HUMANITARIAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: INTERNATIONAL CALLS TO ACTION IN THE DIGITAL ERA

Catherine Kane

A Dissertation Presented to The Faculty of Arts in The University of Malta For the Degree of Master in Contemporary Diplomacy

June 2019

I. DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work.

Catherine Kane

30 June 2019, Geneva, Switzerland

II. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

III. DEDICATION

This is dedicated to John and Alice Kane, who provided the gifts - education, faith, encouragement and unfailing love - that enabled me to reach for the stars and find my life's work. *Requiescat in pace*, Dad.

IV. ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines IOs (IOs) as emerging stars in the constellation of diplomatic actors, as extra-state and supra-state entities that do not replace, but rather complement, align with and encourage states. Specifically focusing on humanitarian - those attentive to the needs of people - international organisations, the paper explores their use of calls to action as a public diplomacy tool that both activates the public and reflects the needs and desires of individuals and their communities, translated to policy context. Calls to action should be strategic, well-researched, authoritive, targeted, coalition-based, innovative and engaging, sustainable and measured.

Humanitarian diplomacy practitioners, grounded in classic diplomacy concepts and skills, are a powerful force. Using best practice-based calls to action that engage meaningful global community participation and that harness the potential of ICT, they are formidable and growing presence within the constellation of diplomatic actors in a less hierarchical and more complex, but exciting, network era.

V. TABLE OF CONTENTS

VI. LIST OF FIGURES, IMAGES AND TABLES

A. FIGURES

B. IMAGES

C. TABLES

VII.   ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CCW	Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons
DFID	United Kingdom Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECHO	(European Union) European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICBL	International Campaign to Ban Landmines
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICT	information and communication technology
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IO	international organisation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MSF	*Médécins sans Frontières* (Doctors without Borders)
NGO	non-governmental organisation
PD	public diplomacy
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
TIMN	Tribal-Institutional-Market-Network
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, calls to action have been the realm of advocacy groups and governments to their own people, however this approach increasingly is used by international organisations, governments, and civil society organisations. Several factors influence this phenomenon, including the availability of cost-effective digital tools and higher penetration of digital devices, rising public appetite for global engagement, and an international political climate that invites whole-of-society collaboration. From the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to condemnation of the killing of Cecil the Lion[1], calls to action have become a public diplomacy (PD) tool with varying degrees of success. This paper will consider a variety of calls to action that engage or are piloted by IOs and examine the factors that lead to success or to descent into obscurity.

This research examines the evolution of diplomacy from secret, private conversations between official state representatives to PD, with its new actors, audiences and channels that have resulted in an evolving practice. 'Humanitarian diplomacy' (HD), a term coined during the 21st century, builds upon traditional city- or nation-state diplomatic practice and reflects bilateral and multilateral actions – with human well-being at the centre. The paper focuses on calls to action as a diplomatic tool for inter- and non-governmental organisations

---

[1] In 2015, an American big game hunter paid the $50,000 fee for a hunting permit in Zimbabwe. Just outside a protected area, he killed Cecil, a well-known lion who had been tracked by an Oxford University scientific project.

This killing, while legal, prompted a large scale Western social media backlash that included individuals, celebrities, conservation organisations and politicians. An online petition (Semcer, 2015) garnered almost 1.36 million signatures calling on the U.S. government to take legislative and regulatory action and for the public to demand that the Zimbabweans who facilitated the killing be held accountable.

The explosive traditional and social media coverage prompted Western politicians to make statements calling for big game hunting bans, banning imports and enhanced endangered species provisions. A non-binding UN resolution called for strengthening poaching and trafficking regulations. In Southern Africa, where most big game hunting takes place, statements from officials reflected more ambivalence, due in part to the revenue that they indicate is used for conservation and other social needs. Zambia's minister for tourism, reflecting on the country's long hunting tradition, commented "In Africa, a human being is more important than an animal. I don't know about the Western world" (Onishi, 2015).

(NGOs) within the humanitarian sector, as an evolving practice of HD. As defined by the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) and incorporated into the eponymous DiploFoundation course, "Humanitarian diplomacy is persuading decision makers and opinion leaders to act, at all times, in the interests of vulnerable people, and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles" (IFRC, 2012; DiploFoundation, 2016).

The surge in recognition of HD as a discipline underscores a shift in the PD understood by Gullion's 1965 conception when he coined the term and established the Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy at Tufts University in the U.S. Gullion's definition expanded upon traditional diplomacy - an exercise between specific actors representing their respective national governments to each other - by targeting members of foreign publics in diplomatic messaging. Further, Gullion noted roles for journalists: interaction between one nation's associations with those of another nation, "communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications" (Cull, 2006a).

The London Times used "public diplomacy" in 1856 while chiding then-U.S. President Franklin Pierce over his ambitious foreign ambitions: challenging British naval defence of Canadian waters and expanding U.S. interests in Central America (Wallner, 2007; Cull, 2006b). Further, NGOs had engaged in diplomatic persuasion exercises as early as 1863-64, when the newly-formed International Committee for Relief to the Wounded – later the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) – gathered representatives of 16 nations in Geneva to discuss treatment of the sick and wounded in battle - and convinced 12 of those nations to ratify the first Geneva Convention (ICRC, 2016a).

Journalism and its foreign correspondents have evolved into 24-hour news cycles, international broadcasting and social media. In October 1917, a naval cruiser on Leningrad's Neva River announced the start of the Russian Revolution in the first-ever public service radio broadcast (Wood J, 1992). Five years later, the British Broadcasting Corporation used the new medium as a means for the UK government to engage its public. These, with American broadcaster Edward R. Murrow's use of radio to bring the thrill and terror of the World War II bombings of London to influence the U.S. audiences reluctant to engage in a foreign war, were among the first state uses of technology (other than the printing press) "to project their policies and values onto other nations" (Spiker, 2008, p. 2). Today, leaps beyond Guglielmo Marconi's use of the telegraph to broadcast across two miles of his father's Italian estate, world leaders use television satellite broadcasts and more sharply and distinctively Twitter to trade digital barbs, taunts and wordplay on themes as critical to human lives as nuclear weapons, refugee crises and global pandemics. Simultaneously, the rise of citizen journalists, campaigns and crowdfunding and social network influencing offer opportunities and challenges - and a new role for IOs to mobilize public opinion.

Traditional diplomacy practitioners emphasise the necessity of government direction and participation to qualify an activity as PD rather than communication. This paper shows how, through HD, IOs mobilise the public through the tool of calls to action, then use their international character and the momentum generated to negotiate with governments as diplomatic interlocutors. This aims to strike an appropriate balance that may satisfy both traditional diplomats and 21st-century diplomatic philosophers who may be more open to broadening definitions to fit the modern context, à la Gullion in the 1960s (Cull, 2006), including broadening the definition and understanding of diplomatic actors to include IO representatives.

This paper uses an inclusive definition of "international organisation" encompassing non-commercial institutions or associations that are global in membership, scope or presence. This shall be understood to include NGOs operating internationally, international NGOs (*Médécins Sans Frontières* (MSF)), the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) and intergovernmental organisations (the United Nations (UN) and its specialised agencies, particularly the World Health Organization (WHO) and the UN High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR)).

Striking a concession between traditionalist and futurist diplomats could entail limiting discussion to the UN and its specialized agencies, which are intended to bring together Member States to achieve "global goods" and the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement. The Movement's member National Society role as auxiliary to government delivers privileges like permanent observer status within UN meetings and in government activities in the domestic context of those member societies.

The author's decision to include certain international NGOs is anchored in their missions to deliver global public goods. MSF separated from the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement in the 1980s during the Biafra conflict due to disagreements regarding whether government ties (financial or auxiliary/legislated roles) hindered humanitarian diplomatic negotiation to reach those in greatest need. MSF eschews funding from governments, however remains a significant global humanitarian actor with objectives that are both global and closely aligned with other diplomatic actors.

International organisation HD activities mobilise the public in several directions. They encourage and solicit the public to communicate with their own national governments in support or opposition to policies and activities that have international consequences and impacts. They also raise public awareness and increase public understanding on a variety of

global issues. Further, IOs gather and consolidate the voices of individuals and groups to leverage the mass support in subsequent negotiations and diplomatic discussions with national governments and other international bodies.

These interactions with global public audiences often are characterized as calls to action, a term borrowed from the marketing industry. This paper examines best practices that can and should inform the development and implementation of calls to action and other HD activities by IOs seeking to produce and elicit positive humanitarian impacts.

International organisations have a significant role to play in addressing global issues and are diplomatic counterparts to governments. IOs, similarly, often have ties to civil society organisations and the public sector, and they use those partnerships to extend the efficacy of their calls to action, whether directed internally and among partners or externally to the public. Use of calls to action is increasing in quantity and assessed value, however IOs and others have in the past struggled to create effective and relevant calls to action. Several examples identify the evolution of calls to action that leverage not only lessons learned but also the evolving information and communication technology (ICT) environment and a shifting socio-cultural environment that invites multi-stakeholder, multi-level collaboration.

1.1 METHODOLOGY

The development of this paper is based on a systematic review of literature and periodic reviews of news sources. Research also included first-person observation and confidential informant interviews. The balance is on qualitative evidence. Modern calls to action are heavily anchored in the social media world, and while metrics continue to rise rapidly, they may not be a good measure of impact. By the same token, numbers of partners or of resolutions can be difficult to measure between campaigns. While calls to action should be

grounded firmly in evidence, insufficient study has been made to determine which metrics elucidate impact.

This study employed a primarily qualitative research approach. Though one can measure some elements like media reach, particularly the metrics used to quantify social media reach and stickiness, practitioners increasingly are revising and re-examining both the metric inflation and the value of reach versus action. Further, success of a call to action does not lie necessarily in number of petitioners, number of coalition partners or even number of resolutions, but rather is best measured contextually and progressively.

The author conducted interviews with a range of practitioners as well as with a small set of target audiences and partners. Practitioners were primarily working with IOs and engaged in communication, advocacy and diplomatic roles. Interviews also were conducted with some practitioners in Global North NGOs engaged in domestic campaigns, as many international organisation practitioners are both recruited from Northern NGOs and as many digital media practices are incubated in domestic space. Similarly, interviews with global South practitioners informed analysis of how to engage broader populations to participate in calls to action and to ensure that a broad spectrum of perspectives and experiences are represented. Informants included practitioners from UNHCR, ICRC, IFRC, WHO, American Red Cross, Last Mile Health and UHC2030.

While specific literature on calls to action in IOs is scarce, literature reviews drew together a variety of materials on PD, HD, socio-organisational theory, community engagement and accountability and the specific calls to action analysed within this paper. Desk research, the primary source for this thesis, included domestic and international laws, resolutions and treaties; diplomatic books, papers and commentary; campaign guides and handbooks; conference and workshop proceedings; blogs, podcasts and interviews; and social and

traditian media, to include The Guardian, The New York Times, Bloomberg News and Twitter. on the subject. The use of a broad spectrum of media contributed to the ability to connect public and HD roots with their evolving actors - IOs - and tools - calls to action, particularly through ICT innovation. Careful attention was devoted to consulting and verifying and validating source. Inspired by DiploFoundation's collection of illustrations and cognizant of the power of imagery, the author included several cartoons and stories in a capsule to illustrate a key facet of successful calls to action: eliciting audience interest and identification.

The paper's genesis was inspired by a call to action examined in the paper, in which the author played a role but was not able to implement a full range of best practices. The author currently is participating in several international organisations' calls to actions and looked to research, observation, network experience and analysis to strengthen those campaigns. In communication and policy roles, the author contributed to or edited some of the referenced materials, particularly those developed by the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement.

Diplomacy research included lectures and texts presented within the Master of Contemporary Diplomacy and Diploma in Humanitarian Diplomacy curricula, textbooks, academic journals and online references. The author also conducted literature reviews of global health journals through the World Health Organization Library and Information Services. It may be noted that, in addition to quotidian engagement in the practice studied, the author gained strong insights through social media scanning, communities of practice and professional networks.

1.2   LITERATURE REVIEW

A literature review revealed that there is a lack of comprehensive work regarding the use of calls to action by IOs as a diplomatic tool. There is some internal documentation and

anecdotal evidence regarding individual campaigns, as measured by practitioners and some reference within donor reporting, but current literature does not compare tactics and strategies, nor was significant literature uncovered that examined use of this approach from a diplomacy perspective. Within the review, the three lenses for examination were: 1) PD methods and tools used in HD activities; 2) how organisational constructs inform and impact HD; and 3) the nature of calls to action as a diplomatic tool.

Literature and research regarding the evolution, recognition and practice of PD are plentiful, particularly over the past seven decades. Building on literature explored, coursework and class discussions from the Contemporary Diplomacy masters curriculum, the author reviewed articles, books, papers and websites on PD from several perspectives, beginning with American Edmund Gullion's widely accepted modern definition: "the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications." (Cull, 2006b). Numerous studies reinforce this shift from traditional diplomacy toward participatory developments in public arenas that engage multiple actors (Kappler, 1998: Smith, 1998: Tyler et al, 2012). Smith (1998) discusses the U.S. approach, which was to target exclusively foreign publics with the aim that they influence their domestic governments.

Bringing PD into the 21st century, Zaharna, (Huijgh, 2013) points out that cyberspace development creates challenges for states to segregate specific groups whilst ignoring others. Individual citizens are taking more proactive and global views, seeking accountability

and advocating on issues2. Around the globe, whether to enhance regional standing, as is the case with Indonesia's National Diplomatic System (Hocking B et al, 2012) or Kenya's PD policy (Republic of Kenya, 2014) that seeks to convene African countries, PD practitioners increasingly are using ICT tools to broaden influence among both foreign publics and the diaspora. It is important to note that Kenya's strategy, which layers traditional approaches like the Maasai dancers (Obengo, 2015) with social media, online media and print, simultaneously uses traditional and new media tools to bridge the digital divide for diverse audiences. This blended strategy also is important for IOs in their calls to action, as it reflects the need for HD to coalesce global input from individuals and groups on the full range of the ICT spectrum.

McDowell argues that, to be appropriately categorized as PD, "there must be an element of government intention and participation—not necessarily undertaking the entire conception and execution of a project but at least playing a role, working with civil society partners, funding, coordinating, and/or directing" (2008, p.8). He continues, delineating the activity as requiring a "clear goal or message," without which he argues that the related actions can simply be limited to a category of international communication.

The recognition and understanding of HD, while not exactly nascent, is yet in a developmental stage, with increased attention and effort devoted to understanding the practice and developing its practitioners, particularly through DiploFoundation and lead actors within the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement. Régnier's 2011 commentary is among the most developed evaluation of HD and its actors. He found 89 interpretations of HD among organisations and sought to unify some of those definitions among a rapidly

---

2 Elements of this paragraph are derived from a group paper submitted for Public Diplomacy 1702 (Kane C, Rose T, Tupou N). They were written by the author.

proliferating group of actors, delineate roles and objectives, identify legal mechanisms that govern and protect HD activities, and create a case for developing a cadre of humanitarian diplomats. Régnier's work, while foundational, can be updated in three ways: 1) broadening the scope of HD activities from operations and programmatic work to include policy change; 2) enhancing participation of a wider group to reflect community priorities, voices and local focus; and 3) blending new ICT tools with traditional diplomacy competencies.

Global conferences and agreements like the World Humanitarian Summit and the Grand Bargain are heavily informed by the increasing recognition that the world's priorities should be set not by a select few (à la 19th century diplomacy), but through increased consultation, listening, negotiation and recognition, particularly of the needs of communities and from a local-national-regional-global perspective. The WHO Framework on integrated, people-centred health services (2016) and the IFRC Community Engagement and Accountability suite of tools offer perspective on participatory and inclusive approaches that could be adapted to diplomatic context, particularly regarding mobilising engagement on humanitarian issues.

This literature review included study and analysis of Ronfeldt's (2006) socio-political theory of organisational frameworks as a method of understanding evolving diplomatic roles. Ronfeldt asserts that society has evolved from tribal (kindship, identity, belonging); institutional (hierarchy, state, military); market (competition, free and fair economic exchange; to network (civil society) methods of interrelation. Similarly, diplomacy has progressed from emissaries exchanged between tribes and then city- or nation-states to trade envoys and tourism promotion that engaged private citizens as actors and public audiences to engage. And now, HD has brought civil society to the fore of political influence, bypassing borders and using both traditional and new tools to organise, pressure policy-

makers and negotiate or demand change. Through socio-political analysis, we better understand both the fluidity of contexts and how to engage public audiences. Though dated, Ronfeldt's theory holds water and offers clues to designing interaction.

The marketing industry often begins campaigns by defining audience and objectives, then determining the appropriate vehicles, spokespersons and partners. These are fundamental elements of private sector calls to action, though these are aimed at gaining customers and earning money, which diverges from the aim of calls to action in international organisations. Digital technology approaches, however, have similarities, as they aim to gain audience attention and increase adhesion. As each day brings new developments in the rapidly shifting environment of broadcast, print and social media, with regard to actors, methods, reach, security and measurement, the author found that best sources were the media themselves and used real simple syndication feeds, Twitter notifications, communities of practice, DiploFoundation online lectures and direct observation of campaigns to be key primary sources.

Two sources that offered strong insights regarding calls to action were a Devex video interview (2019) with humanitarian industry practitioner Lippi Doshi, interviewed by Carine Umuhuza, in which the two explored elements of public health campaigns, touching upon measurement – and "hit" inflation, targeting, uniqueness and future vehicles and approaches. The second set of sources, discovered at the end of the writing process, was the Global Disaster Preparedness Centre's Messaging Campaigns materials. While these pieces were discovered after the dissertation had been written, they were useful touchpoints to validate conclusions regarding successful campaign strategies. The materials focus on behaviour change (operations and programmes), rather than HD calls to action, but the principles translate well: adopt a team approach, know your audience, build sustainable

campaigns, combine subject matter expertise and communication expertise, create

persuasive messages, tell stories, innovate, ensure relevance, use ICT well, research and

evaluate (2016).

CHAPTER 2: DIPLOMACY: EVOLUTION OF TERMS AND ACTORS

In the 1930s, Italian Daniele Varé said diplomacy is "the art of letting others have your way" (Harvard Business Review, 2011, p. 129). Incorporating that understanding into the narrower definition of PD results in 'the art of letting the public have your way'. Twenty-first century PD must consider the character of true diplomacy, the effectiveness of utilizing national citizens and organisations as vectors, globalization and technology evolution.

2.1 CHANGING ORGANISATIONAL AND DIPLOMATIC CONSTRUCTS

In a 2006 working paper for the Rand Pardee Center, a U.S. public policy doctoral programme anchored within an independent public policy research institution, David Ronfeldt puts forward a socio-political theory on how cultures function through what he defines as four types of organisation: tribal (kinship,
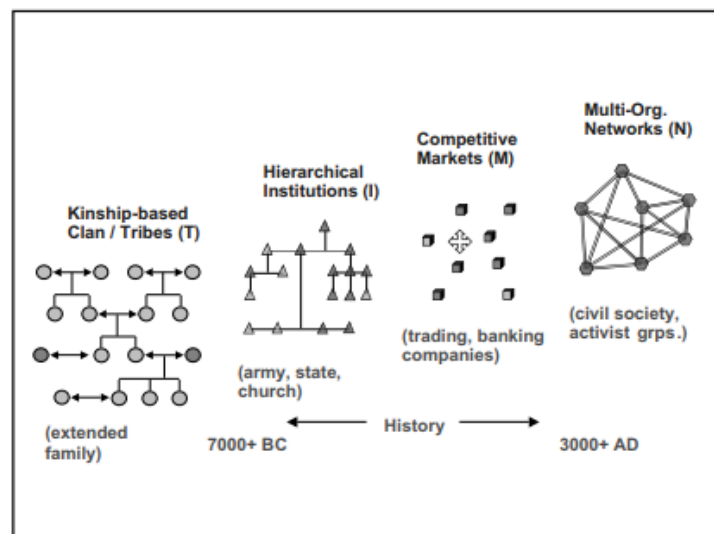
Figure 1 Master Forms Underlying the Organisation of All Societies (Ronfeldt, 2006)

identity, belonging); institutional (hierarchy, state, military); market (competition, free and fair economic exchange); and network – TIMN. He believed that the network approach was at the time emerging as a key method, "serving to connect dispersed groups and individuals so that they may coordinate and act conjointly. Enabled by the digital information-

technology revolution, this form is… so far strengthening civil society more than other realms" (2006, p. 6).

Ronfeldt's theory of social evolution sits comfortably alongside an abridged history of diplomacy. Ronfeldt points out how ICT has influenced organisational approaches. Extended families, tribes and clans evolved into city- and nation states with militaries to enforce and protect. A degree of travel bridged growing distances between these groups, advancing methods of interaction like deployment of envoys to negotiate and communicate between different entities. More and easier travel enabled nation-states to expand their influence through force, negotiation and market engagement. Some accounts suggest that the Rothschild family earned their fortune by sending carrier pigeons to each other immediately after Napoleon's defeat at the Battle of Waterloo, capitalising on knowledge for which other traders waited days to learn, a foreshadowing of market organisation. Shortly thereafter, the advent of the telegraph and underseas cables facilitated both the development of broad market-based organisation - including among state actors - and a new era of diplomatic exchange and power.

A recent exploration in *The Guardian* of the verity of the Rothschild-pigeon story noted that "Not one representative from the papers bore witness to Wellington's victory. At that time, news and journalism were only loosely connected. We are heading that way again" (Cathcart, 2015). Reflecting on heavy government censorship and taxation, particularly of foreign news, the author suggests that the hostile environment toward journalism in some countries and authoritarian control of media sources in others unravels the gains made over the past two centuries in global exchange of information and ideas. The feathered Rothschild diplomats were much like their formally-clad human emissaries, sent to convey messages to a small privileged party. At the time, the public received information that was aggregated by

publishers and often direct transcription of proceedings like parliamentary debate. In an era of citizen journalism and first-person transmission via social media, the new challenge for diplomacy, as for journalism, is how to translate data, eyewitness observation and analysis into compelling and trustworthy persuasion.

Explored in numerous forums, development of ICT like the telegraph gave rise to powerful foreign ministries; more rapid – and some argue more emotional (Nickles, 2018) – decisions at capital; rising importance of signals intelligence; and what Nickles calls a "belligerent influence" of public opinion on short-onset crises. This, indeed leads to Ronfeldt's organisational construct of networks as a current influence on and driver of global social interaction, both propelled and supported by ICT development.

Diplomatic theory and tribal-institutional-market-network organisational theory align not only in their shared evolution supported by information and communication development, but in other ways. It is critical to note that human interaction and development is neither singularly linear nor exhaustive, nor should antecedent constructs be forgotten or unstudied. The organisational forms exist as a continuum and successful efforts to influence behaviours and agreements must understand each actor's or group of actors' dominant organisational features, then use appropriate ICT tools and diplomatic strategies to reach and convince.

Where traditional diplomacy was based on one government's attempt to influence another government through formal means – letters, envoys, negotiations and more – the concept that now is understood as PD has traces in the use of propaganda by a government to influence its own and foreign publics and the increasing use of emerging media for one government to influence the public of another government. In 1940 through the 'Blitz' of London, German Führer Adolf Hitler was using a brutal, unsubtle public method to influence foreign audiences. Edwards posits that "bombers attacked the cities in hopes of stirring fear

and panic. Hitler hoped that the daily bombing runs would force the British people to beg their leaders to capitulate" (2004). Across the pond, a more nuanced diplomatic approach to influencing foreign publics was emerging, using "new" media to connect with that audience.

McDowell mentions the British use of broadcast in the U.S. in 1940 to encourage American citizens to support U.S. engagement in what became World War II. The British government gave permission to broadcast – weighing the balance between potentially giving away tactical information to German spies and promoting a view of the stalwart British people holding fast against the forces of tyranny – to Edward R Murrow, a pioneering broadcast journalist who told stories to the American public from London during the Blitz. Shedden suggests that, "with a new technology called television, Murrow helped create the next chapter in broadcast journalism history" (2014). This was PD using the media as an ostensibly neutral vector to promote political action. Murrow's broadcasts exhorted American audiences to encourage their government representatives to engage in a foreign conflict. As Eric Sevareid noted, "Murrow was not trying to 'sell' the British cause to America; he was trying to explain the universal human cause of men who were showing a noble face to the world" (Seib, 2011).

In the 1960s, the term 'public diplomacy' was formulated to describe the parallel actions undertaken by governments to build relations with influential groups of the foreign public (McDowell, 2008). Some attributed Murrow's achievements in renewing U.S. foreign policy to his journalistic skills and his belief in the importance of building trust and transparency. The growing acceptance of PD illustrated the evolving nature and context of diplomacy: Decision-making no longer was restricted to diplomats in the secret confines of government board rooms but instead shifted to the public arena where a multitude of actors were

involved (Kane et al, 2017, p. 1, Kappler, 1998; Smith, 1998; Tyler, 2012)[3]. Several decades later, Tyler recognised an inclusive understanding of diplomacy that "now incorporates civil society, corporate leaders, academics, celebrities and other influential entities" (2012, p. 2).

In the 21st century, traditional boundaries between foreign and domestic publics are fading, as technological revolutions like social media and mobile phone technology arise. Zaharna stated that the development and omnipresence of the internet requires diplomats to examine new ways to target and segregate audiences (Huijgh, 2013). Individuals are taking more proactive and global views, seeking accountability and advocating on issues[4]. Civil society – the network organisational approach – is emerging as a way people organise themselves and influence others across geographic and technical boundaries. Ronfeldt asserts that a combination of forms across the organisational spectrum of tribe-institution-market-network exist, from still-existing monoform tribal constructs like Somali clans to quadriform societies like the European Union that combine the "bright over the dark side of each form" and leverage each to achieve complex tasks. Where some entities might 'skip' an evolutionary form – i.e. a tribal society that leaps over state forms directly to market – the result often is weaker and more prone to conflict and challenges.

Huijgh (2013), noting blurred modern boundaries between domestic and foreign public audiences, argued for a balanced approach that includes inward and outward worldviews. Building and leveraging domestic adherence and support is equally important to cultivating foreign publics. Adopting this approach to PD, she suggests, reflects a more proactive and adaptive ministry role in balancing the needs of foreign and domestic publics (Chitty, 2011).

---

[3] Elements of this paragraph are derived from a group paper submitted for Public Diplomacy 1702 (Kane C, Rose T, Tupou N). They were written by the author.
[4] ibid

McDowell posits that "Public diplomacy is most lively and diverse—and most credible—when it is conducted by governments in cooperation with civil society" (2008, p. 10)[5].

McDowell referenced Canadian consulate in the U.S. campaign activities in the early 2000s that supported First Nation (indigenous) people's groups advocacy for conservation of the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve, stating that voices of impacted populations would be more persuasive to U.S. public audiences, who then would advocate against natural energy resource exploitation. McDowell was convinced that individual stories would be more compelling and that globalism, "particularly information technology and massive flows of international communications and travel," would alter the scope and participation of PD (2008, p. 11). Indeed, this collaboration and silent partnership of a foreign ministry was part of the evolution of PD and the expansion of its relevant actors.

This is a strong argument that IOs by nature are in cooperation with government, particularly the UN and its specialised agencies which 'take orders' from Member States and are intended to reflect the collective will of the majority in attaining global goods. The more cynical could argue that, in accepting donor government funding, IOs are the puppets of wealthier governments. Others, however, would counter with the fundamental humanitarian principles on which IOs are based, the foundation of striving for peace and cooperation among nations, and the activities that serve the most vulnerable.

Concept illustration: DRC Ebola outbreak 2018-2019

The 2018-2019 Ebola outbreak in the northern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is the result of societies with strong tribal associations fighting over rich natural resources without using a state-institutional alliance to allocate goods equitably and to build adequate

5 ibid

25

public health systems. The biform tribal-market society of the northern areas of the DRC requires a quadriform tribal-institution-market-network approach.

The resultant situation, where few benefit due to a 'dark' market approach heightens the negative aspects of tribalism – nepotism, suspicion, exclusion, demonization of non-kin – creating a ripe field for opportunistic diseases like Ebola to take advantage of poor health conditions and structures.

Even with significant international resources pouring in and new technological tools like the first-ever vaccine and better treatment approaches learned during the 2014-2015 West Africa outbreak, attacks on health care workers and facilities have hindered the response, as have the fear-mongering efforts of tribal entities who dissuade others from seeking treatment. The epidemic reached 1 000 cases in eight months; that number has doubled in only a few months. As of 9 June, the situation threatened to become a pandemic, as the first cases crossed the border to Uganda.

While WHO has been working with the DRC Ministry of Health and a team of partners, the coalition has not successfully negotiated peaceful access to populations, nor are all sick people seeking treatment, due to a combination of heavily-sewn fear and misunderstanding. Where the weak post-conflict state failed to establish quality, trusted health systems prior to the outbreak, populations already suffering from malaria and other deadly illnesses fail to understand the fleets of vehicles, enormous technical and financial resources, and establishment of single-disease treatment facilities that fail to address the problems that are most critical to them.

Reflecting these insights, MSF published an opinion piece in the *New England Journal of Medicine* (Vinh-Kim Nguyen, 2019), calling for holistic approaches that address primary community concerns – like treatment also of existing illnesses without charge and more

evenly distributed use of financial resources that includes health system strengthening. MSF pointed to network society approaches that involve enhanced engagement with communities in problem-identification and solving, as well as using community health workers to reach impacted populations effectively.

They call on resource partners – donor governments – to support the response and for non-state groups to stop attacks on health. This approach recognises and uses cultural awareness of tribal networks, strengthens state institutions like the health system, recognises market influences including resource distribution within the community and links civil society networks. It highlights that recognition of societal constructs is critical for effective calls to action in HD contexts.

In this type of situation, we find the voice of IOs increasingly compelling.

2.2 HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

Humanitarian work, including calls to action and diplomatic endeavours, is conducted according to four humanitarian principles – Humanity, Impartiality, Neutrality and Independence (United Nations General Assembly, 1991; UN Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), 2012; Rubin & Dahlberg, 2017; GSDRC Applied Knowledge Services, 2019). These principles are derived from the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement's Seven Fundamental Principles, adopted in its 1965 20th International Conference (IFRC, 2015). UN OCHA summarizes the four humanitarian principles guiding its work as follows:

Humanity	Neutrality	Impartiality	Independence
Human suffering must be address wherever it is found. The purpose of humanitarian action is to protect life and health and ensure	Humanitarian actors must not take sides in hostilities or engage in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature.	Humanitarian action must be carried out on the basis of need alone, giving priority to the most urgent cases of distress and making no distinctions on the basis of nationality,	Humanitarian action must be autonomous from the political, economic, military or other objectives that any actor may hold with regard to areas where humanitarian

respect for human beings.		race, gender, religious belief, class or political opinions.	action is being implemented.

Table 1 The four humanitarian principles, as defined by UNOCHA (2012)

Elaboration of these principles creates an intriguing distinction between humanitarian activities – as carried out by intergovernmental organisations and international NGOs – and the mediation and preventive diplomacy undertaken by the United Nations.

Humanitarian diplomacy is a relatively new term, evolving in the 21st century. In a 2012 paper published in the International Review of the Red Cross, Régnier attempted to define the practice, identify its actors and promote more formal recognition of HD, both in self-recognition by its sometimes-unwitting practitioners and externally among potential interlocutors. Régnier's paper, among other discussions and activities, solidified the IFRC's then-Humanitarian Diplomacy division, composed of a team of communicators, resource mobilisers and partnership experts. It also was a foundation for the DiploFoundation-IFRC Humanitarian Diplomacy diploma course launched in 2012. The course built on humanitarian history, practice and theory and incorporated or blended tools from the diplomatic playbook to incubate and/or solidify the skills of its students and practitioners.

A difference between traditional diplomats and the now-growing cadre of humanitarian diplomats is that the former are specific emissaries of their states, which are legal personalities governed and protected by international law. The International Court of Justice identifies the sources of international law: international conventions, international custom, general principles of law "recognised by civilised nations", and judicial decisions (1945). Through the language and practice of traditional diplomacy contains a rich body of methods to communicate discord, humanitarian diplomats enjoy greater freedom of expression and action, balanced against reduced protection as they conduct activities, negotiations and calls to action. There are, however, legal frameworks that relate to HD, the application, sources,

key provisions and implications of which are ably illustrated in *International Legal Frameworks for Humanitarian Action: Topic Guide*: international humanitarian law (as set out in the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols), international human rights law, international refugee law, international criminal law, and international disaster response laws, rules and principles (Haider, 2013).

Régnier and others have worked to nurture understanding of HD and to unify numerous discrete interpretations among the network of organisations, partners and practitioners and to increase understanding of operational, strategic and conceptual applications. DiploFoundation's rich body of diplomatic history studies and examinations illustrates that the diplomatic role has not always been as representatives of nation-states, but also of tribal organisations, city-states and other constructs since at least 3000 B.C. In fact, Sharp translates an assertion of Ermolo Barbaro, a 15th century emissary from Venice to Rome as realistically expressing that "[d]iplomats have never accepted that their only business is to advance the particular interests of their states. They also see themselves as working for and, therefore, representing the idea of peace" (Sharp, 1998). This idea of a diplomat as an evolving role, in combination with Régnier's observations that diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy that is multi-lateral, multi-functional and multi-institutional, supports and anchors HD within the practice. He uses the term "track two diplomacy" to describe informal discussions within "networks of influence and fora" that convene institutional representatives as well as community members to come to agreement on issues related to people and their welfare. The Ebola example illustrates the importance of framing diplomatic approaches and interventions with a respect for and understanding of local culture.

In less than a decade since Régnier's study, two elements of HD have evolved significantly. The first way is in the recognition of people's right to express their needs. Engagement in

two-way and cyclical dialogue that recognises and responds to those priorities, adoption of locally-generated and sustainable solutions, and requirements that programmes be accountable to communities have taken hold firmly. Language has changed from "beneficiary communication" to "community engagement and accountability". The 2016 World Humanitarian Summit's Platform for Action, Commitments and Transformation included a coalition of diverse actors who committed to funding local organisations to manage humanitarian needs at the community level.

The second HD evolution is in the global understanding of the role, the coalitions and partners engaged in the practice, and the depth and breadth of tools used to persuade others to act in the best interest of the people. Though government representatives may play unofficial or advisory roles in initial negotiation or campaign planning and subsequently lead on presenting legal tools within international bodies, HD actions often are directly led by international and civil society organisations. The evolution of HD should not be perceived as a challenge to classic state-to-state diplomacy, but rather as complementary. Régnier's commentary underscores that "to be as efficient as possible, it has to be co-ordinated with conventional diplomacy in capital cities and in the field, without thereby becoming subordinate to the latter" (2012, p. 1217).

One of the consistently wielded and rapidly-developing tools within the humanitarian toolkit is the call to action. Régnier foreshadowed this by suggesting that a diverse network of actors not only from IOs but also from the public and private sectors could use HD as "an instrument for raising awareness, negotiating, and mobilising appropriate humanitarian aid in emergencies" (2012, p. 1213). Humanitarian diplomacy, as practiced now, should be understood with a broad definition of emergencies, including protracted emergencies, slow

onset disasters, natural disasters, conflict and development contexts as they affect people (e.g. climate change).

Humanitarian diplomacy has grown in both scope and recognition. Within Régnier's 2012 commentary, Ambassador Christopher Lamb characterized it as the efforts to impact operational and programmatic work. The latter part of his definition has come to the fore, particularly in calls to action, which leverage not only actors who can *do something* but also mobilise public opinion to put pressure on governments and international bodies to effect policy change.

CHAPTER 3: CALLS TO ACTION AS A DIPLOMATIC TOOL

Critical elements of successful public affairs campaigns include targeting audiences, identifying effective dissemination channels, crafting messages with clarity and using cultural knowledge to tailor approaches to context. In diplomatic negotiation, practitioners even at the highest levels often use translators to select optimum words for negotiation, relying on the cultural expertise of their teams to advise and guide interactions. Those best equipped to translate between cultures are those who have experience of both. Expatriates, dual nationals, transnational businesses, academics, or international organisation staff, having lived, understood, and at least partially assimilated both cultures, are invaluable humanitarian and PD practitioners. Globalisation has dissolved or diluted market, geographic and communication boundaries; and technology has changed the art and practice of communication and expression of ideas and values[6].

It has both broadened and narrowed the world. People are more mobile. Access to information and ideas is greater, albeit with the counterbalance of information overload. ICT innovations have transformed the landscape for diplomacy. Internet news broadcasts and social media emissions transcend borders. Non-traditional 'news' sources gain traction, and individuals across the globe hold the power of thought, scrutiny and reaction over

---

Facebook's perspective
"We feel a responsibility to make sure our services aren't just fun to use, but also good for people's well-being." Mark Zuckerberg CEO

"If there's one fundamental truth about social media's impact on democracy it's that it amplifies human intent — both good and bad." Samidh Chakrabarti, Product manager for civic engagement
(Vincent, 2018)

---

[6] Elements of this paragraph are derived from a group paper submitted for Public Diplomacy 1702 (Kane C, Rose T, Tupou N). They were written by the author.

information received. In contrast with historical one-way diplomacy dissemination, social media demands interaction and responsiveness.

International organisations' effective practice of community engagement recognises the "rapidly changing ways that people across the world communicate and includes ways that local organisations can take advantage of the explosion of new technology and connectivity to better engage with communities, governments, media and each other" (ICRC, 2017). Social media requires multiple participants to reach audiences, negotiate, and create enduring ties. Social media reveals and releases the power of the public to express, consider and demand action. New diplomacy must leverage well-networked outreach mechanisms. Murrow in the mid-20th century used and trained the U.S. Information Agency staff to communicate American foreign policy through "words, not weapons", clearly and appealingly to public audiences. Various iterations of the following are found throughout PD discussions: "The real crucial link in the international communication chain is the last three feet, which is bridged by personal contact — one person talking to another" (Archetti, 2010).

3.1 TWITTER AND TWIPLOMACY

At a March 2009 emergency management conference in Denver, disaster specialists from the University of Colorado counselled U.S. state and federal emergency managers not to "fight" Twitter and Facebook, but to leverage the potential of the platforms to collect data and more importantly to communicate and understand the needs of disaster-impacted people. "One of the biggest concerns shared by those in emergency management is that there's going to be a lot of rumour in the information that's posted through these types of social networks. Instead, from what we've seen so far, the information is self-correcting" (United Press International, Inc., 2009).

At that conference, only one organisation's representative[7] discussed how her outreach managers were bypassing traditional approval processes and using the real-time capabilities of the platforms. A scant two years later, the American Red Cross disaster operations centre was the location of U.S. President Barack Obama's first tweet, which was regarding the Red Cross's response activities for the Haiti Earthquake.

Since the emergency management conference, the then-director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, Craig Fugate, not only was using Twitter actively, but had become a voice of reason who led other officials to understand the transformation that was underway due to social media. One might term Fugate a "domestic diplomat", who notably said that the time to exchange business cards was not during a disaster. He advocated that civil society, NGOs, state and local government and the private sector actors - a microcosm of international cooperation - initiate relationships and form partnerships during what he termed "peacetime". Fugate leveraged the power of the medium to reach out to the public and to understand context. Fugate testified to the U.S. Senate that to be responsive to the public, FEMA needed to "innovate faster than the speed of government" (Government of the United States, 2011).

The community's investment in two-way dialogue and crowdsourced data proved invaluable during the Haiti Earthquake response, gaining information about human needs through tweets and Facebook posts and disseminating public messaging. Social media played a significant role in educating domestic and foreign publics about the evolution of the disaster response, the actors involved, and the support needed. The IFRC and the American Red Cross, among other National Societies used campaigns and celebrity endorsement through

[7] The author.

Facebook, Twitter and newly-created text donation programmes to rally foreign and domestic publics for support.

Cartoons are a unique method of conveying information. They rely on an audience that is both literate and conscious of political events. Simultaneously, the convey complex concepts in an abbreviated and often easily understood format. Throughout 1939, Great Britain and France were conducting informal and then formal negotiations with the Soviet Union against German expansionism. Though military and political experts were divided regarding the value of agreement with the Soviets, given its recent political upheaval in contrast with its eastern

Image 1 David Low's iconic cartoon about the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (The Political Cartoon Society, 2015)

victories over Japanese forces in China and German Chancellor Hitler's outspoken disdain for the Bolsheviks. In the summer of 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union surprised the world by signing a non-aggression treaty: the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The Soviet Union had been negotiating with both sides, eager to find the better terms of alliance. David Low, a New Zealand cartoonist employed by Britain's *Evening Standard,* produced a cartoon that subsequently has become the most re-published in Britain (The Political Cartoon Society, 2015). In the single frame, German Chancellor Adolf Hitler and Soviet Supreme Leader Josef Stalin bow across a dead body. "The scum of the earth, I believe," says Hitler; "The bloody assassin of the workers I presume?" responds Stalin (2015).

Almost eight decades later, South Africa's Business Day published a Brandan Reynolds homage to Low's iconic "Rendezvous," featuring U.S. President Donald Trump in Adolf Hitler's fascist uniform querying "Rocket man, I believe?" to a flourishing North Korean

leader Kim Jong-un in a communist soldier's garb responding "… mentally deranged US dotard, I presume?" (2018). History repeats and amplifies itself. Following a December 2017 nuclear standoff that had the adult leaders trading personal insults –

where Hitler and Stalin had perhaps defined their insults by ideology – and threats of attack, the two signed a document purportedly aimed at nuclearization of the Korean peninsula. This agreement and subsequent interactions between the two countries have been the topic of numerous tweets, the American President's preferred form of communication, thus perforce his new language of what could be termed "diplomacy". Immediately upon signing of agreement, the President shared his revised view of Kim as a "great personality and very smart, worthy negotiator," noting that he believed Kim to be a "very talented man, and he loves his country very much" (TicToc by Bloomberg, 2018).

In June 1941, the German army invaded the Soviet Union. In April 2019, North Korea launched what it characterised as a "tactical guided weapon," following the breakdown of negotiations in Hanoi, for which Kim had taken a 65-hour train ride and was facing pressure from home audiences (Sang-Hun, 2019). As Scott notes in the lecture, Building Relationships – Politeness and Face, "Concern for face seems to be a universal of human society, and is so central to maintaining good relationships that in negotiations, for instance, substantive issues will often take second place behind face issues" (2017a). It is particularly important in Asian diplomacy. Perhaps reflecting the strength of the President's personal communication mouthpiece – and Trump's abrupt *volte-face* statements that contradict his own staff – Kim has avoided a reprise of personal Twitter barbs, though he has critiqued U.S. policy strongly

and has dangled his weapons arsenal in a bid to continue progress on ending sanctions. President Trump also had declared to a political rally that he and Kim had 'fallen in love' (Associated Press, 2019).

This exchange illustrates an evolution in diplomacy: the increasing use and dependence on digital tools to reach audiences – whether the public, leaders through their publics or leaders directly. Rallies, which the current U.S. President utilises extensively, are a limited vector. Though they coalesce a group around central messages – if iterated clearly by the speakers – they are, for the most part, speaking to an existing group of supporters.

3.2 EFFECTIVE STRATEGIES FOR ONLINE PLATFORMS

Therein lies a new challenge: digital audiences, too, often are tunnelled to reach an already adhesive audience. Certain fields like global health have high social media saturation. Over the past decade, IOs have moved from reluctantly sending highly scripted messages into a broad spectrum of recipients. New tactics include paid advertising to target specific audiences and boost visibility, encouraging and supporting leaders to use the medium for sharing personal insights, and even-now outdated devices like thunderclaps.

As Lippi Doshi, a global health marketing analyst, points out in an online interview with Devex, the nucleus of communications for advocacy organisations is human interest, yet in the research- and evidence-based global health field, "organisations are uncomfortable with simplifying content or exploiting the vulnerable to fit social media platforms and… with the uncertainty of how far content could go in the Twitterverse or on Facebook" (2019).

While some organisations can afford the paid advertising that leverages social media platform algorithms to increase visibility and attract new or loosely affiliated audiences, others rely on the cleverness and experience of staff. In its infancy, social media often was

treated as a playground for junior level personnel. The early 2010s marked a turning point where organisations increasingly leveraged the low cost, high impact, "innovative" platforms, bringing in experienced marketing staff to apply best-of industry strategies.

Regular reporting, reflecting the data-driven digital capabilities, presented ever-increasing figures on reach and impressions. In IOs, measuring impact has been challenging. In the mid-2010s, social media statistics began to be a standard by which success and improvement were measured, even in an industry where actual effects often involve long-term behaviour change versus the real-time nature of social media engagement (Devex, 2019).

Reflecting a sustainable view of campaigns, MSD for Mothers director of advocacy Temitayo Erogbogno says that monitoring and evaluation must reflect progress against progressive targets, rather than judging success by a single end goal. The organisation takes an interesting tactic of monitoring private sector progress and reporting on the impacts, opportunities and gaps through a report at the World Economic Forum. Erogbogno also notes that digital platforms are creating opportunities not only to reach larger and more diverse audiences but also to gather and channel feedback into stronger, evidence-based and more informed calls to action, as MSD for Mothers is doing with their *What Women Want* and *Together for Her Health* campaigns (MSD for Mothers, 2019).

In the Devex interview with Doshi, Carine Umuhuza distinguishes between organisational budgets that would allocate 1 000 US dollars for a social media post yet provide no funding for a year-long call to action. This distinction is important, understanding that modern campaigns are and should not be limited to periodic social media posts, measurements and specific moments in time.

Umuhuza reflects that social media, now a "pay to play space" can be part of an integrated campaign that targets and reaches multiple audiences: from existing low-power adherents,

to influential journalists and thought leaders on conglomerate or personal platforms, to global advocates and decision makers. Doshi recommends looking at classic advocacy approaches that involve one or a series of specific requests like policy change, government action, or support from professional or industry organisations, as well as at retail approaches wherein "only the consumer that ultimately buys matters" (2019).

The digital industry is shifting, from broad, shallow audience targeting to more highly interactive experiences with lower quantities and higher outputs. As young people, a significant audience target, flee Facebook for the ephemeral Snapchat or the one-to-one WhatsApp messaging or the visual imagery of Instagram, campaigns must boomerang from recent focus on numbers, numbers, numbers to influence, influence, influence. Audience adherence requires a strategic course correction from one of a million to one in a million. It requires looking not only at reach but at resonance and developing clear expectations of what actions are targeted, measured and expected. A chocolatier doesn't seek hundreds passing her shop window to take Instagram photos of a creation; she wants people to buy, eat and recommend that dessert. By the same token, leaders of calls to action aim for audiences to understand, agree with and amplify messages within their own and broader networks. They encourage people to take to the streets in protest, write opinion pieces, contact decision makers, organize groups and lobby for diplomatic interventions. This can neither be accomplished nor measured by simple reach and impressions, though several years ago, they were more prized qualitative and quantitative measures.

Thunderclap, a crowd-activating platform, was launched to host and enhance social media activity bursts. Organisations could develop messaging and engage supporters around specific messages, wording and hashtags, then "collect" the commitments to launch all the committed messages at the same time, like a bolt of thunder, to saturate media platforms

and create trending hashtags. Organizers had to achieve a certain momentum or number of followers to collect on campaign pledges. As Doshi notes, thunderclaps were a "fun, perfect example of how to cut through saturation… to artificially create a moment for a certain topic" (2019). Changes in the social media landscape, made Thunderclap "collateral damage" in late 2018, when platforms changed terms of service and functionality following second state election interference (propaganda) and data collection violations that were almost the expected manifestations of the platforms' popularity and utility. As Luminous PR observed, tongue-in-cheek, Thunderclap simply slipped away without significant remark; it "ended not with a bang, but a whimper" (Biggins, 2018).

In part, as seen in the dramatic increase of blogging and microblogging, from Melinda Gates of the global health-influencing Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to U.S. President Donald Trump of bombastic, explosive tweets. International organisation issues often connect with those of decision-makers and top national and international government officials. Campaigns must leverage these interconnections by engaging influencers, be they celebrities, people who are well-known and respected regarding the specific issue, or high-level officials, even within the international organisation.

Selecting influencers, though, must be done with care to ensure that the individual is aligned with campaign themes and that she or he does not have unexpected conflicts of interests.

Concept illustration: World Health Organization global ambassadors

Some influencers are particular prizes, representing multiple equities. WHO has refocused efforts on achieving universal health coverage, wherein "all people and communities can use the promotive, preventive, curative, rehabilitative and palliative health services they need, of sufficient quality to be effective, while also ensuring that the use of these services does not expose the user to financial hardship" (2019). Reviving the 1978 Astana language of

"Health For All," which translates into a brief and easily-understandable social media hashtag, the organization announced new goodwill ambassadors at the 72nd World Health Assembly: Alisson Becker, a football player, and Dr Natália Loewe Becker, a medical doctor and health advocate, for Health Promotion; Cynthia Germanotta, who with her daughter Lady Gaga founded the Born This Way Foundation, for mental health; and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, former President of Liberia, for health workforce.

President Sirleaf, the first female president in Africa, former finance minister, and current member of The Elders[8], represents a particularly sound choice of influencer. Health workers are the foundation of providing primary health care services, and there is a need to address these gaps, especially in regions where the needs are greatest and existing workers are most sparse. Similarly, investment in health worker jobs yields multiple dividends for countries, including creating decent work, economic returns and increased equity, particularly for women. President Sirleaf, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, is known as a global advocate for women. She invested in the health system and community health worker programmes, among others, as president of Liberia. As a former minister of finance and World Bank employee, she is well-equipped to advocate with governments and resource partners to invest in health workers and to draw relevant linkages between investment and progress toward the global Sustainable Development Goals.

[8]Nelson Mandela founded The Elders in 2007 to work on themes related to global governance and leadership; conflict, its causes and consequences; and inequality, exclusion and injustice. Built on the tribal tradition of bringing thorny challenges to elders within a community, the highly select and independent group is composed of trusted and respected individuals who count among themselves former national and world political leaders, Nobel prize winners, and advocates for peace and human rights (The Elders, 2019).

The 80-year old did Tweet her acceptance: "Ready to join others to make global health work

for all! Thank you @WHO" (2019). WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreysus

responded on Twitter, though in contrast to the nuclear exchange between sitting world

leaders illustrated earlier in this paper, the response was gracious and respectful. It is

expected, though, that her global appearances at the United Nations and at conferences as a
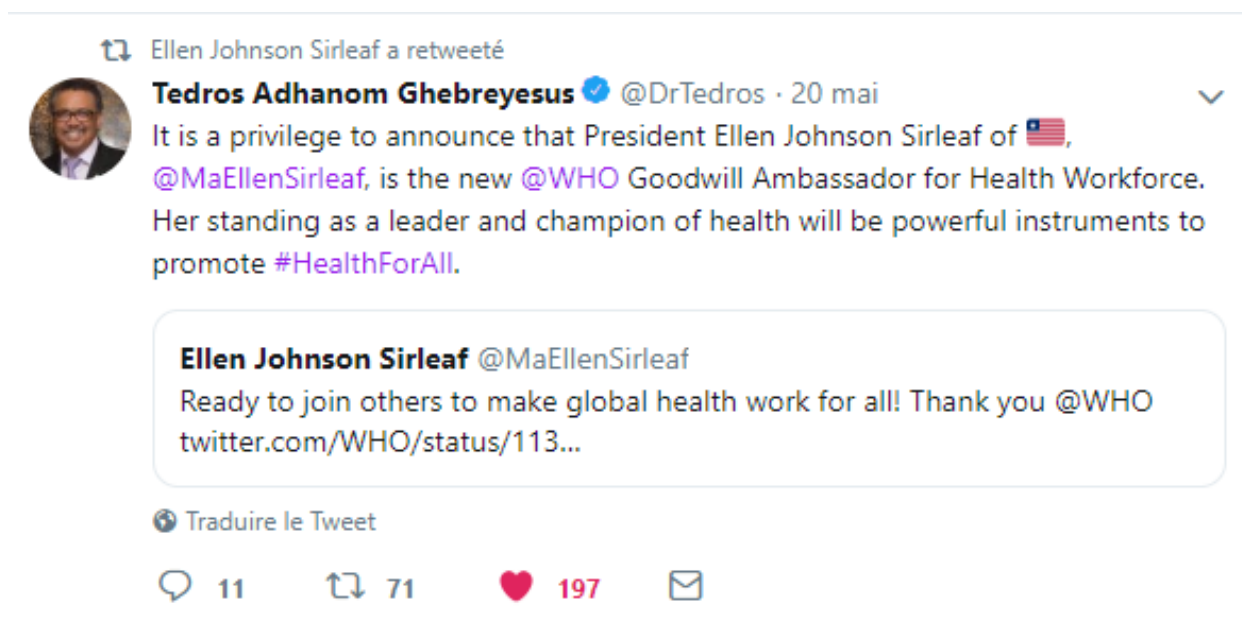
Image 3 Global leaders use Twitter to engage in diplomatic courtesies and to alert the public to an influential global ambassador (Twitter, 2019)

featured speaker and opinion pieces in media platforms will amplify the call to action to

#InvestInHealthWorkers more than classic social media posts, even given her almost 10,000

global followers. Among initial targets for President Sirleaf is the United Nations High Level

Meeting on Universal Health Coverage in September 2019.

3.3 PLATFORM SHIFTS

With great influence comes great responsibility: sometimes regulated, sometimes self-

regulated, sometimes a *force majeure*. In 2018, following allegations and evidence of Russian

interference in U.S. elections and the discovery that a researcher from the firm Cambridge

Analytica had exploited a legal loophole to gain access to the user data of over 50 million

people, users, media organisations and governments began to call for and enact legislation

to effect changes in the legal void that lack of guidance and standards for social media use had created.

Perhaps greater effort has been expended to regulate the vessels of messaging than to address the alleged meddling in another country's domestic affairs. Wood says, "Among other activities which, depending on the circumstances, may contravene the principle of non-intervention are interference in political activities (such as through financial or other support for particular political parties, comment on upcoming elections or on the candidates; seeking to overthrow the government – so-called 'regime change')", calling such interventions non-interference, if not non-intervention (Wood M, 2019). In 2019 a journalism school, the U.S.-based Poynter Institute, pioneered a weekly fact-check column that reports on false news on Facebook. They observe that "misinformation regularly gets more likes, shares and comments than fact checks" (Funke, 2019).

Twitter, in turn, has been criticised broadly as a major purveyor in the rise of "fake news" – a term coined by U.S. President Donald Trump for media stories that were unflattering or that uncovered disparities between what he stated and what existed as quantifiable evidence. From the viewpoint of many other people, "fake news" is information without foundation in facts; it is stories that are fabricated to promote a belief or set of beliefs with no grounding in evidence. In March 2018, founder Jack Dorsey tweeted a long and revealing threaded discussion that began, "We're committing Twitter to increase the collective health, openness and civility of public conversation, and to hold ourselves publicly accountable towards progress" (2018).

Because Twitter and other platforms use both hashtags and user or content algorithms to present content within feeds, users often see additional material that mirrors their existing views. These create echo chambers, wherein material is shared extensively throughout a

group of "believers", and because it originates from a source who thinks as the recipient, it is seen as true. Automated messengers – known as bots – can be programmed to push false information. In late 2018, the platform deleted 6% of all accounts that were suspected bots. Of that 6%, a 6% further subset were suspected to have influenced up to a third of those consuming fake news (Chengcheng Shao, 2018).

While a six-week 2017 study (Wojcik, 2018) by the Pew Research Center found that links shared by suspected bots on Twitter were double (66%) of those shared by humans, an MIT study (Vosoughi, 2018) one year later published in the journal Science examined 11 years of tweets and found that the likelihood of false news stories being re-shared was 70 times that of accurate news and that the incorrect stories were vastly more rapidly disseminated. The MIT team used six fact-check organisations to validate the accuracy of the news stories. The study, "The Spread of True and False News Online", suggested that part of the phenomenon may be due to human behaviour and the fact that people like new things, thus are more reactive to something shocking or previously un"known" (2018).

As networks become saturated and algorithms feed song sheets to an already supportive choir, it is important to look at a diverse array of platforms. YouTube is popular particularly with young people, who also have grown up with the reality television option of self-styled celebrities and influencers. YouTube can be an opportunity to engage these influencers and generate topic interest through scripted yet relaxed conversations, like what Facebook attempted through Facebook Live.

Facebook itself is shifting focus to its messenger service, a one-to-one or one-to-group messaging option that personalises connection. Calls to action should consider how to leverage this type of focused communication to segment audiences with specific asks. Similarly, WhatsApp has over 1.5 billion active users in 180 countries (blocked in China in

2017), with over 65 billion messages sent daily (Digital Information World, 2019). Notably, the platform has an active banning mechanism for fake accounts.

As this paper is about to be submitted, two major developments have occurred that may create further need to evaluate platform choice, safety and performance. On 18 June 2019, Facebook announced its intention to launch a blockchain-based cryptocurrency called Libra. Partners include VISA, Mastercard, Mercy Corps and several others, and Facebook indicated that it was intended to level the field especially for the poor, who often lack access to banks and pay high user fees to transfer funds. This poses potential challenge including lack of relevant technology, cybersecurity issues for a company that has been accused of major failings in their handling of user data, and the potential for this type of fiat currency to destabilise national banking systems. Subsequently, this may cause governments to limit access to the platform.

Twitter, on the other hand, launched Twitter Moments, which present a news feed both of Twitter/celebrity-curated activity or of the user's own network. The feature is only available in certain countries right now, but it appears to be a type of long-form microblog. This could, in and of itself, could create more echo chambers – or could present unique opportunities to present causes to targeted audiences. Twitter suggests it is "the window of what's happening in the world and the current topics of conversation" (Twitter, 2019).

3.4 FAKE NEWS AND PLATFORM REGULATION

Fake News has gained popularity within the modern lingua franca. Vosoughi says a "fluid terminology has arisen" (2018) around the term, which often is used by U.S. President Donald Trump to describe unflattering media reports or those that contest untrue or unsubstantiated statements. Many would agree that it is a helpful shorthand reference for a

group of information that includes what classically is known in diplomacy as disinformation.
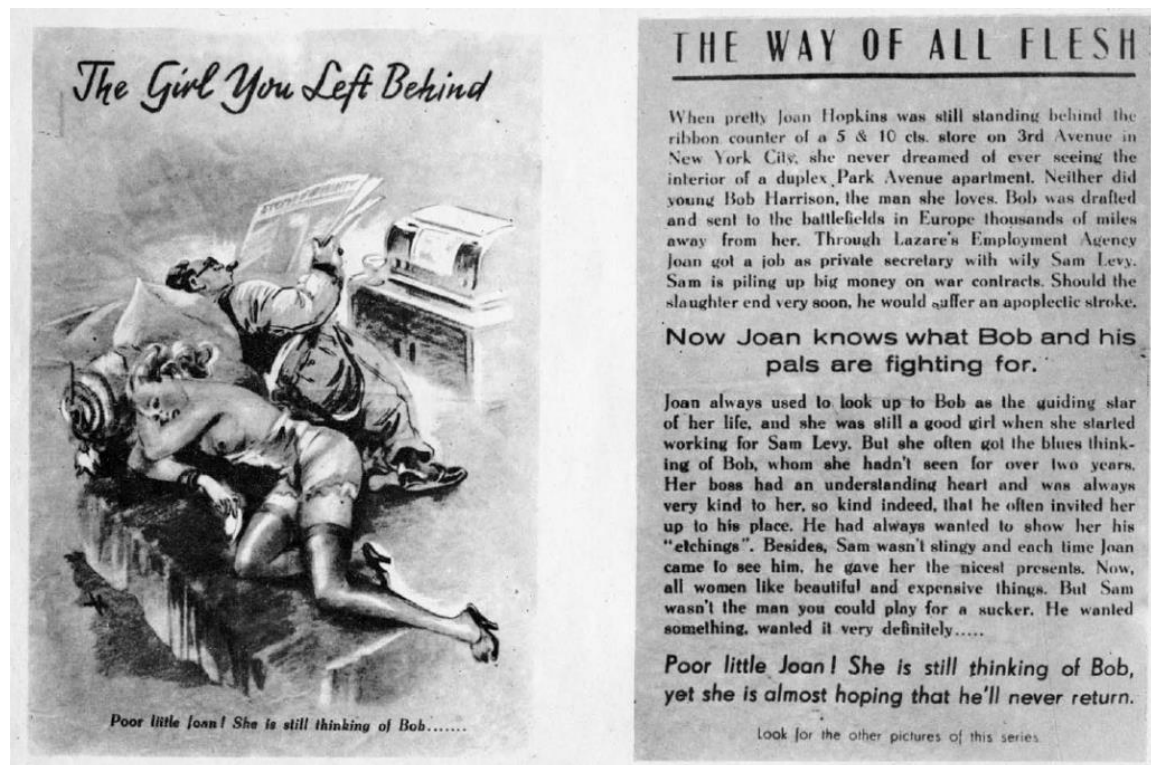
Image 4 World War II Nazi leaflets, air-dropped in France and Italy, aimed to destroy U.S. soldier morale by suggesting that the war was about capitalism and Jewish barons of Wall Street were taking advantage of the "Average Joe". (Diaz, 2012)

One could argue, even, that disinformation distinguishes itself from propaganda in that it presents information that is not true, whereas propaganda presents the perspective of its purveyor in such a way to refute the perspective of another government or authority. While classic person-to-person and leaflet forms still exist and are relevant in some contexts, the growth and penetration of media globally has amplified the impact of fake news and disinformation.

Concept iIllustration: Fake news hinders polio campaign

An example of disinformation and response, which touches on a call to action discussed later in this paper, is that of attacks on polio workers in Pakistan. One of only three remaining countries in the world where the vaccine-preventable disease remains endemic (Global Polio Eradication Initiative, 2019), eradication efforts have been stymied by the weak health

system, but more significantly by religious authorities who have put forward misinformation that includes allegations that the vaccines are *haram* (forbidden) due to the method of production, that they contain HIV to infect the population, and that they contain contraceptives to sterilize the people. All these assertions are inaccurate. (The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, however, did potentially irreparable damage when it collected blood from children in Osama bin Laden's compound under the false guise of a 2011 Immunization campaign (BBC News, 2011).) While religious militant groups use traditional methods like in-person threats and fatwas (religious interdictions) to intimidate parents into refusing vaccination, in spring 2019, they used videos disseminated through social media to spread the myth that vaccinations were causing children to become ill in the religiously conservative Peshawar province. The videos were taken up by major media channels, amplifying the false message. In one of the videos that was spread via Twitter, a man is ordering children to lie down in hospital beds and pretend to be taken ill. The panic that ensued saw over 7,000 children presented at hospital in a single day – disrupting other activities, a health clinic burned a mob and the assassination of a polio worker and the two policemen who accompanied her (Luihto, 2019).

WHO's Dr Abdirahman Mahamud stated that "the media played the greatest role in fuelling the panic by reporting incorrect information, and the rumours spread even faster on social media" (Luihto, 2019). Fake news prevailed – at least for a time – due to social media funnelling and reach and to the failure of local news channels to fact-check or to report responsibly. Authorities did respond – the government paused the nationwide campaign, investigated the conspiracy and arrested suspects. Physicians, the Pakistan Ministry of Health and WHO presented accurate information.

In fact, the reactive campaign reflected the entire tribal-institution-market-network spectrum, engaging a coalition of partners through a combination of a strategic communication plan and a "perception management strategy" against the fake news. Using cross-media approaches, engaging influencers and community leaders as trusted audience messengers and convincing market providers like Facebook, Google, YouTube and Twitter to remove inaccurate and damaging, a coalition has emerged that includes the Pakistan Ministry of Health, digital providers, implementation partners and WHO.

In Afghanistan, a combination of local influencers like a young man who was paralysed due to polio – now an #endpolio advocate – and "Mobile mullah" teams of community elders and religious leaders were able to convince and vaccinate 50% of "chronic refusers" in several districts (UNICEF, World Health Organization, 2018). The approach of listening to and employing members of local communities to use their linguistic and cultural knowledge – as well as their authority – to influence local people is ascending, particularly within the international development community. Muhammad, a health worker from Lady Reading Hospital, said, "[o]ur government should use [religious leaders] because they are very approachable [and] forceful. They can convince the people," (Luihto, 2019).

Despite a base strategy in Pakistan that comprised the international development community's approach to engage national and sub-national influencers to promote interventions and build trust and a methodology that delivers those interventions through trusted local people like community health vaccinators, the polio example illustrates the complexity of correcting and countering misinformation. It demonstrates the importance of building the trust upon which credibility is measured. When a bad actor advances the reasoning that high income countries (HICs) do not have polio, but they manufacture the vaccine and administer it in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) where the virus does

exist, one can understand why – in an environment already polarised by anti-Muslim language – people could believe a conspiracy theory.

Whether it was the 24/7 news cycle's compulsion to report first or malignant control of the medium, this incident demonstrates the power and responsibility of both the fourth estate and individuals to validate news. Recognizing that digital media and social platforms are not the only vehicles for communication, one must simultaneously acknowledge their power to spread information and ideas. Some of the necessary components include digital literacy, multi-level regulation and intentional diplomacy at all levels.

As countries strive to meet Sustainable Development Goal targets, they must include digital literacy within education. In many countries, this is becoming part of primary and secondary education, and it needs to expand to any population utilising digital tools. The past decade, concurrent with ICT growth and reach, has yielded some interesting examples. In the U.S., the Obama era Federal Trade Commission produced a digital literacy guide that included guidance on cyberbullying, validating information and data found online and cybersecurity. Some found it ironic when a few words were changed, and the pamphlet was re-released as part of First Lady Melania Trump's Be Best anti-bullying campaign.

Perspective is divided regarding freedom versus regulation of traditional and new media platforms. Some would argue that it is not fair, realistic or enforceable to compel social media platforms to regulate or assure the material that is presented through those vehicles. Facebook, a platform that was originally created by a boy at university to fulfil a universal, yet perhaps not terribly high-minded pursuit of girls, may not be willing or capable of making or enforcing those determinations, as was perhaps evinced through the various testimonies before parliamentary bodies in the wake of the Cambridge Analytica scandal. There are some examples, like the polio information above, in which Facebook, which owns YouTube

and WhatsApp, cooperated to remove false material. What was the logic, authority and impetus, though for those actions? Mark Zuckerberg's personal compass? A staff member? Pressure from international bodies? What if Zuckerberg and his team had subscribed to anti-vaccination theories?

In some countries, notably those in the Middle East, government controls all or most media. This includes those that shutter access to social media (post-Arab Spring Egypt; Ethiopia and Sudan (June 2019); China, albeit with the substitution of the highly-surveilled Weibo) and those that control television and newspapers. Most Western societies – of note, the same ones in which social networks incubated and took root – believe that a free press is a foundation of free governments and people. Known since the French Revolution as the fourth estate, the media has been upheld as a representation of the right of the people to unbiased information. Social media – blogs, microblogs, personal publishing – has changed that dynamic from a group of trained professionals at least to a certain extent bound by a code of ethics, to a potentially powerful flood of individuals bound not by a code but by their conviction in their own beliefs and their own truth.

Simultaneously, the voices, words and actions of those with stronger platforms carry further. With great power comes great responsibility. And with the global reach of ICT, diplomacy is needed now more than ever before. As evidenced in the polio example, the Muslim world already was heavily polarised by state-controlled media, years of life in war-impacted environments in part created by the post-2001 "War on Terror", and global news that brings strong anti-Muslim rhetoric, particularly from the White House. The rhetoric from President Trump includes recommending surveillance on mosques, an executive order banning visas for visitors from Muslim countries, moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv, and cutting U.S. aid (Alaoui, 2018).

While global media growth, platform proliferation, information overload and message penetration provide a rich field for disinformation and fake news, they provide equally fertile soil for the exchange of ideas and persuasion. The time is ripe to present facts and evidence and to use the time-honoured diplomacy toolkit of linguistic mastery, cultural competency, reason, persuasion and authority. Humanitarian diplomacy reflects the reality of the network era, while recognizing tribal and institutional organisational constructs. HD calls to action fundamentally rely on universal shared values that prompted and are the foundation of the IOs that carry them forward.

Far from mere informal gathering spaces, social networks provide a platform for change, advocacy and coordination, as seen in phenomena like the Arab Spring. Where previously countries had greater governance of national media, the Internet opens floodgates of information and ideas, though there increasingly are ways to block platforms accused of spreading seditious information.

In 2014, outgoing IFRC Secretary General Bekele Geleta reflected, "Today, vast numbers of people want change. Many of them have lost confidence in traditional sources of wisdom and authority, such as government, religion, formal education or family values. While rejecting the past they remain unclear about what to expect from the future or how to get there" (Geleta, 2014, p. 6). In the humanitarian sector, IOs and international NGOs have the power to harness that spirit of revolution, in their role as upholders and convenors regarding global issues, and using inexpensive, far-reaching and (mostly) accessible platforms.

CHAPTER 4: ROLE OF IOS IN CALLS TO ACTION

International organisations play important roles in diplomacy, as technical experts, actors, conveners and globally-recognized mouthpieces. As such, IOs have a right and a responsibility to lead and collaborate on calls to action.

One of the most important contributions that digital technology can make to humanitarian operations is to ensure that the voices of people affected by disasters and complex emergencies are heard. Disaster-affected people are not 'victims' but a significant force of first responders. They need to be empowered and engaged as part of the overall aid effort. Their recovery, their future and their lives and livelihoods are at stake. (IFRC, 2013)

In 2011, MSF celebrated "forty years of independence", noting "This slogan may seem misleading as, apart from exceptional and temporary circumstances, in moments of severe disruption, MSF is never given total freedom by authorities who totally abdicate their responsibilities. In fact, not only does it need others to authorise its action, but also to take it over, amplify it, prolong it and help implement it. MSF is permeable to outside influences and ideologies. Therefore, the issue for MSF is not so much achieving total freedom of action but being able to choose its alliances according to its own objectives, with no allegiances and no concerns about loyalty" (Magone C, 2011, p. 10).

4.1 INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO BAN LANDMINES

One of the most photographed monuments in Geneva is in a plaza just outside the UN campus. It is a chair with three legs, the fourth jaggedly broken off. This sculpture, often the site of protests and assemblies, not to mention ubiquitous selfies by tourists, symbolizes and

stands testament to an early and successful call to action: The International Campaign to Ban Landmines.

The ICBL's novel approach, adapting traditional state-to-state diplomatic negotiation on an issue that was considered untenable, has been both criticised and lauded. The ICBL's call to action, which arced from traditional grassroots organisation of churches, women's and children's groups, and peace activists to international campaigns, action and negotiation, is studied by academics. It is considered not only a singular

Image 5 The Broken Chair in the plaza right outside the United Nations in Geneva reminds visitors of the impact of landmines and the ICBL call to action (MHM55, 2007)

phenomenon, but a change-point in HD. Mahlen's commentary (2004) underscores the influence of ICBL's coalition that included ICRC and UNICEF, while harnessing the unprecedented impact of engagement of an international public to accelerate and drive a diplomatic process.

Though landmines have existed for centuries, the years following World War II saw increased use of the weapon. Landmines are weapons manufactured for military anti-personnel or anti-tank use, placed underground, that are set off when a person or object comes near, touches or applies pressure. Landmines are indiscriminate and can harm or kill military forces, animals, children or other civilians and have durable potential to detonate for decades. Although Protocol II of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects (Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons, CCW), an annex to the Geneva Conventions (United Nations Treaty Collection, 1980), establishes the failure to mark and record landmine placement to assist with subsequent removal as a war

crime, it fails to create the necessary requirement to remove the weapons. This poses an enduring threat, especially to civilians.

In the autumn of 1991, Asia Watch of Human Rights Watch (HRW) and Physicians for Human Rights launched a report on landmines in Cambodia and called for a global ban on landmines, which was echoed by Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk. Two national NGOs, the Vietnam Veterans of America and Medico International of German agreed to convene other NGOs for a joint campaign. Within a year, and following a landmine ban petition by Australian nationals to their government, six NGOs – Handicap International, Medico International, Mines Advisory Group, and Physicians for Human Rights and Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation – committed to collaborate and to convene a conference, a well-known diplomatic mechanism. Early progress was achieved when seven countries established landmine export bans and the European Parliament passed a resolution urging Member States to ratify the CCW and expand its applicability to the internal conflicts that represent a growing segment of warfare; ban exports and training to lay landmines; and appropriately resource and prioritise mine clearance (ICBL, 2012).

Just prior to when the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and its rapidly-expanding coalition of 40 organisation hosted its first international conference, the ICRC, a centuries-old humanitarian influencer and convenor, held a symposium on the issue. The ICRC's discussion brought together representatives of national governments and their armed forces, mine industry representatives and NGOs. And three United Nations resolutions – the first requesting that the UN Secretary-General report to Member States on the issue, and the second brought forward by France to review the CCW and a third by the U.S. to ban antipersonnel land mine trade - were passed.

UN General Assembly Resolution 48/79 requested the Secretary-General to report on the CCW and its protocols and, with encouragement from Member States, to convene a conference and "establish as soon as possible a group of governmental experts to prepare the review conference and to furnish needed assistance and assure services, including the preparation of analytical reports that the review conference and the group of experts might need encourage states to sign the CCW" (United Nations General Assembly, 1993). This resolution specifically recommended the ICRC to be invited, promoting international organisation participation. (International organisations that are in official relations may observe, but not vote, in deliberations.) The request to the Secretary General is a methodology to underscore attention given to an issue, to release funding and to engage external experts. It holds the UN responsible for reporting, an endeavour that frequently requires external inputs, followed by national government validation. Further, the States called upon their counterparts to join as signatories and to attend the proposed conferences.

While UN resolutions lack the force of treaties, the first resolution requesting action by the Secretary General allowed resources to be dedicated to pursuing the issue, as it reflected the will of Member States. All three resolutions laid the groundwork for the progress that followed as the ICBL built a coalition of national and international NGOs, issued calls to action for the public to petition their governments, and built the necessary evidence, arguments and language to progress.

An intriguing signal of how the campaign reached a key target audience is that a group of Italian landmine production workers not only called upon their government to support cessation of production and sale of landmines, but also demanded that the government allocate humanitarian assistance for global victims. For most workers, demanding that their

industry cease functioning is counterintuitive, as it would result in loss of livelihood. This extraordinary public opinion shift and subsequent response to the call to action resulted in the Italian Defence Ministry agreeing to the former request (International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 2012).

During the 1990s, while early versions of email existed in some countries, the major method to reach many public audiences was through print media, television, petitions and staged events. One such event called to mind the strong result of indiscriminate weapons like landmines – loss of limbs. The ICBL, foreshadowing the Broken Chair, built a pyramid of shoes in front of the United Nations building. A stunt? Yes. Highly visible and interesting from the media perspective? Also, yes. This global awareness-raising activity was complemented by the ICRC's international media campaign, launched in the same year as NGO- (Vietnam Veterans of America) sponsored New York Times articles, endorsed by high ranking former military officers. Both sets of actors are recognized authorities – the military officials in weapons of war, and the ICRC in the humanitarian impacts of indiscriminate weapons, and ideally both in the conventions governing warfare and acceptable targets. As Scott notes, "words alone cannot have the power of action unless the speaker who utters them is vested with the right authority" (2017b). Recognised authority, even in indirect speech acts – those without the binding force of law - are an important quality for diplomatic negotiation.

> *"According to Joseph Nye's 'paradox of plenty', which refers to the glut of information which characterises our age and the concomitant dearth of attention, the only way out of the paradox is to tell a winning story, and thus capture not only attention, but hearts and minds"* (Scott, 2017c).

For political operatives and decision-makers in the latter half of the 20th Century, conferences, workshops and discussions were strong methods of influence. ICBL and its growing international network of NGOs and partners coordinated campaigns and well-

aligned messages. In addition to the general officers referenced above, the campaign also leveraged public and political influencers. The United Kingdom's Princess Diana was a spokesperson and conducted visits to countries infested with landmines, meeting with children and adults who had lost limbs or even family members. U.S. President Clinton, UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali, ICRC President Cornelio Sommaruga, UNICEF Director Jim Grant, Pope John Paul II and other world leaders used platforms like policy seminars, television appearances, annual United Nations meetings, hearings and newspaper features to call for an end to antipersonnel landmines. Beyond traditional influencers, however, ICBL worked with a type of group that may soon enjoy a renaissance as leaders for calls to action: people impacted by the issue. In this case, the key spokespersons using storytelling and personal testimony were landmine survivors.

It is worthwhile to note that, while early commitments like that of the Italian government to cease production and trade of antipersonnel landmines and of Belgium as the first country to pass a national law banning landmines, it is unlikely that an individual government would have had the requisite leverage, credibility and trust to initiate and move the diplomatic process forward on this issue. Between security concerns, suspicion of former enemies or colonialist nations and lack of national power base, few governments, if any, had the necessary authority, narrative and influence to move this activity forward. In many cases, other issues had much more substantive and political value and thus received more significant attention.

The ICBL used a coordinated local to national to global approach, rapidly growing partnerships with NGOs and with IOs like the ICRC – which does have moral authority regarding the human consequences of weapons of war, sharply-identified policy goals and visible convening mechanism. The coalition led by ICBL repeatedly called not for the weak

"eventual elimination" or worse yet, the continued use with the requisite mapping that could lay the groundwork for recuperation of the weapons post-conflict, but for the total ban on antipersonnel landmines. In the first CCW Review meetings, ICBL's attempts to have the mine ban included were not a success. ICBL leader Jody Williams noted, however, that "the heightened international attention to the issue – began to raise the stakes, so that different governments wanted to be seen as leaders on what the world was increasingly recognizing as a global humanitarian crisis" (1997). Within its first six years, the organisation had over 1 000 partners working in 60 countries (Williams, 1997).

The existence and momentum of the well-established campaign created the necessary political space for governments to begin engaging in strategy with ICBL, as a side meeting to the CCW Review Conference. The side meeting led subsequently a second meeting in Ottawa attended by over one third of United Nations governments. The resultant Ottawa Process translated a public call to action to one directed at governments, calling for development of a treaty within the year. In early 1996, believing that progress relied on negotiation external to the Geneva-based UN Conference on Disarmament, the Austrian government had circulated to interested states and NGOs early drafts of a total ban on anti-personnel mines. There was little political momentum or support from other states. As there was a perception that presentation of a total ban convention would derail the process of the Ottawa Conference, the meeting promoted instead a set of practical measures and a political statement. The international organisation ICBL, which won the Nobel Peace Prize, did not release its pressure on the public to continue its action. Following numerous expert consultations in Europe, with participation of states and representatives of NGOs, the treaty was ratified by 89 States in Vienna, on 18 September 1997. In December 1997, as 122 countries ratified the Mine Ban Treaty, thousands of individual global public citizens signed what ICBL termed the "People's Treaty".

In its press release, the prize committee noted, "The Norwegian Nobel Committee wishes to express the hope that the Ottawa process will win even wider support. As a model for similar processes in the future, it could prove of decisive importance to the international effort for disarmament and peace" (1997). The ICBL, whose key HD role the Nobel Committee noted as having "changed a ban on antipersonnel mines from a vision to a feasible reality" in a brief timespan, did not stop at success. They recommended an approach to implement the treaty within three years. The campaign was supported through philanthropic and Canadian government funding.

In her Nobel lecture, Williams stated, "It proves that civil society and governments do not have to see themselves as adversaries. It demonstrates that small and middle powers can work together with civil society and address humanitarian concerns with breath-taking speed. It shows that such a partnership is a new kind of 'superpower' in the post-Cold War world" (1997).

The Nobel Committee's citation recognised the call to action's efficacy in coalescing, convening and amplifying public support "in an unprecedented way. With the governments of several small and medium-sized countries taking the issue up… this work has grown into a convincing example of an effective policy for peace" (Nobel Prize, 1997). The populist campaign not only reflected action and activism that motivated governments in high income countries to take note, but also stimulated small and medium-sized countries to take note and act. Often, coalescing small and medium-sized states is accomplished through intergovernmental coalitions that are regional or national issue-based, such as the small island developing states who band together on issues related to climate change; the Visegrad 4 (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) who represent an anti-migration bloc within the European Union; or the African Union.

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines represents an example in which an international organisation, coalescing both national and other international NGOs, engaged small and medium sized governments to get involved directly on the international issue. In contrast to a state-inspired intergovernmental call to action, the leadership on the landmine ban issue was external and multi-dimensional. Further, the singular focus of the coalition has supported decades of continued advocacy and research missions, pressure and reminders to governments of their commitments since the Mine Ban Treaty entered into force in 1999. The ICBL coalition meets regularly, and the annual *Landmine Monitor report* provides a published record that holds Member States Parties accountable to their public. So, too, does an annual United Nations General Assembly resolution. While resolutions officially are drafted, presented and agreed-upon by Member States, diplomats often consult subject matter experts regarding language for the resolution drafts, and civil society often attend UN meetings as observers in official relations, making floor statements in support of resolutions.

What was effective about this call to action? As noted in the Nobel Prize Committee's citation, hard results were achieved in an extremely short amount of time and the processes established a model of engagement. Part of persuasion – what Jazbec (2013) might argue in this case was "pressure", as the bulk of the campaign was conducted publicly – rests on the moral authority of the persuader. In the case of ICBL, the use of mine victims as key influencers and storytellers underscored not only the humanitarian impacts of this weapon on civilians, even long after conflicts were over, but also the international legal conventions like the Geneva Conventions that prohibit targeting civilians. They exposed policy gaps like the CCW's requirement to map mine placement for eventual removal, but the lack of a requirement to remove the mines and attempted a variety of solutions. They gathered coalitions of NGOs and international organisations. They used coordinated messaging and outreach through contemporary vehicles. They partnered gradually with national

governments and participated as experts in drafting international agreements. They continued advocacy and research missions, published annual reports and supported country implementation.

4.2 IFRC CAMPAIGNS

The IFRC is a membership organisation, composed of 190 National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies[9]. Composed of these many joined perspectives, deeply based in and reflective of the communities in which volunteers and staff serve, the organisation is a natural vector for HD and action. Convening, negotiating agreement and focusing the perspectives and needs of 190 members is a diplomatic effort within itself. Further, the IFRC has committed to developing humanitarian diplomats, in collaboration with DiploFoundation and with National Societies. Based on these factors and the humanitarian imperative, it falls to reason that the IFRC would conduct calls to action to leverage its internal and external audiences.

4.2.1 Silent Disasters campaign

In October 2013, the European Union European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) directorate-general partnered with the International Federation of Red Crescent Societies to raise awareness of the "silent disasters" to which ECHO and IFRC were responding. Silent disasters are understood to be those issues of serious humanitarian concern like drought, food insecurity, unemployment, lack of access to health and poverty that, while not necessarily attracting wide news coverage, have devastating effects on populations and lead to ill health, death, national and regional instability and increasing humanitarian needs. Small and medium disasters, which comprised 90 per cent of most Red

[9] As of June 2019.

Cross and Red Crescent Society operations globally in 2013 (Geleta, 2014, p. 7) often are underfunded and under-recognised in traditional media.

Both to call attention to the issues like rising unemployment, increasing economic divides related to income disparity and migration and mobility-related issues that National Red Cross societies were addressing and to promote wider understanding of ECHO funding allocations on behalf of European governments and their citizens, the IFRC Silent Disasters campaign was launched in 2014. Following extensive consultation with European National Red Cross Societies on audiences, vectors, and linguistic and cultural resonance, the month-long campaign targeted audiences in each country through public service announcements on radio and television, short awareness videos broadcast in movie theatres, and opinion pieces in newspapers, as well as a substantive social media, web, and opinion leader campaigns.

Each National Society determined which approaches would be most effective in reaching their country's public audiences, and each contributed to shaping the principle messages and to translating the materials into the local language. The combined approach of using traditional and new media strengthened awareness of preparedness and resilience, as well as knowledge about ECHO's utilisation of public funds. Similarly, the thoughtful and deliberate audience targeting heightened campaign effectiveness, as did national and local activities related to the campaign.

In its 2013 Annual Report, the IFRC demonstrated that across all channels, the campaign reached "a staggering 90.7 million people in Europe and around the world. Specifically, the campaign materials and messaging reached 76.9 million people through traditional media channels, more than 8.5 million people through cinemas and television, and more than 5.2 million people on social media channels and websites" (2014, p. 23).

4.2.2 Your Voice/Voices to Action

Also in 2013, as governments, the UN and IOs were tumbling toward the stated endpoint of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the related assessment and stock-taking exercises were conjoined with the need to develop a new roadmap for what was known at the time as the Post-2015 Development Agenda. Increasingly, IOs were giving credit to the concept of listening to the voice of the people, in that local beliefs and ideas should be well-reflected in global goals and actions.

The IFRC initiated a campaign called Your Voice, supported by ECHO funds, that aimed to gather community level perspectives on what the new global goals should prioritise. The call to action to "add your voice" was launched in mid-August 2013 on World Youth Day as a four-language online portal with seven top-level priorities (disasters, health, peace, inequality, participation, learning and migration) from which visitors could select up to three as their priorities for global action. Visitors also were invited to add their own words, stories and photos in any language. The campaign was launched through emails to the leaders of 187 National Society leaders and their communication focal points, as well as on the IFRC and National Society social media accounts. National Societies were urged to promote the engagement tool to staff, volunteers, beneficiaries, youth organisations, partners, donors and public, who then could vote for the themes and issues they wanted reflected in future development goals. An interim report on the results was slated to be delivered four months later at the General Assembly, a bi-annual meeting of all member Red Cross and Red Crescent National Societies, with activity continuing throughout the consultative period established by the United Nations.

The IFRC requested that members post links to the tool on their social media platforms, and in the first month, the estimated reach on Twitter was approximately 235 000 accounts

reached with an exposure of almost 302 000 impressions. Facebook results on member platforms were 423 shares, 1 699 likes and 145 comments/votes (IFRC, 2013a). In the first four months, there were approximately 6 000 votes and under 50 comments. For the consultation, which was proposed to last a year, the initial target was 1.5 million responses.

The IFRC Declaration on the post-2015 humanitarian agenda (2013), issued following the November General Assembly, referenced the ongoing Your Voice campaign and followed by endorsing a policy agenda and statement of purpose that called for governments to "lead decisively in taking action to protect the environment for future generations; addressing the negative impacts of climate change; and strengthening the resilience of vulnerable people, their communities and livelihoods to disasters and crises, food insecurity and health related risks" (2013b). The declaration underscored the contributions of Red Cross Red Crescent volunteers in serving humanitarian needs and emphasized that the "voices of volunteers and those in communities in which they work should inform the design and implementation of the post-2015 agenda, thereby ensuring that goals, targets and indicators relate directly to those whose lives they will transform" (2013b).

Given this belief and the then-network of 187 National Societies and almost 15 million Red Cross and Red Crescent volunteers, why did this call to action yield a mild response? Surely, the Movement placed a priority on the role of civil society, especially those engaged in humanitarian development and response, in shaping the global development agenda. Similarly, the organisation is recognized by other international organisations, donors and governments as a high-level interlocutor.

Several challenges dampened the effectiveness of the call to action. The first was that the campaign entered an already crowded space, wherein the UN had been conducting its public consultation already for a year. Too, the UN was the organisation recognised as being chiefly

responsible for the formulation, delivery and reporting on not only the MDGs but also their antecedents. And the UN call to action had its own challenges, including the discovery that a significant number of responses were spam originating in Nigeria. The Your Voice campaign sought to consult the public through its members, but only in four languages and with options that were stated differently from those of the UN consultation, without a clear reasoning for the difference. The voting portal lacked a clear value statement on why individuals should lend their voices and where the expressions would be channelled.

On the technical level, the campaign relied on member organisations to prioritize this message within already crowded communication channels that had evidence of strongest response during emergency situations, in most cases. Either the call to action was diluted by messaging about emergencies, most of which were in home countries and took precedence over longer term issues like global goals, or the channels were less prominent due to the lack of emergency situations. Individual channel results were not automatically integrated into the global portal.

Further, and quite critically, the nature of the campaign as an online consultation prioritized internet-connected voices from mainly high-income countries in the Global North, where many individuals already had most basic needs met, but also were overcounted in existing metrics due to the high levels of connectivity and engagement in social platforms.

Several approaches would have increased the effectiveness and relevance of the consultation. Primarily, the call to action would have gained much greater traction had it targeted the 15 million volunteers directly and *a priori*. The purpose of the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement and its role in the humanitarian development space is clear to this population. The volunteers are active in engaging local voices, aggregating concerns and feedback and presenting these perspectives in sub-national, national, regional and global

fora. Critically, the global development community, including the UN, recognize the Movement's role in representing this aggregate perspective based on local action.

One of the initial proposals had included small stipends for National Societies within low- and middle-income countries that would have supported consultations within communities that would have been conjoined with service delivery efforts like immunization, health promotion or livelihoods support. The proposal suggested a Humans of New York[10]-type approach in which the interviewers would have gathered personal stories that illustrated the community-level perspectives. Not only would that type of effort offer value to the communities consulted, but the call to action would have reflected a linguistic, cultural and socio-economic perspective that was absent in other consultations. Lastly, this type of effort, as seen in some other campaign efforts, could have harnessed the power of storytelling to translate findings into PD that targeted larger constituencies.

Lastly, the call to action was limited in scope to a single set of actions: voting on a portal and writing up to 100 words. The portal did not include a mechanism to directly forward or even to aggregate feedback by nation, type of vote or advocacy target outside of the broad UN consultation. Most calls to action guide the audience to make a personal commitment, engage in an activity or promote their beliefs to leaders, policy makers, groups or corporations.

As the call to action developed over an additional year and a half with significantly larger budget expenditures, there were several national consultations and more interactive materials posted. The overly-broad audience targeting, missed opportunity to reach underrepresented community voices outside of the digital space, absence of clear objectives

---

[10] Humans of New York is a popular photoblog started in 2010. The creator conducts brief interviews with people he encounters, then shares capsule stories of everyday (mostly) individuals, on which others comment. The author has since expanded to special international editions, including in partnership with the United Nations (Humans of New York, 2019)

and failure to call for action outside of keyboard clicks limited the impact of this call to action. The concerns and policy perspectives of the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement were taken into consideration within the formulation of what are now known as the Sustainable Development Goals, and subsequent consultations will benefit from strong planning, targeting, evaluation of Movement strengths, and enhanced representation of communities, particularly those who represent the last mile of development objectives.

The declaration (2013) established the following commitments:

> *Firstly, in order to reduce the devastating impact of disasters on sustainable development, we commit to enabling every community in high risk areas to have a capacity to prepare for and respond to disasters.*

> *Secondly, in order to contribute to the realization of universal health care, we commit to having a volunteer in every community in which we work who is responsible for facilitating access to basic health services.*

> *And thirdly, in order to ensure development can be sustained domestically, we commit to continuing efforts to strengthen National Red Cross Red Crescent Societies as trusted partners and effective auxiliaries to their governments in humanitarian and development work.*

The call to action could have been informed strongly by the values and clarity of these commitments: strengthening community capacity, having volunteers facilitating access to health services (primarily through government-supported health centres) and reinforcing the national entities as voices and advocates with national governments. In effect, had the IFRC as an international organisation utilized its network by engaging in PD with domestic and foreign audiences, combined with the privileged diplomatic status between National

Societies and Member States and the IFRC and the United Nations, the call to action would have contributed more efficiently and powerfully to the SDGs.

A final challenge to the Your Voice campaign, which was revived a year after the launch as "Voices to Action", was that Your Voice and its antecedent competed with several concurrent campaigns on a variety of topics. The relaunch of Voices to Action in 2014 coincided with several concurrent campaigns, including a commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Fundamental Principles adoption, the launch of the One Billion Coalition for resilience, World First Aid Day, the Rights of Migrants in Action, and the Climate Information to Climate Action initiative (IFRC, 2016). Each of these public action campaigns was launched, soft-launched or re-launched in autumn, which diluted each message and potential audience participation, not to mention organisational resources. Launching so many calls to action in such a limited timeframe was a humanitarian version of the children's game Simon Says, leaving public and network audiences wondering where to leverage their voices and resources.

It is incumbent on organisations and individuals to learn from experiences. The second iteration, Voices to Action, did incorporate some lessons from Your Voice. It had a dedicated project lead and approximately ten times the funding, offering both sustainability and enhanced consultative opportunity. Further, the campaign materials were tailored to meet a wider audience and included print materials, videos and culturally appropriate animated stories. Further, the second campaign targeted a more specific audience and aimed to influence a specific audience. It was supported by some partners.

In 2017, the Global Disaster Preparedness Centre, a reference centre in collaboration with the IFRC, published a "Comprehensive Campaign Checklist" (2017) to guide work on calls to action. The document demonstrates reflection on previous activities and incorporates

numerous best practices for campaigns. Among the first issues covered are researching other actors working on the issue, building partnerships, targeting audiences and decision-makers, planning and sustainability, selecting "messengers", using an appropriate marketing mix and understanding the audiences' knowledge, attitudes, culture and behaviour. The final item on the checklist outlines the importance of monitoring and evaluation and lists indicators and approaches.

4.3 UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established following World War II to deal with the large-scale displacement of people in Europe and has long-surpassed its initial three-year mandate. A refugee is "someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion," (UNHCR, 1966) according to the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which is grounded in the 1948 Universal declaration of human rights. The organisation engages in political negotiation and diplomacy with national governments, IOs and stakeholders on high level agreements like the Global Compact on Refugees, which outlines objectives, roles, a programme of action and follow-up evaluative activities (UNHCR, 2018), as well as operational activities both providing direct support to refugees and auxiliary activities like training border and entry officials. UNHCR's website states that, "Advocacy helps to transform policies and services that affect displaced and stateless people on a national, regional and global level" (UNHCR, 2019a). In addition to the policy and practice activities with governments, the organisation also targets NGOs and the public, initiating campaigns and calls to action to gather and consolidate public solidarity and to fundraise.

We will look at two recent calls to action as best practice examples: #WithRefugees and 2 Billion Kilometres to Safety. They share strong targeting, good use of technology, use of PD methodologies to influence audiences to engage their leaders on foreign policy issues, clear asks, engaging storytelling and use of spokespersons.

In 2016, the number of displaced persons worldwide – over 65 million people (UNHCR, 2016) – was the greatest in recorded history. As global leaders prepared to meet in New York for the UN Summit for Refugees and Migrants, UNHCR launched the #WithRefugees call to action and petition on World Refugee Day. With Cate Blanchett, an actress and UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador, joined by several other actors, the organisation used social platforms to share true stories collected from refugees on 'What They Took With Them' (UNHCR, 2016).

The UN Summit was coordinated with the launch of a new SDG Media Zone, a dedicated place for hosting live media conversations "where Heads of States, UN leaders, CEOs, celebrities, young people and high-level guests will engage in interactive 30-minute dialogues followed by a Q&A" (Refugees and Migrants, 2016) about Sustainable Development Goal work. In a coincidence not unfamiliar to diplomats, the SDG Media Zone also hosted evening cocktail receptions to facilitate high level collaboration. One novel approach included using specially-equipped goggles to conduct virtual reality tours of refugee camps.

4.3.1 #WithRefugees

The #WithRefugees call to action uses storytelling to elicit empathy (feeling *with*) and sympathy (feeling for) people forced to flee their homes, often with little notice, by talking about what individuals chose as cherished or practical items that might help them move into an uncharted future. The stories in the film were illustrated by a carefully and professionally

curated set of images from a project entitled "The Most Important Thing". Photographer Brian Sokol interviewed hundreds of refugees in collaboration with UNHCR to produce the project. Using the relatively new Facebook Live platform, UNHCR selected celebrity actors with cultural resonance to deliver a full week of discussions around the world that linked with the Facebook, traditional media and Summit launch of the #WithRefugees campaign and the related film. In related campaign materials, UNHCR frequently makes use of video taken in the field and produced internally to present real faces, activities and stories.

The call to action included the request that the audience sign a petition to Member States, with three requests: 1) the right for refugee children to education; 2) respect for the right to safe living conditions: and 3) employment and integration opportunities in host communities (UNHCR, 2016). Signatures on the petition exceeded 900 000 by the time it was presented at the UN Summit to the Secretary-General and the President of the UN General Assembly. The requests were carefully worded to reflect not only the human rights enshrined in the convention, but also basic values that many people share globally: education, safety and supporting one's family. The language changed a "refugee" from an intruder to be detested to another person, forced to leave home, but ready and eager to contribute to their host community.

In addition to working with celebrities, the #WithRefugees call to action partnered with a wide coalition of organisations, many of which work outside the migration field, including academic institutions, resource partners, private sector, youth groups and NGOs. The #WithRefugees coalition, which now numbers over 500 organisations, highlights two key elements of successful calls to action: action itself and engaging partners. Many of the coalition members engage in practical support to refugees, including hosting families, fundraising and allocating institutional funds, publishing research, organizing events, and

advocating with governments and influencers. Taking a page from PD handbooks, many of the coalition organisations also represent diasporas like the Syrian Youth Assembly and coalitions in and of themselves like Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network and the MENA Civil Society Network for Displacement (UNHCR, 2019b).

Like celebrities, youth engagement increasingly is an essential component of successful calls to action. At the national government level and within international forums, a concerted effort is made to ensure youth are represented, their voices heard, and their inputs considered. If one takes the #WithRefugees coalition member the Syrian Youth Assembly as an example, it is evident that their participation is recognised at the highest levels, including through their presence in the UN Special Envoy to Syria's civil society room during peace process discussions (Syrian Youth Assembly, 2019). Young people are engaged, strategic, aware of global processes and decision-making. And they are connected to each other, vocal and adept at using digital engagement tools to amplify calls to action.

Food, sweet food. It's difficult to be angry and resentful with a beautiful plate of food, surrounded by flavourful options and a festive atmosphere. Harnessing the popular phenomenon of food trucks and the legendary French love of gastronomy, Paris-based charity Food Sweet Food partnered with UNHCR in 2016 to present the Refugee Food Festival, to achieve three objectives: public perception change regarding refugee status; accelerating employment, training and integration of refugee chefs; and convening civil society and the public. Advertised through social and traditional media, targeted to the self-proclaimed gastronomes of the world and focused on specific objectives, the call to action has measured success not only through expansion at citizen request to 16 cities worldwide

by 2018, but with almost 64 thousand supporters, 150 trained and employed refugee chefs,
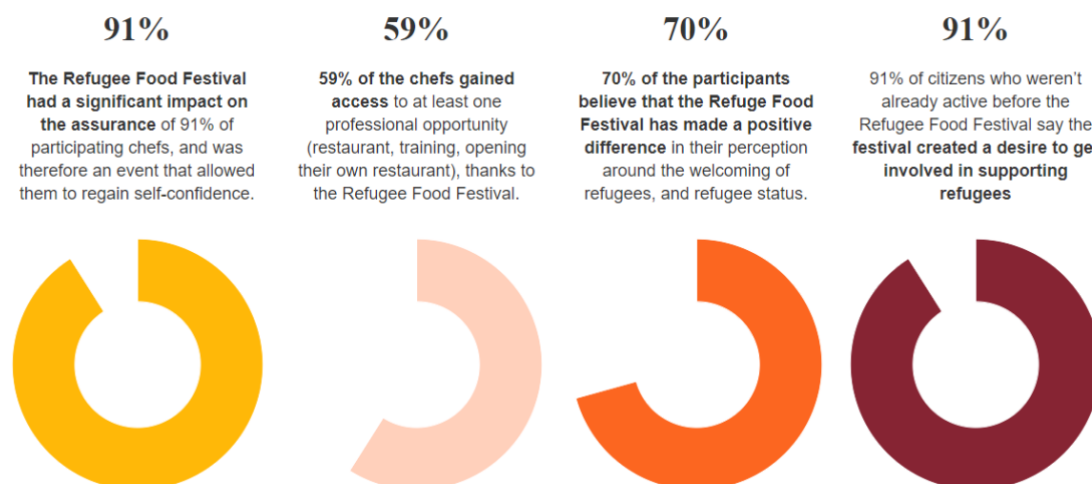
91%

The Refugee Food Festival had a significant impact on the assurance of 91% of participating chefs, and was therefore an event that allowed them to regain self-confidence.

59%

59% of the chefs gained access to at least one professional opportunity (restaurant, training, opening their own restaurant), thanks to the Refugee Food Festival.

70%

70% of the participants believe that the Refuge Food Festival has made a positive difference in their perception around the welcoming of refugees, and refugee status.

91%

91% of citizens who weren't already active before the Refugee Food Festival say the festival created a desire to get involved in supporting refugees

Figure 2 Results from the impact measurement carried out by (IM)PROVE and supported by the UNHCR (2018).

and 100 partner restaurants. In 2018, social impact was externally measured, with significant results, as illustrated in Figure 2.

In her DiploFoundation Language and Diplomacy lecture on Securing Agreement, Dr Biljana Scott discusses "our twin tendency towards divisiveness and othering on the one hand and towards unity and inclusion on the other" (2017d), noting Mark Leonard's table delineating differences between traditional diplomacy and PD (Leonard M and Alakeson V, 2000) – in and of itself an othering exercise – that distinguishes PD as a persuasive, convincing and artful practice of attraction. Culinary diplomacy, then, is an approach that counters alterity by highlighting the common human interest in good food while changing perceptions on tribal superiority. The Refugee Food Festival asserts that, "Cooking makes it possible to go beyond status, to discover other people's worlds, by sharing what is both the most singular and most universal" (2018).

#WithRefugees demonstrates not only the increasing role that calls to action by IOs play within the field of PD – influencing governments using their own and foreign publics and influencing international governing bodies – but also best practices for those calls to action.

Humanitarian campaigns gain impact through meticulous preparation and planning, understanding and correctly targeting audiences, providing clear advocacy asks and identifying courses of actions, engaging coalitions and influencers, selecting and shaping language to increase assonance, and using global platforms effectively.

As considered in the Chapter on Digital Engagement, the social media landscape is shifting as silt in a desert haboob, creating a wall of dust that obscures the discourse pathway of the future. UNHCR and its engagement team seek to map the pathway through an active consideration of potential platforms. Spokesperson Kathryn Mahoney described this effort, "As the debate on social media echo chambers reaches a fever pitch, it is becoming more and more important for all of us to reach outside of our follower base, outside of our filter bubbles to tell these humanitarian stories of critical importance. More than ever before, we now need to diversify our audiences, reach the unconverted, and in my case, humanize refugees to the very people that may not want to welcome them in their own communities" (UN Social 500, 2017). The audience examination that accompanies the evaluation of discourse mechanisms underscores UNHCR's understanding that public opinion shapes political perception and decisions. Mahoney notes, "Given shifting political landscapes and rising xenophobia, this is certainly becoming more and more challenging, yet ever more important" (2017).

4.3.2 2 Billion Kilometres to Safety

The agency's 2019 campaign, 2 Billion Kilometres to Safety, truly puts action at the top of its call to action. The UNHCR campaign leverages a landscape analysis that recognizes a multibillion dollar global endurance sport and fitness industry, identified in the business world as "sweat equity" (Kelly, 2016). The trend aligns financial resourcing with personal fitness, often expressed through social posts and campaigns.

UNHCR calculated the number of kilometres per year that refugees – people forced to leave home due to violence or fear of persecution – travel to reach the first point of safety. The campaign has dual aims to raise awareness about the challenges for refugees and to raise funds to support agency and partner activities to support refugees in host countries. In its strategic targeting the agency's audience is, albeit not exclusively, middle- and higher-income individuals whose leisure activities include walking, running and cycling. This group tends not only to monitor the activities online and via fitness apps, but to share the data with their networks. Similarly, this audience forms a significant portion of the population who utilise sporting events as fundraisers and awareness-raising. In addition to engaging a public audience that already is receptive to refugee issues, the agency and its celebrity spokesperson actor Ben Stiller seek to engage fitness adherents. When they "join the movement", they are exposed to stories of families-a deliberate connective word choice-who have been forced to leave home.

In an era of increasingly conservative and anti-immigrant national government leadership, a rise in hate speech and false information on international media channels and anti-immigrant acts like mosque bombings and church shootings, there is a humanitarian imperative to reach public audiences, counter bias, change what U.S. PD used to call "hearts and minds" and engage champions to advocate with governments, vocally and with resources support refugees and take political and social action.

UNHCR's approach of storytelling to counter othering, of gathering people and groups around activities of commonality like eating and fitness, and of using influencers and coalitions via digital platform activity is a consolidation of best practices in international organisation calls to action.

4.4 ICRC HEALTH CARE IN DANGER

A critical component for any call to action is a thorough analysis of the problem to be solved or global good to be created through a campaign. In 2008, the ICRC, observing increasing attacks on health facilities and health workers. As the pillar of the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement that takes a lead role in conflict situations, the ICRC's authority is rooted in Henry Dunant's actions in 1869. A Swiss businessman, he was traveling past the Battle of Solferino. Taken by the tens of thousands of wounded and dying men, he mobilised the local community to give food and water, dress wounds and help the soldiers of both sides to write messages to loved ones. Dunant followed up on his return to Switzerland, arguably as the first humanitarian diplomat, convincing both fellow Swiss leaders and several national governments to commit to the principles that civilians and the wounded should be spared additional suffering and consequently that medical facilities and personnel should be protected and accorded neutral status. These principles and their evolutionary descendants are enshrined in the Geneva Conventions and its Protocols, of which ICRC is the guardian.

The Committee's first study, initiated in 2008, provided rich data on the number and nature of attacks, though the authors acknowledged that significant gaps remained due to areas that were inaccessible to reporters and humanitarian workers. Further, the subsequent report acknowledged that the available statistics did not adequately "reflect the indirect and multiplier effects of these attacks as health-care facilities close and staff leave" (ICRC, 2011, p. 5).

Based on the data collected within the initial two-year reporting period, the ICRC launched the Health Care in Danger campaign in August 2011 to "raise awareness about the issue and promote practical solutions that can make the difference for millions in the field" (ECHO, 2013). In autumn 2013, the European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (EU-ECHO) department supported campaign dissemination in seven major European cities, then

repeated the campaign with new poster materials provided by ICRC at the end of the year. ECHO underscored the reasoning for its engagement and financial support of the project stating, "[I]ncreasing knowledge about this humanitarian problem can influence perception and foster engagement amongst EU citizens, while empowering change" (2013).

A critical starting point for calls to action, in addition to evidence-based comprehensive research and landscape examination, is building coalition. Often, coalitions are incubated within an existing "family" of organisations. In the case of Health Care in Danger, an initial resolution was drafted in 2011 among national Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies during the 17th General Assembly, which is the biannual policy-setting body of the IFRC and its member National Societies. The resolution called upon actors engaged in conflicts to adhere to "obligations to respect and protect the wounded and sick, as well as health-care personnel and facilities and medical vehicles, and to take all reasonable measures to ensure safe and prompt access for the wounded and sick to health care, in times of armed conflict or other emergencies" (The Magazine of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, 2011).

*"**The ICRC Hospital in Kigali: An Island in a Sea of Inhumanity**
An extraordinary example of success in ensuring respect for the sanctity of a hospital, its
personnel and patients, occurred in the Rwandan capital, Kigali, during the 1994
genocide. As the organized slaughter of the Tutsi minority and those deemed to support
them continued relentlessly for three months, the ICRC and MSF teams saved ten
thousand lives in a compound protected only by the Red Cross flag. They ventured onto
the streets to collect the wounded, with only their badge, their courage and the strength
of their arguments to prevent the wounded from being torn from the back of ambulances.
The hospital was threatened several times, and was damaged by rocket fire more than
once, but was never forcibly entered by those scouring the city for more victims. It even
inspired some killers to stop: before fleeing the city when they knew they were defeated,
some militiamen brought a Tutsi nurse they had held for the last three months to the
hospital to release her. 'We have decided not to kill her despite the fact that she is a
Tutsi,' they said to the head of the ICRC's delegation, Philippe Gaillard. 'As a nurse she
will be more useful in your hospital than dead'"* (ICRC, 2011).

Immediately following the General Assembly, the 31st International Conference adopted

Resolution 31/5 (2011) on Health Care in Danger. The International Conference convenes

the Movement, national governments and partners in discussion that "influence debates on

humanitarian issues of universal concern and lead to development of new policies and

international law" (IFRC/ICRC, 2019). As noted, with forceful diplomatic language in the

resolution's preambular clauses and by understanding that the International Conference

does not conduct political activity, the resolution neither encumbered States nor did it alter

the Movement's mandated roles. The use of the word "stressing" regarding these two items

suggests that there likely were strong concerns raised by certain parties to the drafting and

subsequent negotiation.

The operative clauses set the framework for the subsequent call to action. One clause recalls

the purpose and foundation of the resolution, and another requests reporting at the

subsequent International Conference, a standard resolution tool that reinforces intent and

often sets internal requirements for project funding to achieve requested deliverables. The

remainder of the operative clauses "call upon" States and Movement components to take

actions. The resolution urges States to adopt and implement national safeguarding measures

through legislation, regulation and operationalisation, and calls upon them to respect obligations, ensure medical objects are marked, investigate and prosecute crimes, inform and enforce measures for arms-bearing personnel. For partners, the resolution calls for increasing global comprehension, support strengthening health care facilities and health workers, train Movement workers, cooperate with other humanitarian actors to provide health services, and use the auxiliary role to further activities related to decreasing acts that jeopardize medical activity (International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, 2011).

The reporting and resolution-drafting activities crystallised several months later in an expert consultation that convened health workers, academicians, partner organisation representatives and Movement actors to identify next steps. States were challenged to ensure operational compliance with existing norms and laws, to improve protection for health facilities and workers and to fortify national legislation. Though the outcomes did not specify actors, the following activities are assumed to be led by ICRC and supported by the other participants: conducting an awareness campaign rooted in data and evidence and creating and consolidating guidance for health workers operating in situations of violence or conflict (ICRC, 2012).

Via these activities – conducting research and analysis, gathering a coalition, setting an international basis of general accord, and specifying activities – the ICRC laid firm ground for their call to action. The Health Care in Danger campaign was a logical, funded and supported outcome. Though initially slated as a four-year project, it is in its eighth year and includes a wide body of reference material, activity, learning guides and campaign-specific tools, as well as new partners and targets. The overall target of the Health Care in Danger project is to

effect change in the field through application of diplomacy, behaviour change, research and community engagement tools.

Following a 2013 report on Ambulance and Pre-Hospital Services in Risk Situations, an important audience distinction was identified. Commentary during the Movement's General Assembly in Sydney indicated that health worker awareness and personal protective activity was insufficient in the face of escalating violence; community trust was highlighted as a requisite objective (ICRC, 2014a). Reflecting a growing awareness and valuation of communities and their members as important interlocutors in local to national to international action, the concept that both impacted populations and the public could impress upon bad actors, as well as upon national and global authorities to create change was integrated more strongly into the call to action.

Building momentum for, as well as separately from, large international gatherings, the Health Care in Danger campaign amassed a variety of materials both to create compelling arguments and to transmit those arguments to audiences to demand or request action. These included materials for audiences in different contexts, including those who were not users of digital media, to effectively transmit concepts like international law and the incumbent obligations on individuals, states and international bodies. Calls to action on international humanitarian issues cannot limit themselves to attentive Northern audiences, raptly tweeting and participating in thunderclaps. They must transmit the impacts, regulations and requests for adherence more broadly, particularly at the level of the individual actor who could be variously a victim, activist or perpetrator.

The author recalls clearly a vignette in late 2014 in Kono Province, Sierra Leone. The country was still recovering from an 11-year civil war that had decimated the health system and eroded community trust. In 2014, a new threat hung over the country: a pandemic outbreak

that stemmed from a case one year previously. Entering a Sierra Leone Red Cross chapter building, sunlight came through the windows of the clay walls, illuminating posters bearing coatings of the thick dust that surrounded the complex. The building had intermittent electricity. As the health and care advisor discussed community engagement activities to stem the spread of the Ebola virus, he drew out a well-worn handbook on international humanitarian law (IHL), stacked on his computer-less wooden desk with Health Care in Danger brochures and reports. This Red Cross worker was the audience, the messenger and the advocate.

The call to action had reached him with appropriate materials to his context, and he carried forward the messaging, advocacy and action. He taught community health volunteers how to safely approach, advise and advocate with their neighbours in a time of heightened violence and mistrust. He held classes with arms bearers to increase their understanding of IHL. And he reached broader public audiences through use of loudspeakers driving through communities, convening village health committees with the support of tribal and religious leaders, and taking to the radio – a predominant communication medium – at peak times to transmit messages to gain community adherence and peaceful reception of health workers. The radio broadcasts engaged health authorities like the ministry of health representative and a safe and dignified burial team member – the workers who then were in some of the gravest danger not only from the highly infectious disease but also from angry and scared communities. Many young volunteers had been ejected from family homes. Simultaneously in the capital, the country's most famous comedian filmed shows that demonstrated health messaging and urged acceptance of health workers; a well-known rapper recorded a song.

These actions were informed by learnings from the Health Care in Danger call to action and by the training activities carried out by the ICRC and partners to enhance awareness and

knowledge of IHL, particularly for weapons bearers and national government authorities. While not specifically tied to the campaign, the training activities illustrate the criticality of using a variety of mediums to reach audience targets appropriately. Through trainings with armed forces and the leaders, the ICRC educates on and reinforces IHL. And as a neutral broker, the organisation carries out training activities with multiple conflict parties independently. It is both through these activities and through specialised analysis of domestic legislation and regulation that the ICRC identifies and advocates for necessary amendments to existing laws and practices.

A global call to action can effect a local to international response. The Sierra Leone example also illustrates the potential impact of attacks on health facilities and personnel in conflict and situations of violence. When health workers have been frightened away or killed or when health facilities are damaged, people are not able to seek health services. Lack of access to health is a significant indicator for poverty and economic disempowerment, in addition to impacting morbidity, mortality, labour productivity and gender outcomes. All these indicators can lead to further conflict and instability. And they leave a ripe breeding ground for disease, which in the absence of health services and surveillance can lead to epidemics and pandemics. These scourges are, indeed, the foundation upon which Health Care in Danger builds its case. They are why part of the Health Care in Danger project includes strengthening health systems and building resilience against the impacts of conflict and other situations of violence.

Returning to the Health Care in Danger campaign, for two years the ICRC engaged in consultative discussions to gather experiences, data and expert advice with over 500 representatives of civil society, arms bearing groups, National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, government officials and humanitarian organisations prior to the 32nd

International Conference (ICRC, 2016). During this time, the call to action gathered partners, including MSF, medical student organisations, health professional associations, as well as institutional and national government donors, the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement and other national level civil society groups.

The 2015 32nd International Conference passed Resolution 4, which recognised the progress made, repeated numerous preambular assertions from the earlier text, and identified a distinction that while IHL applies only in armed conflict, its tenets for a framework for understanding protection of health personnel, buildings, vehicles and health seekers in situations of violence. The resolution stressed concerns regarding escalating violence and attacks amid rising numbers of conflicts, particularly in prolonged conflict situations.

> *Between January 2012 and July 2013, the ICRC collected data in 22 countries in situations of violence or conflict. There were 1 405 incidents in which ambulances were attacked directly or obstructed from conducting health work. A non-scientific extrapolation is that these attacks happened 3.5 per month in each country – almost weekly.*

The engagement of States through members of the public, groups and National Societies auxiliaries to government led to United Nations Security Council resolution 2286 in May 2016. Drafted and introduced by the governments of Egypt, Japan, New Zealand, Spain, and Uruguay, the UN resolution was co-sponsored by 86 Member States. Commenting on the resolution for a recorded video interview that is part of the Health Care in Danger call to action testimonials, Cathrine Andersen of the Permanent Mission of Norway notes that States chose "to anchor it in a broader community of States, and we would like for the UN, for other NGOs, for governments to take more responsibility to protect health care. We think that what you do in peacetime is what prepares you for conflict situations, and I think

we have underestimated the long-term consequences for society, for families, for individuals, when health care is not respected" (ICRC, 2015a).

International Conference resolutions are commitments by National Societies and expressions of commitment by States Parties. They are not enforceable. Similarly, UNSC 2286 is non-binding. The resolution "demands that all parties to armed conflicts fully comply with their obligations under international law, including international human rights law, as applicable, and IHL, in particular their obligations under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the obligations applicable to them under the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977 and 2005, to ensure the respect and protection of all medical personnel and humanitarian personnel exclusively engaged in medical duties, their means of transport and equipment, as well as hospitals and other medical facilities … and demands that all parties to armed conflict facilitate safe and unimpeded passage for medical and humanitarian personnel" (2016).

UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon delivered a strategy three months later to operationalise the recommendations. Secretary General Ban, on passage of the resolution, declared "The Council and all Member States must do more than condemn such attacks… they must use every ounce of influence to press parties to respect their obligations" (UNSC, 2016).

Reflecting the dichotomous nature of HD that has evolved since Lamb's characterisation of the practice as one more weighted toward operational or programmatic objectives, the Health Care in Danger project aims to enhance global awareness about violence and its impacts on the provision and stability of health care in conflict and situations of violence. The objectives, while inclusive of practical objectives and operational actions, also include courting public adhesion with the subsequent goal of influencing global decisions. The biannual reporting, intended for use by the ICRC, National Societies and other partners, provides "data that can inform operational strategies and encourage decision-makers to

take action to prevent violence against health care", as well as to address operational strategies at field level (ICRC, 2015b, p. 1).

The campaign's claims three complementary objectives: promoting public awareness and understanding; collecting and strengthening activities on the ground and national operational standards, laws and practices; and mobilising a community of concern as a "catalyst for change" (ICRC, 2019a). The first objective to enhance public awareness is accomplished through a mix of activities and channels. The ICRC has produced a series of campaign materials to encourage behaviour and perception change among both traditional and digital audiences. Traditional approaches include posters and leaflets, while digital options include several web spots, short video testimonials, web banners, microsites and a short film. The digital materials can be downloaded or ordered. The Health Care in Danger campaign web site includes prompts to encourage usage of the film at events, roundtables, debates and conferences; the web spots and social media hashtags #NotATarget and #ProtectHealthCare following attacks; and a general exhortation to invite other interested parties to join the campaign (ICRC, 2019b). In addition to the public, members of the Movement, partners and ICRC staff often are significant vectors for raising awareness.

Prior to the UN General Assembly, partners from professional organisations and Member State representatives filmed advocacy videos to present their perspective on the issue and on the need for diplomatic action and agreement to address the dangers to health workers and facilities caused in conflict or situations of violence. While initial global campaign efforts were focused on multilateral diplomacy and awareness raising, Health Care in Danger calls to action now are leveraging the global cohort of advocates to encourage and implement regional and national campaigns aimed at joint action to change both behaviours and domestic regulation and law through dispersed "communities of concern" (ICRC, 2019a).

Reflecting an evolving best practice that can be enhanced through technology, the Health Care in Danger campaign includes a community of practice, a concept that also is noted in the Global Disaster Preparedness campaign checklist. Catalysts for change (participants) include partners noted earlier, from a wide swathe of professional organisations, who present expert observations on measures to bolster the safety of health personnel and services. This non-exclusive group welcomes partnership and recognizes that members bring not only expertise and the ability to impact domestic laws and activities, but they also form another set of mouthpieces through which campaign messages are conveyed – from a trusted and respected voice. The activities of the community of practice occur in parallel with and at times complementing those of ICRC delegates in the field who train their colleagues, advocate with national governments and arms bearers, and analyse environments and context to bolster health system and health personnel resilience.

Following an attack on a police training centre by a vehicle camouflaged as an ambulance and after public denunciation by the ICRC, the Taliban indicated that it would investigate the incident and pledged that the misuse of a medical vehicle would not recur. As a non-state weapons-bearing organisation, the Taliban is not bound by international agreements or conventions. This pledge is illustrative of the negotiation conducted by ICRC and of the power of public attention. (ICRC, 2011, p. 19)

The ICRC also uses thoughtful targeting in its call to action and surrounding activities. In conflicts, parties are no longer confined to official state actors. Though the Geneva Conventions have been ratified by most States, there is no such mechanism for non-state actors, despite the iteration that parties to conflicts are required to care for the sick and wounded as soon as hostilities cease. Recognising that non-State combatants are a critical audience in protecting health care, the ICRC deliberately negotiates access to warlords and non-traditional military leaders and teaches International Humanitarian Law. These negotiations are based on ICRC's status as a neutral international organisation that takes no sides in conflicts.

The Health Care in Danger call to action utilised numerous best practices and modelled characteristics that are found in successful campaigns by international organisations. The call to action was based on solid and representative research and analysis. The international organisation leading the call to action leveraged not only an existing member network of some 17 million volunteers and staff worldwide but also a network of stakeholders with expertise, influence and concern on the issue, including national governments and their armed forces. The lead organisation stands on its own century and a half of experience and is recognised as an authority on the matter. Consistent progress – from multilateral diplomacy efforts that resulted in international resolutions and agreement to national and regional implementation of policy analysis, legal and regulatory change and practical training – has marked the call to action. Health Care in Danger has used a blend of traditional and digital tools to build, nourish and grow a global network of advocates and activists.

Portions of the campaign have utilised "celebrity" and well-known spokespersons to deliver messages, like famed Italian orthopaedic surgeon Alberto Cairo's TED Talk on his decades-long work in providing prosthetics and orthotics in conflict and post-conflict Afghanistan (TEDxTalks, 2011). Campaign audiences targeted ranged from Movement members to professional organisations active in health service delivery; from Member State resolution champions to weapons bearers and their leaders; and critically from communities of concern to those impacted by conflict and situations of violence. Methods ranged from legal analysis and drafting to debates and training workshops and to online videos, games and animated design to convey the messages that health workers, civilians, and medical vehicles and facilities are #NotATarget.

If examined only through the lens of quantitative impact, some might argue that violence and attacks on health care are increasing at a ghastly rate. It is important to take into

consideration both that the call to action recognises that violence has been a method of resolving differences throughout human history and that the Health Care in Danger project aims to limit the impact of violence and conflict on health services, communities, workers, facilities and vehicles. One also must account for the increased efficacy of modern tools of war-fighting.

What is the impact of a UN Security Resolution that called for respect for IHL and accounting for attacks on health care? Augmented, more detailed and more accurate security reporting has demonstrated increasing numbers of attacks, and this is the expected result of counting better. And the Red Cross Red Crescent resolution? It has indeed formed the basis of analysis, negotiation and strengthening of regional and domestic instruments. Weapons bearers and some non-state actors (Rwanda, Afghanistan) have benefited from workshops, on- and offline training and gaming applications. Health facilities have been able to garner resources to build more sustainable and resilient structures and systems. Resources have been provided to train health workers on their rights and responsibilities. And a global community of individuals, communities, professional organisations, partners, international organisations, governments and the ICRC are engaged in sustained and productive discussion, debate and problem solving.

Concept illustration: Gamification and the future of audience engagement

At the 2013 International Conference, a group brainstormed how to get games manufacturers and militaries to incorporate IHL concepts into digital war games. The idea grew out of traditional ICRC HD role to train soldiers and militaries about IHL. Though games manufacturers resisted initially, a small team of gamers - ICRC staff within the Innovation section – built momentum with partners and the industry. Within the downloaded content

for one online gaming company, the game – a training tool now used for military members – reflects expert ICRC inputs on IHL and impacts of violations (ICRC, 2017) and a video – storytelling through illustration – explains the laws of war. Players are penalised for targeting civilians in online battles.
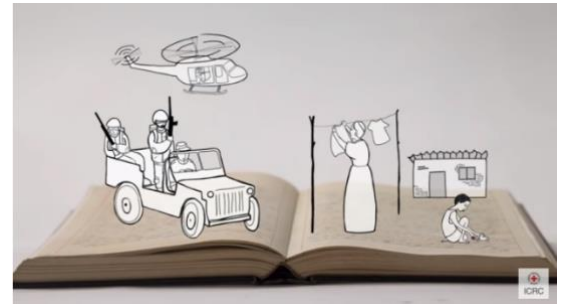
Figure 3 Rules of War (in a nutshell), explains IHL in fewer than five minutes, using illustrations with voiceover explanation and anecdotes by those who have experienced Health Care in Danger (ICRC, 2014b)

ICRC President Peter Maurer challenges:"The ICRC is urging governments and companies to deal with the humanitarian impact of conflict in the virtual world, and to address critical questions: what's a security incident vs. an act of war? How does proportionality apply? How can virtual attacks distinguish between civilian objects and military objectives?" (ICRC, 2018a).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The 21st century has launched a new era of diplomacy in the form of what is now known as HD. In the past century, diplomacy has evolved from the sole use of back room conversations and emissaries to advocacy and negotiation by IOs to reach global publics and subsequently to influence governments. Joining United Nations specialized agency counterparts, international civil society organisations have amplified their use of humanitarian calls to action as diplomatic levers, harnessing the ability to aggregate the voices of vulnerable populations and using digital technology to expand that reach.

As societies evolve, so must their practices. The tribal-institutional-market-network organisational theory suggests that human interaction reflects one or more of these constructs, and the knowledge of organisational context informs diplomatic approaches. The development of HD reflects primarily the network era in which people and their societies are highly conjoined, yet simultaneously must and does reflect traces of tribal (cultural connection, community voices), institutional (state action and partnership in negotiation, resourcing and participation) and market (balancing inequities) constructs.

Like the strong links to digital interaction in the network organisational era, calls to action by IOs also take advantage of developing ICT. Although some authoritarian governments crack down on Internet platforms and freedoms, it seems unlikely that the innovative practitioners who have opened dialogue globally and expanded public participation in foreign affairs will be stopped by governments. At the same time, practitioners must not only use the platforms and messages strategically but must also keep pace with platform evolutions, new channels and target audiences. And within HD, practitioners must use more traditional means to ensure that the voices and needs of vulnerable people and communities are heard and that they are part of policy and advocacy processes.

The use of calls to action, especially in HD, is an effective way to rally partners around a specific international organisation mission and to gather resources to achieve the goal. Similarly, the current ICT environment opens opportunities for global dissemination and engagement. To achieve diplomatic aims, however, IOs need to understand the essential elements of a successful call to action, many of which are natural elements of the traditional diplomatic toolkit. I argue that calls to action, viewed by some as silly or ineffective, can have substantive impact if designed and targeted well, with commitment from relevant actors in governments, international organisations, civil society organisations, private sector, and communities.

To achieve concrete ends, calls to action must consider goals, partnerships, language, methodology and audience. Too often, like the global conversation on forming the SDGs that attracted 400 000 fake digital signatures from Nigeria, calls to action lack the necessary focus to achieve their aims. They also must consider political will.

As demonstrated through the calls to action examined above, IOs must be strategic, open and culturally aware. Calls to action should be based strongly in evidence, with a clear, singular and compelling narrative. Essential elements like intermediate and end goals must be complemented by the keen ability to persuade audiences through compelling arguments, personal stories, cultural awareness and influencers. In an era of information overload, audience segmentation and targeting enhances outcomes.

It is wise to use a blended approach with digital and traditional campaign tools, including virtual reality, vlogs, microblogging, social networks, videos, posters, workshops, traditional broadcast and print media, and to translate the results back to audiences. Many individuals in a networked society want to feel that their actions are valuable and that they lead to

improved outcomes. Accountability to audiences reaffirms that connection and builds adherence for calls to action.

Partnership and development of coalitions are building blocks that amplify messages, bring in complementary resources and expand audiences. Those audiences, in turn, influence their national policy-makers and politicians, which supports development and implementation of resolutions, national laws and treaties. Calls to action bring together rapidly-proliferating humanitarian organisations, national governments, civil society and individuals who have a growing need to connect with global causes. The coordination, negotiation, bilateral and multilateral discussion and coalescence of ideas, pledges and actors ready to play a role is critical to protecting, supporting and increasing equity for the world's most vulnerable people.

Traditional diplomacy can take advantage of the rapidly-developing practice of HD by helping to ground new practitioners in classic diplomacy concepts and skills and by participating in and harnessing the calls to action as an important tool in a less hierarchical and more complex, but exciting network era.

REFERENCES

1. 31st International Conference (2011) Resolution 5. *Health Care in Danger*. Available at /eng/resources/documents/resolution/31-international-conference-resolution-5-2011.htm [accessed 4 May 2019].

2. Alaoui S (2018) Tired Narratives, Weary Publics. *Center for American Progress*. Available at https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2018/10/02/458675/tired-narratives-weary-publics/ [accessed 30 April 2019].

3. Alchukr R (2017) *#SharingTheSuccess: When refugees protection meets storytelling - an interview with Kathryn Mahoney@refugees* [Interview], 21 January. Available at http://www.unsocial500.com/2017/01/21/sharingthesuccess-when-refugees-protection-meet-storytelling-an-interview-with-kathryn-mahoneyrefugees/ [accessed 14 March 2019].

4. Archetti C (2010) *Was Murrow Right About the Last Three Feet?* Available at https://pdnetworks.wordpress.com/2010/09/03/was-murrow-right-about-the-last-three-feet/ [accessed 3 January 2019].

5. Associated Press (2019) *Trump on Kim Jong-un: 'We Fell in Love'* [video]*.* Available at https://www.nytimes.com/video/us/100000006136380/trump-kim-jong-un-we-fell-in-love.html [accessed 20 April 2019].

6. *BBC News* (2011) "CIA doctor" faces treason charge. 6 October. Available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-15206639 [accessed 6 June 2019].

7. Biggins D (2018) *Goodbye Thunderclap: How Social Media Storms Closed the Popular Crowdspeaking Platform.* Available at https://luminouspr.com/goodbye-thunderclap-how-social-media-storms-closed-the-popular-crowdspeaking-platform/ [accessed 22 May 2019].

8. Bloomberg TicToc (2018) What surprised you most about Chairman Kim, June 12. Available at https://twitter.com/tictoc/status/1006481305478074368 [accessed 20 April 2019].

9. Cathcart B (2015) *The Battle of Waterloo, and not a single reporter in sight.* Available at https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/may/15/battle-waterloo-news-aggregation-journalism-brian-cathcart [accessed 16 June 2019].

10. CBS News (2017) *More than 12M "Me Too" Facebook posts, comments, reactions in 24 hours.* Available at https://www.cbsnews.com/news/metoo-more-than-12-million-facebook-posts-comments-reactions-24-hours/ [accessed 3 May 2019].

11. Chitty N (2011) Public Diplomacy: Courting Publics For Short-Term Advantage Or Partnering Publics For Lasting Peace And Sustainable Prosperity?. In: *Trials of Engagement,.* Leiden: Brill | Nijhoff.

12. Cull NJ (2006a) *"Public Diplomacy" Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase.* Available at https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/public-diplomacy-gullion-evolution-phrase [accessed 28 January 2019].

13. Cull N (2006b) "Public Diplomacy" before Gullion: the evolution of a phrase. USC Center on Public Diplomacy CPD blog, 18 April. Available at

https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/public-diplomacy-gullion-evolution-phrase [accessed 13 October 2019]

14. Devex (2019) Influencing global health in the social media era [conference call]. *#OnMessage*. May 17. Available at https://www.devex.com/news/conference-call-influencing-global-health-in-the-social-media-era-94925 [accessed 14 October 2019]

15. Diaz J (2012) These Nazi Propaganda Leaflets Dropped on American Soldiers Are Nauseating. *Gizmodo*, 3 June. Available at https://gizmodo.com/these-nazi-propaganda-leaflets-dropped-on-american-sold-5915305 [accessed 13 March 2019].

16. Digital Information World (2019) *WhatsApp Usage, Revenue, Market Share and other Statistics.* Available at https://www.digitalinformationworld.com/2019/02/whatsapp-facts-stats.html [accessed 3 June 2019].

17. DiploFoundation (2016) *Humanitarian Diplomacy*. Available at https://www.diplomacy.edu/courses/humanitarian [accessed 3 January 2019].

18. Dorsey J (2018) *Twitter.* Available at https://twitter.com/jack/status/969234279321419776 [accessed 3 June 2019].

19. Edwards B (2004) *Edward R. Murrow Broadcast from London.* Available at http://www.loc.gov/static/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/documents/murrow.pdf [accessed 04 April 2019].

20. European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Operations [EU ECHO] (2013) *Health Care in Danger - ICRC.* Available at https://ec.europa.eu/echo/publications-events/campaigns/healthcare-in-danger_en [accessed 1 May 2019].

21. France LR (2017) *#MeToo: Social media flooded with personal stories of assault.* Available at https://edition.cnn.com/2017/10/15/entertainment/me-too-twitter-alyssa-milano/index.html [accessed 3 May 2019].

22. Funke D (2019) *Misinformation transcends platforms, languages and countries. How can fact-checkers stop it?* Available at https://www.poynter.org/fact-checking/2019/misinformation-transcends-platforms-languages-and-countries-how-can-fact-checkers-stop-it/ [accessed 2 June 2019].

23. Geleta B (2014) *IFRC Reflections of a Secretary General (2008-2014.* Available at https://www.ifrc.org/Global/Documents/Secretariat/201407/1281700-IFRC-Reflections%20of%20a%20Secretary%20General-EN_final_LR.pdf [accessed 10 April 2019].

24. Global Disaster Preparedness Centre, IFRC (2017) *Comprehensive Campaign Checklist*. Available at https://media.ifrc.org/ifrc/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2017/03/comprehensive_campaign_checklist.pdf [accessed 23 June 2019].

25. Global Disaster Preparedness Center, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) (2016) Messaging campaigns: a companion to changing behaviour. Available at https://www.preparecenter.org/sites/default/files/messaging_campaign_guidance_report.pdf [Accessed 29 June 2019].

26. Global Partnerships for Humanitarian Impact and Innovation (2017) Why is the ICRC using video games to spread awareness of International Humanitarian Law?, 11

September. Available at https://blogs.icrc.org/gphi2/2017/09/11/icrc-using-video-games-spread-awareness-international-humanitarian-law/ [accessed 23 May 2019].

27. Global Polio Eradication Initiative (2019) *Polio Now.* Available at http://polioeradication.org/polio-today/polio-now/ [accessed 5 June 2019].

28. Government of the United States. Senate (2011) *Senate Hearing 112-390 of 5 May 2011: Understanding the power of social media as a communication tool in the aftermath of disasters*. S. Hrg. 112-390. Available at https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-112shrg67635/html/CHRG-112shrg67635.htm [accessed 14 October 2019].

29. GSDRC Applied Knowledge Services (2019) *Humanitarian principles and humanitarian assistance.* Available at https://gsdrc.org/topic-guides/international-legal-frameworks-for-humanitarian-action/concepts/humanitarian-principles-and-humanitarian-assistance/ [accessed 03 April 2019].

30. Harvard Business Review (2011) *On Winning Negotiations*. Boston: Harvard Business Review Press. Available at https://books.google.ch/books?id=KyvqhaX8xksC [accessed 23 May 2019].

31. Haider H (2013) *International legal frameworks for humanitarian action: Topic guide*, Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. p. 57.

32. Hocking B et al (2012). *Futures for diplomacy: Integrative Diplomacy in the 21st Century*. Den Haag, Netherlands: Clingendael. Retrieved October 13, 2019, from http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalRelations/dinamfellow/conf2012/HOCKING-Futures-of-Diplomacy.pdf

33. Huijgh E (2013) Changing tune for public diplomacy: exploring the domestic dimension. *Exchange: The Journal of Public Diplomacy,* 2(1), pp. 62-73.

34. Humans of New York. (2019) *Humans of New York*. Available at https://www.humansofnewyork.com/ [accessed 28 June 2019].

35. International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) (2018a). *Global trends of war and their humanitarian impacts*. Available at https://www.icrc.org/en/document/global-trends-war-and-their-humanitarian-impacts-0 [accessed 13 October 2019].

36. ICRC (2019b) *HCID Campaign Kit.* Available at http://healthcareindanger.org/campaign-kit-new/ [accessed 23 03 2019].

37. ICRC (2019a) *HCID Initiative.* Available at http://healthcareindanger.org/hcid-project/ [accessed 10 January 2019].

38. ICRC (2012) *Health care in danger: first steps at London Symposium.* Available at https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/feature/2012/health-care-in-danger-feature-2012-04-25.htm [accessed 4 May 2019].

39. ICRC (2011) *Health Care in Danger: Making the Case.* Available at https://shop.icrc.org/les-soins-de-sante-en-danger-expose-d-une-urgence-1148.html [accessed 21 February 2019].

40. ICRC (2015a) *Health Care in Danger: Voices of the Community (Cathrine Andersen)* [video]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ocYBPDCzUFE [accessed 6 January 2019].

41. ICRC (2016a) *History.* Available at https://www.icrc.org/en/document/history-icrc [accessed 2 February 2019].

42. ICRC (2014a) *New report shows way forward for ambulances at risk.* Available at https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/news-release/2013/11-14-health-care-in-danger-ambulance-report.htm [accessed 2 May 2019].

43. ICRC (2017) *Red Cross launches first community engagement and accountability guide.* Available at https://www.icrc.org/en/document/red-cross-launches-first-community-engagement-and-accountability-guide [accessed 25 February 2019].

44. ICRC (2014b) *Rules of war (in a nutshell)* [video]. Available at https://www.icrc.org/en/document/rules-war-nutshell [accessed 23 May 2019].

45. ICRC (2016) *Time to Act: Stopping Violence, Safeguarding Health Care.* Available at https://shop.icrc.org/publications/time-to-act-stopping-violence-safeguarding-health-care.html [accessed 1 May 2019].

46. ICRC (2015b) *Violent Incidents Affecting the Delivery of Health Care: Health Care in Danger.* Available at https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/publications/icrc-002-4237.pdf [accessed 19 May 2019].

47. International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent (2011) Resolution 5. *Health care in danger: Respecting and protecting health care* (31IC/11/R5). Available at https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/resolution/31-international-conference-resolution-5-2011.htm. [accessed 13 October 2019]

48. ICRC (2017) ICRCblog. *Why is the ICRC using video games to spread awareness of international Humanitarian Law?* 11 September. Available at https://blogs.icrc.org/gphi2/2017/09/11/icrc-using-video-games-spread-awareness-international-humanitarian-law/ [accessed 23 May 2019]

49. IFRC/ICRC (2019) *Power of Humanity: Red Cross and Red Crescent Statutory Meetings.* Available at http://rcrcconference.org/about/ [accessed 2 May 2019].

50. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent [IFRC] (2013a) *FedNet.* Available at internal reference [accessed 2 February 2019].

51. IFRC (2016) *FedNet.* Available at internal reference [accessed 14 October 2019].

52. IFRC (2012) *Humanitarian Diplomacy.* Available at https://www.ifrc.org/en/what-we-do/humanitarian-diplomacy/ [accessed 28 January 2019].

53. IFRC (2015) *The Fundamental Principles: A brief history.* Available at http://ifrc-media.org/interactive/fundamental-principles-timeline/ [accessed 4 May 2019].

54. IFRC (2013b) *IFRC declaration on the post-2015 humanitarian agenda.* Available at https://www.ifrc.org/en/news-and-media/opinions-and-positions/opinion-pieces/2013/ifrc-declaration-on-the-post-2015-humanitarian-agenda/ [accessed 2 May 2019].

55. IFRC (2014) *IFRC Annual Report 2013.* Available at https://www.ifrc.org/Global/Documents/Secretariat/201411/IFRC%20Annual%20Report%202013_FINAL.pdf [accessed 25 May 2019].

56. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC] (2018) *Global Climate Warming 1.5° special report.* Available at https://report.ipcc.ch/sr15/pdf/sr15_spm_final.pdf [accessed 1 May 2019].

57. International Campaign to Ban Land Mines [ICBL] News and Events (2012) *20 years in the life of a Nobel Peace Prize-winning campaign*. Available at http://www.icbl.org/en-gb/news-and-events/news/2012/20-years-in-the-life-of-a-nobel-peace-prizewinning.aspx [accessed 14 April 2019].

58. International Court of Justice (1945) *Statute of the International Court of Justice.* Available at https://www.icj-cij.org/en/statute [accessed 2 June 2019].

59. Kane C, Rose T and Tupou N (2017) *Should the foreign ministry address domestic publics in its public diplomacy?* Public Diplomacy 1702. Malta: DiploFoundation. [accessed April 2019].

60. Kappler D (1998) *Diplomacy of Tomorrow: New Development, New Methods, New Tools.* In Kurbalija J [ed] Modern Diplomacy. Malta: The Mediterranean Academy of Diplomacy Studies. Available at https://www.diplomacy.edu/resources/general/diplomacy-tomorrow [accessed 14 March 2019]

61. Kelly JO (2016) *Sweat Equity: Inside the New Economy of Mind and Body*, 1 edition. New York: Bloomberg Press.

62. Leonard M and Alakeson V (2000) *Going Public: Diplomacy for the Information Society*. Foreign Policy Centre.

63. Luihto M (2019) In Pakistan, attacks on polio workers stop vaccination drive. *Devex*, 3 June. Available at https://www.devex.com/news/in-pakistan-attacks-on-polio-workers-stop-vaccination-drive-94959 [accessed 5 June 2019].

64. Magone C, et al (2011) *Humanitarian Negotiations Revealed: The MSF Experience.* 1st ed. London: Hurst & Company.

65. Maslen S (2005) *Commentaries on Arms Control Treaties Volume 1: The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production, and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction*, Second Edition. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

66. McDowell, M (2008. Public diplomacy at the crossroads: Definitions and challenges in an "open source" era.. McDowell M (2008) Public Diplomacy at the Crossroads: Definitions and Challenges in an "Open Source" Era. *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, pp. 7-15. Available at http://www.eastwestcoms.com/images/Public_Diplomacy.pdf [accessed 6 April 2019]

67. MSD for Mothers (2019) Development and advocacy 101. *Devex,* 18 February. Available at https://www.devex.com/news/sponsored/q-a-development-advocacy-101-92784 [accessed 19 February 2019].

68. Nickles DP (2018) *Under the Wire: How the Telegraph Changed Diplomacy (Harvard Historical Studies).* Available at Available at http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674010352 [accessed 29 June 2019].

69. Nobel Prize (1997) *The Nobel Peace Prize 1997.* Available at https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1997/summary/?related=1 [accessed 13 April 2019].

70. Obengo, J., 2015. *Kenya's Cultural Diplomacy: A New Frontier for Pan Africanism and African Renaissance*. Available at http://www.gsdmagazine.org/kenyas-cultural-diplomacy-a-new-frontier-for-pan-africanism-and-african-renaissance/ [accessed 06 04 2017].

71. Onishi N (2015) A Hunting Ban Saps a Village's Livelihood. *The New York Times*, 12 September. Available at https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/13/world/a-hunting-ban-saps-a-villages-livelihood.html [accessed 22 June 2019].

72. Pintak L & Rugh W (2009) A new Murrow for US public diplomacy. *The Daily Star Lebanon,* February 17. Available at http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Opinion/Commentary/2009/Feb-17/116657-a-new-murrow-for-us-public-diplomacy.ashx [accessed 29 June 2019].

73. Refugee Food Festival (2018) *About.* Available at https://www.refugeefoodfestival.com/a-propos [accessed 14 October 2019].

74. Refugees and Migrants. (2016) The SDG media zone opens on Monday. *Refugees and Migrants*, 16 September. Available at https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sdg-media-zone-opens-monday [accessed 26 February 2019].

75. Régnier P (2011) The emerging concept of humanitarian diplomacy: identification of a community of practice and prospects for international recognition. *International Review of the Red Cross*, December 93(884), p.pp. 1211–1237. Available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-review-of-the-red-cross/article/emerging-concept-of-humanitarian-diplomacy-identification-of-a-community-of-practice-and-prospects-for-international-recognition/6A3BEC19AF1EE554C9EDA7DCC8E8CCEB [accessed 3 June 2019].

76. Republic of Kenya, 2014. *Kenya Diaspora Policy.* [Online] Available at: https://www.kenyaembassy.com/pdfs/Kenya_Diaspora_Policy.pdf [Accessed 06 04 2017].

77. Reynolds B (2018) CARTOON: Rocket man meets Dotard. *BusinessLIVE*, June 12. Available at https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/opinion/2018-06-12-cartoon-rocket-man-meets-dotard/ [accessed 2 February 2019].

78. Ronfeldt D (2006) *In Search of How Societies Work: Tribes - The First and Forever Form.* Available at https://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/WR433.html [accessed 13 October 2019].

79. Rubin O and Dahlberg R (2017) *A Dictionary of Disaster Management*. Oxford University Press. Available at https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191829895.001.0001/acref-9780191829895 [accessed 3 May 2019].

80. Sanger DE and Sang-Hun C (2019) North Korea Tests New Weapon. *The New York Times*, 17 April. Available at https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/world/asia/north-korea-missile-weapons-test.html [accessed 20 April 2019].

81. Santiago C, Criss D (2017) An activist, a little girl and the heartbreaking origin of "Me too". *CNN*, October 17. Available at https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/17/us/me-too-tarana-burke-origin-trnd/index.html [accessed 3 May 2019].

82. Scott B (2017a) Building Relationships. *Language and Diplomacy 1710 Lesson 2*. Malta: DiploFoundation. [accessed 1 June 2019].

83. Scott B (2017b) Framing an Argument. *Language and Diplomacy 1710 Lesson 4*. Malta: DiploFoundation. [accessed October 2018].

84. Scott B (2017c) Language as Action. *Language and Diplomacy 1710 Lesson 1*. Malta: DiploFoundation. [accessed 19 March 2019].

85. Scott B (2017d) Securing Agreement. *Language and Diplomacy 1710 Lesson 3*. Malta: DiploFoundation. [accessed 18 May 2019].

86. Seib, P (2011) *Broadcasts from the Blitz: How Edward R. Murrow Helped Lead America Into War.* 1st ed. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc..

87. Semcer, C (2015) Justice for Cecil the iconic collared lion slaughtered by trophy hunter in Zimbabwe! *Change.org.* Available at https://www.change.org/p/justice-for-cecil-the-iconic-collared-lion-slaughtered-by-trophy-hunter [accessed 22 June 2019].

88. Shao C et al. (2018) The spread of low-credibility content by social bots. *Nature Communications* (20 November 9(1), p.p. 4787. Available at https://www.nature.com/articles/s41467-018-06930-7 [accessed 5 June 2019].

89. Sharp P (1998) Who needs diplomats? The problem of diplomatic representation. Kurbalija J [eds] In *Modern Diplomacy*. Msida, Malta: DiploFoundation. Available at https://www.diplomacy.edu/resources/general/who-needs-diplomats-problem-diplomatic-representation [accessed 29 June 2019].

90. Shedden, D (2014) *Today in media history: Edward R. Murrow describes the bombing of London in 1940.* Available at https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2014/today-in-media-history-edward-r-murrow-describes-the-bombing-of-london-in-1940/ [accessed 04 March 2019].

91. Sini R (2017) "MeToo" and the scale of sexual abuse, 16 October. Available at https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-41633857 [accessed 3 May 2019].

92. Sirleaf EJ (2019) *Twitter.* Available at https://twitter.com/MaEllenSirleaf/status/1130465247951818752 [accessed 20 May 2019].

93. Smith PH (1998) *Public Diplomacy.* In Kurbalija J [ed] Modern Diplomacy. Malta: The Mediterranean Academy of Diplomacy Studies Available at https://www.diplomacy.edu/resources/general/public-diplomacy [accessed 29 June 2019].

94. Spiker JA (2008) *Journalism and Mass Communication Volume One: The Development of Radio*, pp. 36-42. Available at http://www.eolss.net/sample-chapters/c04/e6-33-01-06.pdf [accessed 2 February 2019].

95. Syrian Youth Assembly (2019) *What we do?* Available at http://syrian-youth.org/what_we_do [accessed 01 May 2019].

96. TEDx Talks (2011) *TEDxRC2 - Alberto Cairo - Scraps of Men Do Not Exist* [video]. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=23vKtqo2t4k [accessed 2 April 2019].

97. The Elders (2019. *Who We Are.* Available at https://www.theelders.org/ [accessed 23 June 2019].

98. The Magazine of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement (2011) *Words of change: Movement Gathers for 2011 Statutory Meetings in Geneva.* Available at http://www.redcross.int/EN/mag/magazine2012_1/10-13.html [accessed 2 April 2019].

99. The Political Cartoon Society (2015) *The Greatest Political Cartoon of All Time.* Available at http://www.original-political-cartoon.com/cartoon-history/greatest-british-political-cartoon-all-time/ [accessed 2 February 2019].

100. Twitter (2019) *À propos*. Available at https://about.twitter.com/fr.html [accessed 28 June 2019].

101. Tyler MC (2012) Domestic public diplomacy - discussion paper: international experience, 30 April. Available at https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/261199357 [accessed 20 March 2019].

102. UN Social 500 (2017) *#SharingTheSuccess: When refugees protection meets storytelling -an interview with Kathryn Mahoney@refugees*, 21 January.Available at http://www.unsocial500.com/2017/01/21/sharingthesuccess-when-refugees-protection-meet-storytelling-an-interview-with-kathryn-mahoneyrefugees/[accessed 14 October 2019].

103. United Nations General Assembly [UNGA] (1993) Resolution 48/79. *Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or To Have Indiscriminate Effects* (A/RES/48/79 (1993)). Available at https://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r079.htm [accessed 14 April 2019].

104. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] (1966) *Convention and Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees.* Available at https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10 [accessed 20 April 2019].

105. UNHCR (2016) *#WithRefugees Media Materials.* Available at https://www.unhcr.org/refugeeday/withrefugees-media-materials-page/ [accessed 26 February 2019].

106. UNHCR (2019) *#WithRefugees Coalition.* Available at https://www.unhcr.org/withrefugees/coalition/ [accessed 01 May 2019].

107. UNHCR (2019) *Advocacy.* Available at https://www.unhcr.org/advocacy.html [accessed 26 February 2019].

108. UNHCR (2018) *The Global Compact on Refugees.* Available at https://www.unhcr.org/the-global-compact-on-refugees.html [accessed 26 February 2019].

109. Unicef, WHO (2018) *Afghanistan Polio Update: January – March*. Available at https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/COPub_AFG_Polio_Jan_Mar_2018_20255.pdf [accessed 7 June 2019].

110. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs [UNOCHA] (2012) *OCHA on Message: General Assembly resolution 46/182*, March. Available at *https://www.unocha.org/sites/unocha/files/dms/Documents/120402_OOM-46182_eng.pdf* [accessed 14 April 2019]

111.   UNOCHA (2017). What are Humanitarian Principles? Available at https://www.unocha.org/sites/unocha/files/OOM-humanitarianprinciples_eng_28Feb2017_0.pdf [accessed 3 April 2019].

112.   United Nations Security Council [UNSC] (2016) Resolution 2286. *On protection of the wounded and sick, medical personnel and humanitarian personnel in armed conflict* (S/RES/2286 (2016)). Available at http://unscr.com/files/2016/02286.pdf [accessed 3 January 2019].

113.   UNSC (2016) *Security Council Adopts Resolution 2286 (2016), Strongly Condemning Attacks against Medical Facilities, Personnel in Conflict Situations.* Available at https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/sc12347.doc.htm [accessed 6 January 2019].

114.   United Nations Treaty Collection (1980). Available at https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXVI-2&chapter=26&lang=en [accessed 15 April 2019].

115.   United Press International, Inc (2009) *Don't fight Twitter, disaster expert says.* Available at https://www.upi.com/Top_News/2009/03/06/Dont_fight_Twitter_disaster_expert_says/UPI-33141236346773 [accessed 23 May 2019].

116.   Varé, D., 1935/6. *The Maker of Heavenly Trousers.* China: Doubleday, Doran, Incorporated.

117.   Vincent J (2018) Facebook admits what we all know: that social media can be bad for democracy. *The Verge*, 22 January. Available at https://www.theverge.com/2018/1/22/16918456/facebook-democracy-civil-society-fake-news-hard-questions [accessed 22 June 2019].

118.   Vinck P (2013) *World disasters report: focus on technology and the future of humanitarian action*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Available at https://www.ifrc.org/PageFiles/134658/WDR%202013%20complete.pdf [accessed 28 January 2019].

119.   Vosoughi S et al. (2018) The spread of true and false news online. *Science*, 9 March 359(6380), p.pp. 1146–1151. Available at https://science.sciencemag.org/content/359/6380/1146 [accessed 2 June 2019].

120.   Wallner PA (2007) *Franklin Pierce: Martyr for the Union.* 1st ed. Concord, New Hampshire: Plaidswede Publishing Co.

121.   World Health Organization [WHO] (2016) Resolution A69/39. *Framework on integrated, people-centred health services*. Available at http://apps.who.int/gb/ebwha/pdf_files/WHA69/A69_39-en.pdf [Accessed 5 June 2019].

122.   WHO (2017) *Violence against women.* Available at https://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women [accessed 22 March 2019].

123.   WHO (2019) *What is universal health coverage?.* Available at https://www.who.int/health_financing/universal_coverage_definition/en/ [accessed 22 May 2019].

124.   Wikia.org (2019) *Public Diplomacy: Edward R Murrow.* Available at https://publicdiplomacy.wikia.org/wiki/Edward_R._Murrow [accessed 5 April 2019].

125.   Williams, J (1997) *Nobel Peace Prize: Jody Williams Lecture.* Available at https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1997/williams/lecture/ [accessed 13 April 2019].

126.   Wojcik S et al (2018) *Bots in the Twittersphere.* Available at https://www.pewinternet.org/2018/04/09/bots-in-the-twittersphere/ [accessed 2 June 2019].

127.   Wood J (1992) *History of International Broadcasting.* 1 ed. London: The Institute of Electrical Engineers.

128.   Wood, M (2019) *Non-intervention (non-interference in domestic affairs).* Available at https://pesd.princeton.edu/?q=node/258 [accessed 20 April 2019].