. I have handed out checks today and now they are ready to continue secondary school ☺". Similar posts were updated almost weekly during time-period when school starts, and the founder explains this as when people see proven efficiency and genuine engagement (from the CIGS) on social media with rapid updates, they become more credible as an organization. I am assuming the personal narrative is to create a connection between potential donor and provide a personal appeal to friends and family. Arguably, this narrative can also be seen in light of Rutledge's argument that connection provides a collective empowerment towards goals, which again can provide a sense of self-actualization for the founder and the initiative (Rutledge, 2011).

The interviewees assumption of proving efficiency with frequent updates is confirmed through scholars as well. When people recognize organizations as efficient, they are more likely to contribute (Bekkers, 2004). Another interviewee stated: "if I am not frequently updating on social media, how are people going to see all the amazing progress we have". By posting frequently on social media and showing "genuine" engagement the CIGS are providing the viewers an insight to their work, which evidentially works as strategy to prove efficiency and credibility. According to the interviewees is time spent on the initiative a crucial factor towards measuring efficiency, the more you update – the bigger is the involvement. Or, from another point of view, the more you update – the bigger is the fulfillment towards self-realization (Rutledge, 2011; Maslow, 1943).

6.1.3 Age, relation to social media and choice of platforms

Another common concept amongst the CIGS interviewed was how age affected both the relation to social media and the choice of platforms. Three of the interviewed CIGS that is in their sixties stated that they have younger volunteers to help with social media content. There also seemed to be a general lack of knowledge about the various platforms within this age group. One of the founders had started the initiative decades ago and during that time the most used tool for communication with sponsors was through e-mail. In comparison to those in their sixties, the younger generation in this study manage and control the social media accounts with no help from others. Social media is in constant change, and it is not surprising that those who are older struggle more with the adaption to social media platforms. Miller and colleagues describe this as a shift in communication networks and a generational gap which makes it hard to follow up on changes (2016, p. 3).

> *"Because I am of the older generation, I have hired a volunteer who is younger and understands social media. Within the past years there have been a change in how development work is performed, nowadays organizations want to reach out to the masses. Before it was about being personal and send emails and individual updates"*
> – Male (60)

The constant change on social media platforms makes it apparent that it is hard for those in earlier generations to follow. Some of the CIGS still provide emails to their donors with detailed descriptions of achievements and even personal information about recipients. Though most interviewees argued that the process of making individual messages became too time consuming. All interviewees use Facebook as the main platform for posting and majority of the younger interviewees have looked into other platforms as well.

Over the last few years, the largest growth in platforms has been within Instagram and Snapchat (Miller, et al., 2016, p. 10). Some of the founders have experimented with the efficiency of various platforms and came to the conclusion that WhatsApp, Facebook and

Instagram is the most beneficial for organizational matters. Snapchat did not fit the format of what the founders wanted to communicate. The main criterion for choosing platforms is the ability to construct a space for virtual care. This space is a building block to sustain connections which are vital for CIGS (McKay & Perez, 2019). One of the interviewees tried Snapchat during a visit to the receiving country, but since the platform only allows short videos that disappears after a while it made it difficult to convey context for the viewers. Another interviewee believes that the donors they are looking for is not active on Snapchat, therefore it would be pointless. While some shared an opinion about the various channels, two of the interviewees had no relation to or knowledge about other platforms than Facebook and WhatsApp. In general, the interviewees had little to no knowledge of how the platforms worked as an analytical tool. This is contradicting to earlier assumptions that CIGS use social media more analytically to see what posts generate most response (McKay & Perez, 2019). To a certain extent some of the younger interviewees tried to follow up on how much attention each post gets, but it is limited to solely looking at comments and likes. Arguably, the informants age and choice of platform influences the use of social media. It is clear that there is a general lack of knowledge about social media, even for the younger informants. This may act as a possible disadvantage towards their intervention.

6.2 Motivation and use of social media

6.2.1 Money and donors

When asked what the main motivator is behind using social media for their CIGS, most interviewees stated fundraising and reaching potential donors. Some of the interviewees have started small businesses such as rice production and small-scale agriculture in the receiving country to financially contribute to the projects, but although these businesses generate some income, they are still dependent on social media fundraisers and sponsor agreements. Other interviewees rely on fundraisers and online donations as an only source of income.

CIGS are living in the reality of *material scarcity* due to large budget limitations (Appe & Schnable, 2019, p. 1840). For this study, most of the interviewees reports that it is difficult to start and sustain projects because the budget is low. When asked what motivates to post aid related content, one of the founders answered: “money is the motivation”. According to Appe & Schnable CIGS are less likely to get larger grants from the state or from established NGOs which may explain the need for social media marketing (2019, p. 1833). Another interviewee was asked why they did not apply for funding to where she answered, “they simply require too much, I do not have all the documentation that is required in the application process”. The CIGS tangible and limited scope projects often require a stabile income to pay staff, equipment and other regular expenses, which most do not have (Kinsbergen, Tolsma & Ruiter, 2011; Appe & Schnable, 2019). On the other side, two of the interviewees have gotten granted funds before, but only on a single occasion. Another two interviewees had applied to a grant to cover “lost income” due to the corona crisis, which they got.

An interviewee tells me that “social media itself is not what constitutes development, but it provides the resources that does [money]”. In order to come up with solutions to a more stable flow of donations, many of the interviewees have created different strategies for sponsorship agreements. On one of the organization’s Facebook, they advertise:

> “Give children a brighter future by donating today:
> **It costs 3$ per day to care for a child in our center and have them saved from violence.**
>
> Options for monthly contributions:
> - 30$ cares for 1 child for 2 weeks
> - 60$ cares for 1 child for one month
> - 120$ cares for 1 child for 2 months
>
> Your donation allows us to:
> 1. Cover medical bills for those living in the facility
> 2. Provide schooling for some of the children
> 3. Cover general costs of running a rescue center and further expansion”

The organization chooses an appeal of inspiring solidarity as well as providing information about what the donated money will be used for. Scholars argues that posts like the example above provides a possible “warm glow” to the potential donor (Kinsbergen, Tolsma, & Ruiter, 2011). This means that the potential donors are explained that because they donated, they will contribute to bettering the lives of these children. This appeal does not only aim at providing aid, but also at the donor’s desire to help (Malkki, 2015). Are these strategies a part of the social media strategy? The interviewee answers that they do not have any set strategies, but that it is important to make donors trust them and feel good about contributing. The organization also follow up on donations through their Facebook by thanking donors and showing how the money is being used. For example, “Thank you, Jan for your contributions 🙏 Because of you and others we are building a new fence”.

Another organization that focuses on sustainable agriculture have created a sponsorship program for land space. There are frequently updates and the donors’ name are almost always included. For example: “For 300 kr a month you can sponsor a land area that poor families can use to plant greens 💪” and “Thank you Marius for sponsoring. They say: Give a man a fish and he will not go hungry for a day. Teach the man how to fish and he might be able to fish his own fish. Well, give a man small land area and he does not have to go further than 100 meters 😂” Similar to the other example, this organization also focuses on making the potential donor aware of what their donations will mean. Both the initiative who posts and the reader is given a potential feeling of doing good, a sense of personal growth combined with the rewarding act of giving (Andreoni, 1989; Becker, 1974).

The relationship between money and donors clearly affects both the CIGS and beneficiaries. The initiatives find themselves in a paradox of fundraising for money to create sustainable projects, but then having to spend them directly (and publicly) on beneficiaries to satisfy donors. What this means is that most of the organizations advertise for contributing to change deeply rooted structural issues such as poverty and lack of education, but because an assumed pressure from donors (or themselves), they end up having to spend the money rapidly and publicly on «small issues». Though they provide engagement and “warm glow” through communication on social media, they are still not providing projects that have long-lasting solutions.

6.2.2 Reputation

As mentioned earlier, Kinsbergen and colleagues argues that volunteers who have trust in the organization’s efficiency will experience a stronger “warm glow” when donating and therefore the chances of further contributions and volunteering increases (Kinsbergen, Tolsma, & Ruiter, 2011, p. 63). Oh & Syn states that reputation is one of the most common motivations for using social media and it is clear through the interviews that it is the case for the informants too, but what creates a good reputation? One of the interviewees stated that for a small organization a good reputation comes from posting frequent updates. For example, showing images of happy recipients and that they are participating in ongoing projects such as at the school in school uniforms. These images are referred to as "positive images" which is discussed in chapter 2.6, and though this appeal is criticized by many (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 114), they seem to create a positive reaction in the interviewed organization's comment section. One follower writes "amazing work♡" and others follow up with hearts and thanking messages. Most interviewees share similar thoughts about what creates a good reputation, but some report that a good reputation occur if you have a strong connection with your online community, also referred to as online social engagement (Oh & Syn, 2015). This connection, explained by interviewees, is built by liking and replying to comments with those who engage on the profile.

Then, what creates a bad reputation? Some informants had not put any thought into this, "we only want the best for them (the recipients) and that shines through our social media channels" was an answer that was repeated a couple of times. One interviewee argued that if mass media posted an article saying they spend money on administration, that could be the end of the organization. According to Kinsbergen is skepticism regarding the effectiveness and efficiency of development organizations often present within donors. Skeptical donors are convinced that ineffective and inefficient organizations are wasting money on administrational costs and as mentioned earlier, donors that trust the organization tend to do donate more (Kinsbergen, 2014, p. 101). If they are unable to convince donors that they will actually make a difference for beneficiaries that can possibly be a breaking point for some CIGS (Kinsbergen, 2014, p. 99).

One informant stated that it is social media engagement, like how many likes they receive or people sharing their posts, that determine what other people think of them, especially since the organization became "so online" during Covid-19. One of the interviewees stated, "I always try to be as personal as possible with those who are liking/commenting our page". Reputation acts as a motivation for CIGS to post content that puts them "in a good light", as one of the interviewees describes it. There are some reputations about CIGS that some of the interviewees disagree with. As mentioned earlier in chapter 1.1, CIGS are often referred to as "amateurs" in the field of international development by other aid actors (Haaland & Wallevik, 2017). For this study, most interviewees try to remove that reputation.

> *"I did not want to be in a large organization because I do not agree how they work; I want to show on social media that we actually care about those we help (the recipients)"*
> - Woman (70)

Another interviewee would also like to be distinguished from large organizations but do sometimes collaborate with other CIGS or take inspiration from them on social media. Potentially, support organizations can help CIGS with management and technical skills, but these collaborations often do not lead to these outcomes (Appe & Schnable, 2019). If the organizations choose to collaborate with other development actors, they also risk losing their own "warm glow" by doing it themselves.

The founders and initiatives are also considered "needy" in the aspect of self-realization (Maslow, 1943). Reputation may act as a way of ensuring donors' and provide them security of their donations, but it is evident that the cost of personal growth should not be at risk. The "warm glow" acts as a motivator for the initiatives to keep posting and the givers to donate.

6.2.3 "Making it" internationally

Most of the interviewees reports that they have a shared goal of creating a community with likeminded people through their platforms. Miller and colleagues argue that social media provides us with a community feeling (2016). Multiple interviewees argues that the ultimate goal would be to have this community internationally as well as in Norway. Most platforms enable connection across borders, which have been an important aspect for the CIGS in this study, but what measures are they taking to reach an international audience, or more importantly, sponsors? One of the interviewees started posting everything on Facebook in English and after some time they had got their biggest sponsor yet, from the USA. A second interviewee reports that the organization is in the making of a new Facebook and website that has multiple language options such as Norwegian, English and Hindu. This is to reach more people in the receiving country as well as possible donors elsewhere. A third interviewee writes all content in Norwegian but re-posts informational articles such as technological research from BBC Science in English, because of that the organization often get messages from (international) people asking them to explain further.

> "*Facebook has all the tools for development purposes. There is a button for fundraising, sharing opportunities and limitless interaction possibilities. The people following our Facebook page are from all over the world.*"
> - Woman (40)

> *"When we post, we write in both English and Norwegian – this makes it possible for people "down there" to read about us"*
> - Man (50)

The motivation of making it internationally seem to be high amongst the interviewees, but why? "It would be fun" and "the more we reach, the better" was common answers, but no one could provide a more detailed answer to this question. According to research CIGS do sometimes distribute their work over more than 1 country, but only a small number expand their activities to more countries. Looking at the reach CIGS have around the world, more than a third of CIGS are stationed in Sub-Saharan Africa, next is Asia and lastly is Eastern Europe and Latin America (Kinsbergen, 2014, p. 61). To a large degree, these numbers are mirrored in this research. One of the interviewees shared pictures of a finished project on Facebook and Instagram and got responses from two organizations in South Africa and Gambia, they are now funding other projects the organization have. Similar to other critiques towards CIGS, it is evident that there is a general lack of planning. According to Kinsbergen & Schulpen, projects carried by CIGS are often implemented without further analyses, which often leads to poorly locally embedded projects (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013, p. 57). A further extension of this can be drawn to the planning of social media use as well. There seem to be little thought made about what to post, when to post it and for who. This being said, understanding how to make use of a common language is arguably a step in the right direction.

The idea about "making it", either nationally and internationally, can also be drawn to a personal success. The founders took pride in having an international community. It became clear that the expanding of the initiative provides a grander feeling of personal gain than within the initiatives close network (Oh & Syn, 2015). In chapter 3 I explained how content is directed towards making people "choose" the organizations and this accomplishment acts as a motivation for the initiatives.

6.2.4 Including beneficiaries

For many CIGS, the role of beneficiaries is limited to "receivers" throughout the design and implementation of the projects (Kinsbergen, Schulpen, & Ruben, 2017, p. 232). Some even argue that it is not an option to include beneficiaries in the intervention at all. According to Kinsbergen and colleagues are beneficiaries requested or even obligated to participate within a framework that is limiting their participatory role (2017, p. 232). For this study, one group stated that the receivers do not have an active role when it comes to social media use. This means that beneficiaries do not have a say on what is being posted and they do not contribute to making content (except from being filmed, imaged or written about). The other group have included beneficiaries in social media use to a certain degree, such as suggesting guidelines, but it is the founder that makes all decisions. For example, one of the interviewed founders had posted a "newsletter" on their Facebook where there was a dead body in one of the pictures. The local coordinator was strongly against it and told the founder that they want guidelines so that it does not happen again, which was taken into consideration. Only one interviewee stated that beneficiaries are helping to manage the social media accounts and will be responsible for running a site/account to inform people in the receiving country about their interventions. When asked if the beneficiaries are active partners for the social media use, one of the interviewees responds: "No, that is a job for me (the founder)". However, since the corona crisis took place, some beneficiaries have had a more active part in social media related tasks.

> *"I have come to the understanding that if we are going to achieve sustainability for the project, we need to include the local community. We have not been able to travel "down there" since corona started, therefore the coordinators got more responsibilities. Now they are starting an account which will be managed by them"*
> - Man (60)

A further discussion of Covid-19 and its effect on social media use will be presented in chapter 6.3.3, but evidentially it has played a role for a broader understanding of sustainability and local participation amongst some of the interviewees. Scholars argue that participation is crucial for sustainability and that limited participation of beneficiaries can cause insufficient imbedded projects. Without further inclusion of beneficiaries, there is a risk of ignoring underlying structures (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2013).

The participation of beneficiaries requires a possible review of social media strategies. As illustrated in the past chapters, the beneficiaries act as a motivation for both CIGS and donors to contribute on social media – if local people were to have a more active role on publishing content it is likely that their social media presence would also change.

6.2.5 Informing and protecting beneficiaries

A common trait amongst the informants was the general idea that social media should be treated differently in Norway and for the local community. Most of the interviewees stated that an important part of using social media is to spread information to the local community. Some only use certain platforms in the receiving country such as WhatsApp and Facebook, this is because it is “what they know best”. Another interviewee stated that the local coordinator has chosen some beneficiaries that are allowed to help with making content on Facebook. The content is meant to inform other local people about what the organization do in the area. On the organization’s Facebook there are various videos of local people drilling wells and doing agriculture with texts assumingly written by localities, such as “thank God for the help we get to better our community”. Other uses Facebook to post about various staff-members and that other local people should apply for a job if they are qualified. On one hand, the direct appeal towards local viewers can be an effective tool towards local acceptance and recruitment. On the other hand, it appears as an even more effective approach to donors, which are presented a narrative coming directly from the beneficiary. These images provide a subtle evidence of the recipient’s gratitude towards the “good” giver (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 112).

This being said, some of the informants are skeptical of using social media locally. One if the interviewees made a decision that no one in the local area is allowed to post anything about the initiative and has made it impossible for the local community to get insights on their platforms. The interviewee explains the skepsis as protective measures towards the children that they have care for:

"I have cut all contact with people from there on Facebook. I do not want the word to spread that these children have western people taking care of them. I need to keep the kids safe"
- Man (30)

When asked who they are protecting the children from, the interviewee stated: "the local people". What will happen if they know? The interviewee had not thought much about it but concluded that "people down there are desperate and if they knew the children had white providers, something bad could happen". Now, there seem to be a need to inform vs. a need to protect, but who are they protecting? I did not ask the interviewee about this matter; therefore, it is difficult to pinpoint. Though, critics have raised a concern towards CIGS lack of accountability which could play a potential role in why some choose to exclude local participation on social media (Kinsbergen, Schulpen, & Ruben, 2017, p. 225).

6.3 Purpose and emotional appeals

6.3.1 Images and guidelines

Another recurrent issue was the dilemma of which pictures to use for the social media accounts. The CIGS interviewed found themselves in a vacuum of protecting the privacy of receivers and having to provide personal updates about the project to (potential) donors. The interviewees work closely with people in extremely vulnerable situations such as poverty, homelessness and/or orphanages. Some of the informants explains it as an ongoing dilemma: the interviewees know that by posting "real" photos, they are likely to get more engagement from viewers, but respect and privacy is also essential to maintain in the receiving areas, especially considering the close relation many of these CIGS have with the local community (Chouliaraki, 2010). One of the interviewees stated that they do not wish to post any photos of children that are dirty or crying as well as avoiding posting any personal information. Another interviewee only posts pictures of happy children if they are with an adult. The remaining interviewees do not have any policies on what should or should not be posted, but they try to use positive images such as local participation and not only "shock" images such as from poverty and misery. Chouliaraki argues that development actors are using explicit images of human suffering to create a "shock effect" for the viewers, which is mirrored amongst many of the interviewees in this study as well (2010, s. 110). An emerging theme is the concept of "the one" such as the often-used sponsor programs. The sponsor programs are where a donor get to sponsor a child/family/land area/building that become "yours". For example, on one of the interviewees profiles they write:

> *"Regina is a little girl in the village we have our orphanage, both her parents are dead from malaria, and she is only 6 years old. She does not have any family members who can take care of her. There are many destinies like hers here in Colombia, they are lonely, hungry and scared... We want to create a life for Regina, and you can help doing that. Become a sponsor today"*
> (Interviewee's Instagram)

Another founder posts regular images of children that are in "need" of being sponsored and leaves potential donors to choose between which child they prefer. When asked if the interviewees had any guidelines or policies for social media, nearly all stated that they do not. Some of the interviewees have spent some time discussing ethical considerations, but only briefly. Looking through larger development organizations' social media platforms these days there are often critiques regarding the content that are published. Activists have criticized the exposure of children, photos posted without consent and poverty porn (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 110). Now, what about the CIGS, do they share the common concern for the imaged beneficiaries? Two of the informants initiated these topics themselves and shared a belief that one needs to be careful when publicizing about beneficiaries and especially children. This being said, when asked if they had any written rules the common answers were: "we do not have rules since we are so small" or "we do not have any rules since it is only me (the founder) managing the social medias".
Most interviewees also stated that if the organization became any bigger, they would have to write down guidelines for social media use. One of the founders explains that social media is complicated because as CIGS you need constant support and to achieve that, the organizations need to show pictures of the children they help to prove that the money collected is going to the right place. When asked "do you ask for consent before posting?" One of the founders stated:

> *If you go down there and ask, "do you think it is ok that Norwegian organizations post pictures of your kids on the internet?" then I think most people would say no. But maybe if they understand the context… I would not say the end justifies the mean, but we do so much good for these kids.*

- Man (30)

The perception of “the end justifies the mean” feeds into Chouliaraki’s critique of how larger development organizations have used images that presents a victimized view on the beneficiaries to generate more recourses (2010). This debate, which is also discussed in chapter 2.6, have created a caution around how one present “the other” in a development setting, but based on the findings so far it seems as if this discussion has not reached most of the CIGS yet. In this study, social media is something personal or at least personalized and the images provides two common perceptions: a personalization of individuals as actors (such as participants in a development project) and the singularization of donors by referring to individuals as “the one” who can contribute towards a better life for the recipients (sponsorship-agreements) (Chouliaraki, 2010, s. 112). Chouliaraki states: “the production of negative or positive emotion in these appeals, is at once the articulation of political passion in the service of legitimizing public action on suffering and, simultaneously, a strategy of the market put to the service of legit- imizing the humanitarian brand itself» (2010, s. 120). This study makes it apparent that the organizations do share a stance in the debate of presenting the “others”, but the legitimizing of the organizations is an important aspect for interviewees, which makes it difficult to provide or renew a closer examination of their strategic communication choices.

6.3.2 “Us” and “them”

Through the organizations social media platforms there is noticed a repeating pattern of an “us” and “them” narrative. I believe the use of language is an important part of the analysis because it reflects closeness, control and ownership to the development projects.

On one of the organizations Facebook the founder has chosen an “I narrative”. For example: “I got a call today saying that we have finished our new health facility! I am so happy that we in the [the organization’s name]-family have been able to do this”. Another founder wrote: “Thank you to Ron and Sonja for volunteering for us, I am forever grateful. I am looking forward to have you back”. Other interviewees also use a narrative of “us” and “them” on social media, such as: “we are now helping people in Tanzania to produce food. It is good to see that we can help them in other ways than just emergency help”. Of course, there could be various reasons for why such a language is chosen but during the research it became clear that ownership and control may have something to do with it. Fylkesnes (2019) illustrates how CIGS is motivated by keeping control over the project and maintaining a sense of closeness which reflects in their social media use as well. In one of the comment sections a donor writes: “Thank YOU, we are grateful to be a part of this” and another one writes: “Amazing work, I am so happy for them (the recipients)”.

Evidentially, CIGS uses social media to connect donors and beneficiaries in a way that promotes solidarity. Also, the narrative of “I”, “we” and “us” creates a personal connection towards potential donors which facilitates a stronger sense of self-actualization and purpose (Rutledge, 2011). This being said, Chouliaraki is worried that agonism through solidarity provide a distance between “us” and “them” which limits the scope of humanitarian aid actions (2013). What I mean by this is that on one side, the linguistic choice creates a sense of responsibility and solidarity between “me” and “the others”. However, on the other side, it provides an understanding that “we” (donors and viewers) are actively “doing something” to solve a social issue, when in reality – they are potentially not, at least not in the sense of trying to address underlying sources of inequality (Glenn, 2015). Through these communication forms the CIGS “online humanitarian community” share a common idea of closeness to beneficiaries whilst the CIGS acts as the true altruist of providing aid - but at a potential cost of the recipients.

6.3.3 A feel-good project or a pity project?

As illustrated above, the CIGS in this study uses social media for the purposes to articulate their own ideas about their interventions and proclaim a role as an autonomous actor for (self-initiated) development (Hustinx, 2010). The CIGS promote attractive features for donors on social media about the organization and projects such as: rapid result updates; personal involvement; frequent updates; visible outputs; public annunciation of donors and a personal connection between donor and beneficiaries. As mentioned in chapter 3. Kinsbergen and colleagues argue that the psychological reward of volunteering becomes even larger when they think they are actually making a positive difference for recipients (Kinsbergen, Tolsma, & Ruiter, 2011, p. 64). Through social media the CIGS have created a digital behavior for “doing development”, but during its implementation it becomes unclear if the development is directed towards their (founders and donors) own self-transcendence or for the actual cause (beneficiaries and humanitarian aid) (Maslow, 1943; Rutledge, 2011; Chouliaraki, 2010).

By creating a “warm glow” within donors and viewers, social media works as a facilitator towards collective engagement and solidarity, but at the cost of constituting pity (Chouliaraki, 2010). In other words, all a donor needs to do is to increase the organization’s social capital through likes and comments or donate money in order to become a good Samaritan (Glenn, 2015; Chouliaraki, 2013). While the beneficiaries on the other hand are obligated, through images, to be both thankful and participating. According to Chouliaraki is this a predictable outcome since Western donors in this case acts as both actors and viewers which feeds into a narcissistic spectatorship (2013, p. 18). Arguably, it is the procreation of pity that produces narcissism, and the reflection of “others” suffering is a tool for charitable actions and a “feel good” about our deeds.

6.3.4 COVID-19

Covid-19 has been contributing to many challenges for the CIGS and their small organizations. The CIGS are normally dependent on travelling to the receiving areas to work on the projects, create content for social media and have volunteer trips. Because of the coronavirus, they are forced to think differently. Many of the interviewees reported that the current projects in the receiving areas have either stopped or slowed down. Three of the interviewees informed that they normally spend months in the receiving areas each year and that these trips generate the most recourses out of all the activities they do. The trips are reported to create massive engagement on social media, and they are able to provide live updates from the project. But how are the CIGS able to provide social media content in the midst of a pandemic? One of the interviewees stated that the local coordinator has gotten the responsibility of taking photos. Another interviewee use images from trips in previous years since the local people are “not so good at taking photos”. Though, a majority of the informants have put the projects on hold because of the urgent need of protective gear, food and shelter. As mentioned earlier, the corona crisis is catalyzing new forms of civic mobilization, which is also the case for the CIGS in this study (Brechenmacher, Carothers, & Youngs, 2020). Two of the interviewees stated:

> “*We have gone from development work to emergency help. There are still curfews and rules in the country, and we have noticed that the access to food is lower than normal. Therefore, we have started to give out homework to the children and food to those who need it (…) we have been set back years in normal development work”*

- Woman (60)

"Actually, the corona virus got us realizing that we cannot have Norway as the only generator for income and that we need to have social media in the local area. The coronavirus pushed us to start up some smaller businesses down there and they are doing really good"
- Man (30)

As mentioned in chapter 2.5, scholars argue that CIGS tend to have a "one man show" mentality[2]. However, based on my findings, it seems like the corona crisis have forced CIGS to adapt to the situation with the help and participation of beneficiaries (Fylkesnes, 2016). According to Brechenmacher (2020), this new reform of "doing development" may be a way towards increasing social networks and grow constituencies, which again will strengthen the CIGS legitimacy within various agencies. Some of the CIGS interviewed referred to have they had tried other ways of creating engagement with the COVID-19 travel restrictions. Many of the interviewees explained a common approach to create engagement. Before COVID-19 the organizations would travel to the receiving country, reach people and engage as many as possible with "live updates" through social media. When returning home, they will continue to hold the engagement up until someone (volunteers or/and board members) makes a new visit and can produce new content with pictures and videos. I believe Guo & Saxton's pyramid model (also shown in chapter 2.4) is a good representation for the CIGS choice of communication. The model consists of three stages: reaching out to people (personal updates), keeping the flame alive (project updates and information) and stepping up to action (donations).

[2] An understanding provided by Fylkesnes that the initiative is completely dependent on the one person, the founder, for everything (2016).

Figure 6, Guo & Saxton's pyramid model

(Guo & Saxton, 2014, p. 70)

Many have tried to use what Chouliaraki refers to as technologization of participation and collective action or slacktivism (Chouliaraki, 2013, p. 8; Glenn, 2015). One of the CIGS have encouraged people to support in other ways than just donations. On the organization's website they write: "In this difficult situation we are in need of your help. Here is how you can help: solidarity action, web action and other actions". The various choices the organization's website range between creating crowd funders, birthday fundraiser or a digital lecture (by the founder). Another interviewee stated that since all projects have stopped, the organization have gotten a volunteer that, under the surveillance of the founder, posts relevant content such as re-posting the messages of organizations that are dealing directly with the crisis and encouraging people to sign petitions. The founder argues that this is necessary, so people do not forget about the "warm glow", them or their projects. COVID-19 has in many ways acted as a facilitator for a broader examination of the purpose behind social media use and how to further develop it. The response has been variating. Based on social media commentaries and likes it seems like the donors' response have been exclusively positive, but the response from the initiatives indicates that there have been less donations and engagement. On the beneficiaries' side, COVID-19 have contributed to the increase of participation. According to interviewees, local coordinators now have more responsibility of the projects and a higher level of decision making.

6.3.5 A tool for development?

The sections above have provided a deeper understanding of how social media is used, what influences it and what the purpose is. It is clear that the CIGS have a strong focus on the donors' motivation to engage in their projects. When asked if social media is a tool for development the answers variated. Most interviewees answered "yes, but…". "But only if it is used the right way", "but only if we can keep up with the constant changes", "but if they start requiring more (documentation and costs) it is not a tool anymore". Social media itself is not a tool for development. Although it can be said to facilitate or at least enable resources that is. The CIGS evidential lack of knowledge on, or chosen distance from, how to communicate about humanitarian aid and beneficiaries leave people to draw their own conclusions about humanitarian aid providers. In the absence of effective communication, whatever that means, the distance strengthens between donor and beneficiaries which contradicts CIGS goal of reducing structural issues of poverty. As for now, social media can be argued as a tool for self-transcendence with room for further communicative development.

7. Concluding remarks

To begin with, there has been little studies regarding Norwegian CIGS in general and not to mention social media use. The limitations of this study did not make it possible to figure out all of the why's and the how's of Norwegian CIGS social media use, but I hope for the future that more questions will be investigated. Before this study I had only heard little about these small development actors, but I have now realized their active contribution to the international development scheme.

This thesis has explored the purpose and motivation for social media use of nine Norwegian CIGS. Though the limitations of time and size makes it hard to draw general theories about Norwegian CIGS, findings from this research do align with international studies on the phenomenon. I have drawn lines between trends and discourses to provide a broader understanding of their social media use. This case-study has explored what motivation and purpose drives the initiatives to use social media in the way they do. The goal has been to understand the selected cases, the CIGS, in depth. Of course, all findings in this study are based on personal experiences, which in general is hard to report. The interviewees become "authors of their own biographies - authors who have to continually construct identities and biographical narratives in order to give meaning to lives that are lived out in the face of uncertainty» (Jones et al. 2010, p. 104, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 12). It is likely that there are external factors that have played a role in the answers of the interviewees which can provide a skewed picture when trying to rationalize our behavior. We are also in the midst of a pandemic and all CIGS interviewed were clearly affected by the circumstances and effects it has caused. As for this thesis, there is an overall understanding that social actors and our beliefs, culture and interactions are what constructs the social world (Bryman, 2012, p. 6). The interviewees come from different backgrounds and experiences, which clearly plays a role into their answers and perceptions. The same goes for you as a reader and me as a researcher. Of course, I have tried to put biases aside, but there is no such thing as unbiased qualitative research. The reason behind this thesis has been to understand how CIGS use social media, their motivation and purpose and if it plays a role for international development. In generalized terms, I will start by summarizing the main observations from the analysis and then emerge over to some concluding thoughts.

The CIGS in this study got engaged in humanitarian aid after travelling to the receiving country, some on a holiday and others through work. Commonly, the initiative was sparked after an emotional encounter with poverty. Social media allowed the CIGS to start and further develop their initiatives/ organizations with its cheap marketing possibilities and quick access to an online network. The founders were drawn to development work after seeing what was “lacking” in the local areas. This became the foundation for providing humanitarian aid and gathering funds to fulfill what they believed was the beneficiaries' needs. The projects are often tangible and direct, which also makes it easier to image and provide visible results. Seen from an output perspective, the organizations had successful projects in terms of the goals being small such as building an orphanage or a school. Viewers are provided content that shows what their money goes towards and with visible effect, which they receive positive feedback from.

The use of social media is also mirrored in the age of the CIGS. The initiatives that are from an older generation tends to get volunteers to help with content production and stick to a more informative approach. This means that younger CIGS use social media more strategically than what the older CIGS do. The social media use can be described as organic - a learn as you go mentality. The knowledge of using social media was slowly increasing alongside with the initiative. Social media creates a space for people to build connections, which have been key for CIGS in this study. In a sense, they resemble a form of collective effort by engaging people to contribute to larger projects. The technologization of action has evidently contributed to the making of CIGS. Arguably, because of the early communication social media enables, a further credibility is provided in the development of the organization/initiative. Though it becomes unclear if it is for the donors, official actors or beneficiaries.

During the implementation phase of the interventions, most CIGS use a rather small and personal online network. With time many start to develop a broader network through social media. The size of the networks differs between the CIGS interviewed, some have few followers and do not have much interaction with them, while others have a large following base that are extremely interactive on the CIGS platforms. Interviewees shared a large excitement for the connection the various platforms create for them and potential donors.

Social media is used as a space for “virtual care”, with this I mean a space where the CIGS can share about their engagement for helping others and for donors to participate within their framework (McKay & Perez, 2019). Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp therefore allow both CIGS and donors to accomplish self-actualization through connection and collaboration, which acted as a motivation for using social media (Rutledge, 2011).

The communication with the CIGS online network has enabled a broader form of collective participation as people are now able to engage in various projects without the worry of geographical limitations. Making use of their online network can be viewed as a performative approach towards the mobilization of collective action (Chouliaraki, 2010; Haaland & Wallevik, 2019). Images of beneficiaries, project implementation and western volunteers have created a large engagement in terms of donations and online response from the CIGS personal and extended network on social media. Chouliaraki and Glenn refers to what is called “slacktivism”, where it becomes a natural a part of our social media activities is to provide a small (or large) donation and sign a petition, or as also seen in this study – engage in the comment section (2013; 2015). Evidentially, through the course of this study, a broader participation was seen from the (Norwegian/western) online network than from the local recipients which highlights Chouliraki’s worry about the Global North being both actors and viewer. The result ends up in a possible marginalization of “the others”.

Money, reputation and international recognition were recurring themes for using social media. Money was often mentioned as a main motivator to using social media, but arguably the motivator is not about the actual increase of capital, but rather having resources to perform humanitarian aid. The external factors acts as a collective goal for the donor, initiative and beneficiaries. The unifying effect of a common goal creates a community which is driven by helping others. Though there are serious ethical evaluations to be done on the assumption that CIGS use images of beneficiaries to establish an emotional connection to the viewer. In this thesis I have presented various communication forms used by the Norwegian CIGS such as “the shock effect” and “positive images". These communicative strategies play a role in the viewer's empathy and emphasize a potential “warm glow” by helping those seemingly in need. To contribute to something bigger than ourselves seems to be an important part of the purpose and motivation behind CIGS social media use.

COVID-19 has certainly affected CIGS social media use. First of all, the corona crisis has created a challenge for the CIGS economically and travel restrictions have made it difficult to visit the receiving areas. These factors have caused a reevaluation of their social media presence. The CIGS are often built around one major person, the founder. This person is in control of the social medias and the projects, which often results in little local participation. During the pandemic, there has been a larger involvement of beneficiaries. Some are in charge of taking videos or pictures for social media content and others have had more responsibility in project activities. Because of the lack of physical presence, the interviewees had to be creative when trying to build engagement from followers and potential donors.

The initiatives keep close contact with local beneficiaries, often they refer to that giving a “real” insight to recipients life and cultural exchange is a large motivator for social media use. Although many beneficiaries are an active actor for the initiative, they are still excluded from further participation. This cultural fascination, which is not so often seen in the development discourse, mirrors how the informants have experienced their own journey into the field of international development. As mentioned, there seems to be a lack of discussion regarding presenting “the others” and the right of privacy. The representation of beneficiaries creates a distance between “us” and “them”, which contradicts the overall goal of contributing towards reducing social differences and injustice, as well as providing a deeper insight and understanding for culture.

If social media is a tool for development is difficult to answer. It would require a more comprehensive research broader than the limitations of a master thesis. However, it is evident that social media enables a broader connection between both donors and the initiative. Social media has become a useful tool to not only enable resources towards projects but also transcend personal interests. The connective nature of social media motivates the actualization of personal gain within wanting to make a difference and the need to help. The external factors presented provide a better understanding on CIGS 'purpose for using social media. Thus, by exploring and understanding external influences a better picture can be gained on understanding motivation and purpose for using social media. What is clear, however, is that the issue of perception can have important implications for the security and effectiveness of the aid projects. Although it is these representations that provide a continuous urge to give and “make a difference”.

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Appendices

Appendix I – The interview guide

Introduksjon av meg selv	Litt om meg selv, valg av oppgave.
Les opp rettigheter og informasjon	• Det er frivillig å delta • Du kan trekke deg når som helst • Du har rett til å være anonym og det kommer du til å være i min oppgave • Har du spørsmål så må du gjerne ta kontakt med meg/veileder • Minne på at om de holder sensitiv informasjon om andre, så vil dette ikke bli tatt med. • Intervjuet er tatt opp på offline båndopptaker, IKKE gjennom zoom.

Generell beskrivelse av arbeid

1. Kan du fortelle litt om organisasjonen/engasjementet ditt?
2. Hvordan/når ble du engasjert i krisehåndtering/utviklingsarbeid?
3. I hvilken grad blir sosiale medier brukt innad arbeidet?

Mulige oppfølgingsspørsmål:

1. *Hva motiverte deg til å begynne med sosiale medier?*
2. *Hvorfor begynte du med sosiale medier?*
3. *tid/jobb vedsiden av?*

Sosiale medier bruk

1. Hvordan bruker dere sosiale medier til å kommunisere arbeidet deres?
2. I større utviklingsorganisasjoner ser man ofte publiserte regler og bruksmåter av sosiale medier, har du/dere retningslinjer på hvordan sosiale medier brukes i deres arbeid?
3. Hvilke hensyn tar dere i forhold til å dele bilder, personlige opplevelse eller sårbare situasjoner?
4. Hvilken rolle har de lokale i forhold til initiativets sosiale medier?
5. Er det noen reservasjoner/skepsis ovenfor bruken av sosiale medier?

6. Hvilke positive sider er det å dele utviklingsarbeid gjennom sosiale medier? Har dere noen mål med å dele?

Mulige oppfølgingsspørsmål:

1. *Kan du si litt mer om....?*
2. *Strategier?*
3. *Motivasjon og mål for å poste?*

Sosiale medier publikum

1. Hvilket publikum ønsker dere å nå ut til ved å poste innlegg på ulike plattformer?
2. Har dere kontakt med andre organisasjoner gjennom sosiale medier? Evt. samarbeid?
3. Visse store utviklingsorganisasjoner har flere tusen følgere på sine plattformer, er dette et ønskelig mål for deg og ditt initiativ?

Mulige oppfølgingsspørsmål:

1. *Brukes sosiale medier kun for de i Norge?*
2. *Hva ønsker dere å oppnå hos de som følger dere?*
3. *Tar dere stilling til sponsorer via sosiale medier?*

COVID-19

1. Hvordan har pandemien påvirket initiativet ditt?
2. Hvordan har pandemien påvirket hvordan dere/du bruker sosiale medier?
3. Hvilke utfordringer har dere møtt på med tanke på restriksjoner (i Norge og «der»)? Har det hatt innvirkninger for sosiale medier?

Sosiale medier som et verktøy for utvikling

1. Kan man kalle sosiale medier et verktøy for utvikling?
2. Åssen ser du for deg at bruken av sosiale medier utvikler seg innad private norske utviklings initiativer i fremtiden?