

Utilizing a Positive Deviance Approach to Reduce Girls' Trafficking in Indonesia

Asset-based Communicative Acts That Make a Difference

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Abstract

This article analyzes the communicative practices that undergird the Positive Deviance approach to social change and its contributions to the curbing of girls' trafficking in rural Indonesia. Positive Deviance hinges on the premise that in every community there are individuals whose uncommon practices enable them to find better solutions to problems than their neighbours with access to the same resources. Our archival and field research in Indonesia indicates that Positive Deviance is time and skills intensive, yet it is also rich in communication and relational practices. It facilitates a unique vantage point to build human capital and sustain positive impacts.

Keywords

Positive Deviance, grassroots, sustainable, social change, communication praxis

As in any culture, a complex unwritten set of rules guide the sex trade.

Jerry Sternin (2008, unpublished manuscript)

With the prospects of earning an average income of less than US\$5,000 rupiahs (about US\$0.75 U.S.) per day in some rural areas, and with the tacit acceptance of sex work as a viable form of employment, many girls and women from East Java, Indonesia leave their villages and often seek employment in the sex or entertainment industry.

Titing Martini (2005)

In 2000, an estimated 30 to 40 per cent of all commercial sex workers in Indonesia were under 18 years of age, suggesting a high incidence of girls' trafficking. To address this problem, Save the Children (SC), with support from the Geneva-based Oak Foundation, piloted an anti-trafficking programme in partnership with the East Java Institution for Community Research and Development (Lembaga Pelesenan Kenderaan Perdagangan, abbreviated as LPKP). The programme, which ran from December 2002 to February 2005, aimed 'to reduce the number of girls trafficked into the sex industry through appropriate and sustainable grassroots anti-trafficking initiatives' (Save the Children—IFO 2005). While the programme was piloted in three villages of East Java, its effectiveness is especially well documented in

Desa (Village) Gadungsari. Based on the success of Gadungsari, SC has replicated and scaled the project in dozens of other East Javanese villages.

The pilot and subsequent projects in Indonesia used the Positive Deviance (PD) approach to social change, which operates under the main premise that in every community there are individuals whose uncommon practices/behaviours enable them to find better solutions to problems than their neighbours with access to the same resources. In villages of East Java known as 'sending' villages—known for a greater or more prominent incidence of trafficking—this involved identifying and working with certain families which had, despite their poverty, found ways to keep their daughters at home. Positive deviants usually exist in all communities; the PD process facilitates the foregrounding of such individuals.

The PD approach, we argue, is an unusual communication-centred social change approach—one that is anchored at the intersection of theory, research and praxis. In this article we take a closer look at this dynamic through the application of PD to reduce girls' trafficking in East Java. We provide a historical background on the PD approach, and we discuss the steps in the PD process that enable community ownership and immediate action. Finally, we show the potential ripples of change enabled by PD by presenting the results of our primary data collection in two key villages of East Java.

Positive Deviance: An Asset-based Approach To Social Change

Three of the key attributes of PD are that (a) it is an asset-based approach to social change, (b) it emphasizes acquisition of new knowledge through action and (c) it redefines the role of an expert in the social change process.

Positive Deviance gained recognition initially in the work of Tufts University nutrition professor Marian Zeitlin in the 1980s, when she began focusing on why some children in poor communities were better nourished than others (Zeitlin et al. 1990). Zeitlin's work privileged an asset-based approach, identifying what is going right in a community in order to amplify it, as opposed to focusing on what is going wrong in a community and fixing it.

Building on Zeitlin's ideas of PD, Jerry Stermin, a visiting scholar at Tufts University, and his wife, Monique, helped institutionalize PD as a social change approach by showing how it could be operationalized as a community intervention. In 1991, as director of SC in Vietnam, Jerry was asked by government officials to create an effective, large-scale programme to combat child malnutrition and to show results within six months. More than 65 per cent of all children living in Vietnamese villages were malnourished at the time. The Vietnamese government realized that the results achieved by traditional supplemental feeding programmes were rarely maintained after the programmes ended. The Sternins had to come up with an approach that enabled the community to take control of their nutritional status—and quickly!

Asset-based Approach

The Sternins sought out poor families that had managed to avoid malnutrition without access to any special resources. These families were the positive deviants. They were 'positive' because they were doing things right, and 'deviants' because they engaged in behaviours that most others did not. The Sternins facilitated community discussions, helping the community to discover that mothers in the PD families

collected tiny shrimp and crabs from paddy fields, and added those with sweet potato greens to their children's meals. These foods were accessible to everyone, but most community members believed they were inappropriate for young children (Sternin & Choo 2000). Also, these PD mothers were feeding their children three to four times a day, rather than the customary twice a day.

The Sternins created a programme whereby community members could interact with and emulate the positive deviants in their midst. Mothers, whose children were malnourished, were asked to forage for shrimp, crabs and sweet potato greens, and in the company of other mothers were taught to cook new recipes that their children ate right there. Within weeks, mothers could see their children becoming healthier. After the pilot project, which lasted two years, malnutrition had decreased by an amazing 85 per cent in the communities where the PD approach was implemented. Over the next several years, the PD intervention became a nationwide programme in Vietnam, helping over 2.2 million people, including over 500,000 children improve their nutritional status (Sternin & Choo 2000; Sternin et al. 1999).

Positive Deviance is now being used to address such diverse issues as childhood anaemia, increasing school retention rates, promoting condom use among commercial sex workers and a variety of child-protection issues: for instance, the eradication of female genital cutting in Egypt, the empowerment and reintegration of child mothers and vulnerable girl survivors in northern Uganda and the topic of this article, the curbing the trafficking of girls in Indonesia.

PAK versus KAP

The PD approach emphasizes hands-on learning and actionable behaviours. In Vietnam, the Sternins subscribed to the following premise: 'It is easier to act your way into a new way of thinking than to think your way into a new way of acting' (Sternin quoted in Sparks 2004). So, the PD approach turns the well-known KAP (knowledge, attitude, practice) framework on its head. As opposed to subscribing to the dominant social-psychological framework of communication-driven social change that says increased knowledge changes attitudes, and attitudinal changes change practice, PD is rooted in changing practice. Positive Deviance believes that people change when that change is distilled from concrete action steps. This is not to say that action precedes thought or that thought precedes action, since action is in some way rooted in some semblance of motivation. But PD, by foregrounding visible, positive steps taken at a local level, such as the adoption of new foods and feeding strategies by parents in Vietnam, enables positive attitudes which become knowledge, which is then shared with others to act and obtain immediate results.

Redefining Expert Roles

Evaluations of PD initiatives show that PD works because the community owns the problem, as well as its solutions (Buscell 2004; Dorsey 2000). This dynamic creates a new space for the role of the expert. Often, social change experts make a living discerning the deficits in a community, prioritizing the problems, and then trying to implement outside solutions to change them. Positive Deviance questions the role of outside expertise and values the wisdom that already exists within a community. Positive Deviance is led by internal change agents who present the social proof to their peers (Macklis 2001). Because the

PD process amplifies already existing local wisdom, solutions and benefits can be immediate and sustained. In the PD approach, the role of experts is to facilitate the finding of positive deviants, identifying the uncommon but effective things that positive deviants do, and then to make them visible and actionable (Pascale et al. 2000).

Positive Deviance is grounded in the use of local resources and local knowledge, and it facilitates a practice-driven approach, which challenges experts to think differently about their involvement, from the design to the evaluation, in an intervention. These PD practices are fundamentally communicative, involving discovery, dialogue, design and action. In late summer of 2008 we travelled to Indonesia to investigate the PD approach to curb girls' trafficking. Based on our knowledge about PD's key communicative attributes, our work was guided by two major research questions.

Research Questions

RQ 1: *What communicative practices undergird the PD approach to social change?*

RQ 2: *How has the implementation of the PD approach contributed to curbing girls' trafficking in rural Indonesia?*

Method and Data Collection

Our methodology and data-collection procedures to analyze the PD projects on girls' trafficking in Indonesia involved several activities:

1. A review of existing archival documentation of the PD project in Indonesia provided to us by SC, the lead implementing agency, including monitoring and evaluation reports, grant proposals and internal briefings.
2. Field visits to two villages in East Java to gain a contextual understanding of how the PD approach was implemented to address trafficking. We spent one full week in Indonesia, conducting interviews with key SC staff in Jakarta and Surabaya, and collecting data with the help of six to eight local interviewers in two locations: (a) Desa Gadungsari, where PD had been implemented for five years and where impact was sustained and expanded beyond the scope of the pilot project, and (b) Desa Kedoyo, one of the first sites where PD had been implemented as part of the scaled-up plan; the programme had been in place for a little over a year.

In the field, we

- conducted some two dozen in-depth interviews with key informants—project implementers and managers, target beneficiaries, their family members and community leaders and members;
- gathered additional secondary data that was available—reports, 'change' narratives, photo documentation and the like; and
- conducted participatory sketching, our main data-collection activity, with key informants in both locations.

We have used participatory sketching in some of our previous works. For instance, to assess the effects of a community-centred intervention in the Peruvian Amazon, spearheaded by Minga Perú, a non-governmental organization that promotes gender equality and reproductive health, one of the questions posed to participants was: 'How has my life changed as a consequence of participating in community-based activities of Minga Perú?' Participants were asked to draw two pictures—one to sketch how their life was some five years ago (that is, *antes*, in the past), and how their life is today (that is, *ahora*, now).

The *antes* and *ahora* sketches (Image 1) of Emira, a 21-year-old, including her narrative, were highly revealing:

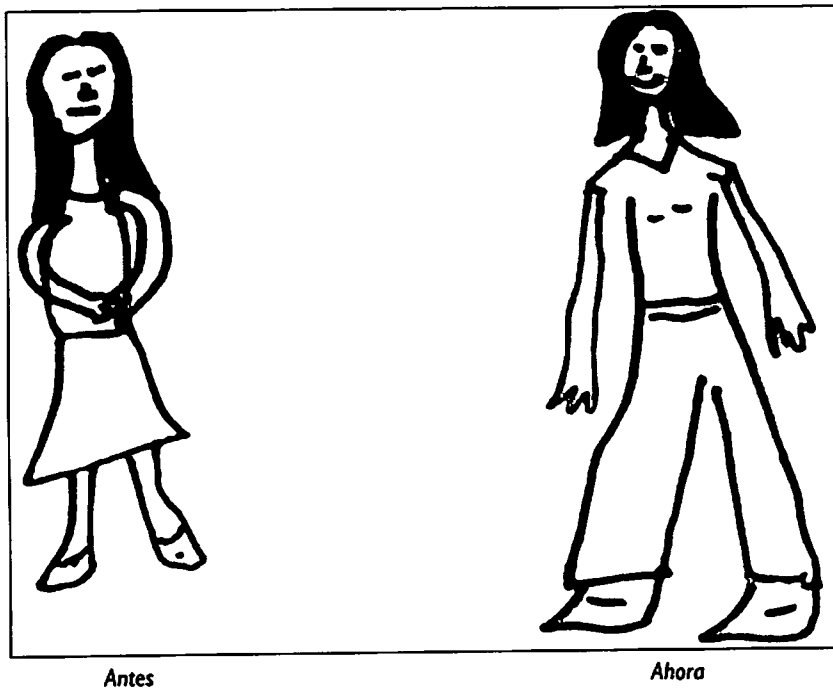


Image 1.

Source: Singhal and Dura (2009: 24).

Emira noted:

Previously, I was ashamed....sad. Now my personal life has changed.... I don't feel ashamed any more. [Referring to her breasts....] Now I am proud of my body—my femininity. Before, I didn't want to cut my hair but now.... I cut them. Now I also feel capable to wear tight trousers....previously, I wore loose clothes. Also, I wear high heels.

Participatory sketches and their accompanying narrations provided a highly rich, poignant and textured/nuanced insight on the long-term effects of Minga Peru's interventions in the Peruvian Amazon.

Such insights are difficult to gather with the commonly employed personal survey interviews (Singhal & Rattine-Flaherty 2006). Employing participatory sketching activities was especially appropriate in Indonesia for a variety of reasons. We were dealing with a sensitive, taboo topic and our respondent populations, who hailed from rural areas, had relatively low levels of literacy. Also participatory sketching allows participants to respond to questions in a non-rushed manner through multiple visual images which, in turn, result in richer and deeper explanations, often wrought with emotion.

The following questions were posed to our respondents (for breakdown of respondents by village see Table 1) in Desa Gadungsari, who were then asked to visualize the responses, sketch them, colour them and then to narrate them in front of the group: *What specific PD practices were identified, adopted and implemented in Gadungsari, which you believe have made a substantial difference in curbing/reducing girls' trafficking in your community? What was Gadungsari like before the PD programme was implemented? What is it like today? Describe visible changes by drawing a 'Before' and 'After' sketch.* We also conducted a three-hour long interview with Village Secretary Pak Kasmadi, who guided and championed the PD project since its inception in mid-2003.

Table 1. Breakdown of Participatory Sketching Activities in Indonesia

Indonesia	Kedoyo		Gadungsari		Indonesia Totals	
	Respondents	Sketches	Respondents	Sketches	Respondents	Sketches
PD Girls	14	29			14	29
Parents/Kaders*	21	22	14	21	35	43
Local Leaders			2	6	2	6
Total	35	51	16	27	51	78

Notes: *village-level leaders.

In Kedoyo, District Tulungagung, East Java Province, our 35 respondents were divided into two separate groups: One group included 14 'at-risk-for-trafficking' teenage girls; the other included 21 parents and/or *kaders* (local leaders) involved in the PD project. The following broad questions were posed to respondents in Kedoyo: *What specific PD practices were identified, adopted and implemented in Kedoyo, which you believe have made a substantial difference in curbing/reducing girls' trafficking in your community? What are some visible changes that you see in Kedoyo since the PD programme was implemented?*

Communication-centred PD Practices

RQ 1 asked: *What communicative practices undergird the PD approach to social change?* Our study suggests that several communicative practices provide the basis of the PD process. These practices include (a) a dialogic introduction of the approach to the community, (b) facilitation of a community mapping activity that creates aural-visual conversations, (c) the self-discovery and communication of the PD behaviours and (d) a community-designed and driven actionable intervention.

Dialogic Introduction of PD

In May of 2003, PD expert Jerry Sternin facilitated a workshop in Village Gadungsari, District Malang, East Java Province to provide *kaders* (or designated village-level development workers) and LPKP staff a deeper understanding of the PD approach. While the issue of girl trafficking had been identified as a problem facing Gadungsari, given the taboo nature of the topic, the PD session was framed to the participants as a forum to address community problems in general. An excerpted dialogue between Jerry Sternin, facilitator, and the *kaders* during the workshop provides key insights (www.positivedeviance.org/projects/indgirltraffick/kaders_workshop.pdf):

Facilitator: 'You have highlighted some of the differences and advantages of using the PD approach over your regular approach. Now can you list the most important problems which your village faces?'

Various Kaders: 'Better life for people in the community.' 'Trafficking of girls for the sex trade.' 'Poor economy.'

Facilitator: 'Which of these problems do you think is the most serious?'

Kaders voting: 'Trafficking of girls for the sex trade.'

Facilitator: 'Okay. Let's see if we can define the problem very precisely. What is the problem exactly?'

Kaders: (after working together for a few minutes in the large group) 'Many girls from poor families often leave the community and go to work outside and end up in the sex industry.'

Facilitator: 'So, how would we define a PD in the context of this problem?'

Kader: 'A PD would be a poor family who has refused to send their girls out to work in the sex industry.'

Kader: 'A PD would also be a poor family who has made a statement that they absolutely won't send their girls out because they might wind up in the sex industry.'

Facilitator: 'Are there any PDs in this community?'

Kader: 'Yes. Pak Darma is a PD because he has 3 daughters and is very poor. The youngest daughter recently requested his permission to go to work in Batam (a city near Singapore, well known for being a receiving area for the sex trade). Pak Darma categorically refused her request.'

Facilitator: 'Great example! Are there any other PDs in your village that you know about?'

Kader: 'Yes, there is the case of Pak Samsir. He is very poor but he told me he would never send any of his 3 daughters out of the village.'

Kader: 'They are not the only ones. I know there are some other poor families who don't or won't send their daughter outside, either. But, we don't know all of them.'

Facilitator: 'Then what do you think we need to do now?'

Kader: 'We should go visit Pak Darma and Pak Samsir.'

Facilitator: 'Why?'

Kader: 'To learn from them.'

Facilitator: 'To learn what?'

Kader: 'To learn their situation.'

Facilitator: 'Oh, you mean what they eat and what are their hobbies?'

Kader: (responding) 'No. To learn what enables them to keep their girls at home when other poor families permit their girls to go to far off places to work.'

Facilitator: ‘Now, you understand how the Positive Deviance approach works and how you can use it to help solve the problem of girl trafficking.’

The foregoing dialogue illustrates how the PD process is generally facilitated and passed on—staff and *kaders* own the process and they will share, and eventually cede ownership of the project to their communities. The issue of ownership may be especially challenging to staff of community-based organizations such as LPKP as they are generally used to following a top-down approach to implementing an intervention. Yet according to a mid-term monitoring and evaluation report (Save the Children, 2004) ‘bringing in LPKP from the start augurs well for the PD program’s sustainability and replicability in East Java. Its early involvement enabled LPKP to experience the whole process of program implementation using the PD approach, admittedly a new “technology” but which they found to be “quite effective”.’

Such dialogue and reflection occurred at two levels: first, between trainers and facilitators, which included local NGO partners and village-based *kaders* (local leaders), and second, between the facilitators and other members of the community. Through several such dialogues and reflective iterations a deeper understanding of PD was internalized by community leaders and members.

An Aural–Visual Conversation

Working closely with Pak Kasmadi, the Village Secretary of Gadungsari, and representatives of LPKP, the local partner NGO, the *kaders* developed a strategy of consolidating community support slowly and carefully. They decided that the traditional PD kick-off meeting, where community members come together to define the problem, and commit to addressing it, was far too risky for the trafficking issue. The meeting would have to wait until the team had laid the groundwork by gathering first with individual families to discuss the gravity of the situation in the village. Only when they were assured of sufficient support and had forged strong enough interpersonal and group alliances, could they go public with the campaign to curb trafficking.

In the weeks after the PD workshop, the *kaders* made a simple map of the entire village, circling the homes of those girls that were missing from the village and those most at risk of trafficking. The mapping exercise opened their eyes about the extent of girls’ trafficking occurring in Gadungsari.

Some 50 people in Gadungsari participated in the community mapping activity, and its results were startling. The mapping exercise revealed that roughly 140 people were missing from the village who should have been there, 90 per cent of whom were young girls 14 to 17 years old. Mapping was also used to depict visually how power was distributed through the 12 hamlets in Gadungsari, what level of influence was wielded by which trafficker on what residents and why, and so on.

‘The PD mapping exercise was like playing with a puzzle and making sense of the big picture’ (Martini 2008). From that point on, *kaders* and community members began to take ownership of the ‘silent’ problem of missing girls, posing questions such as, ‘*Why do girls leave the village, why not boys?*’ Realizing that although an answer like ‘*they make money more easily*’ was a simple one, they probed further: ‘*But why? Where do they work?*’ And further: ‘*At a bar. What is a bar for you? A discotheque? Or perhaps a place where sex is bought and sold?*’ Through the detailed house-by-house, street-by-street, village-level mapping, the community was able to identify the specific issues faced by the population of vulnerable girls.

The practice of mapping, as with other approaches to development, is integral in the PD process. Even though people have a general impression of their location, they are generally mapped by others; the PD process facilitates a culturally sensitive conversation that allows people to see themselves relative to their surroundings and to gain a clearer picture of their situation. Mapping, then, creates an aural–visual, multidimensional conversation that complements other communicative acts in the PD process.

Self-Discovery and Communication of PD Behaviours

You need to let go of the head but hold on to the tail.—Pak Dharma, a Gadungsari farmer

After the mapping activity, the Gadungsari community identified the criteria for selecting the PD girls, those who did not succumb to trafficking. In implementing the PD project in Gadungsari, the community decided to focus especially on the behavioural practices of PD families, given the PD girls were subsets of PD families, and parents played an influential role in deciding whether or not a girl would travel outside the village for work.

The PD selection criteria for a girl were two: (a) she had to be poor and be under 18 years old, and (b) she must have made a conscious decision not to work in the sex industry, despite the opportunity to do so. To be considered a PD, a family had to be poor (that is, work as farmers or seasonal labourers), have at least three children with at least one daughter who was 15+ years old and no longer in school, and parents who had no more than a junior high school education and would not permit their daughter(s) to work in the entertainment industry.

Pak Dharma is a farmer who expressed publicly his opposition to allowing girls to work in the entertainment industry. By 'letting go of the head but holding on to the tail' (positivedeviance.org), Pak Dharma meant that as a parent one should permit a degree of autonomy to the child without relinquishing responsibility of what the children are doing. By interviewing families like Pak Dharma's and others, the community identified several PD strategies and practices that helped families to reduce their vulnerability for girls' trafficking:

1. Engages in a variety of income-generating activities, including growing a diverse array of crops (for example, rice, coffee, corn, vanilla beans), raising poultry and livestock, establishing fish farms and others
2. Helps daughters to establish a small business to supplement family income
3. Openly discusses with children the risks of working in the 'entertainment industry' and supports the scoping of other alternatives
4. Emphasizes the value of both formal and vocational education for their daughter
5. Allows daughters to work outside the village, after closely investigating the employer, and the kind of work she will be doing
6. Requires daughters to report home regularly via letters and phone if indeed they do take employment outside the village

A PD inquiry focuses on eliminating those client behaviours from the strategy mix that are true but useless (TBU). TBU is a sieve through which a facilitator passes the uncommon qualities of positive deviants to ensure that the identified practices can be practiced by everyone.

Conducting family interviews was a communal process, that is, *kaders* often went in groups of two to visit a family, and similar to what they learned in the facilitator workshop, they would listen to a family's concerns and ask questions that pointed deeper and deeper to unique practices and behaviours. This type of conversation foments trust and establishes goodwill, and its organic nature allows room for the breeding and consideration of new ideas.

Community-driven Implementation

Once PD practices followed by families such as Pak Darma's were identified, a community meeting was held in Gadungsari to share the PD inquiry results and build consensus on how to act on these practices. Through several rounds of deliberations and iterations, supported by *kaders*, representatives of the LPKP, and Pak Kasmadi, the community agreed on and initiated their own action plan to combat trafficking. Community Watch Committees consisting of *kaders*, PD families, formal and informal leaders and other villagers were established in every hamlet to monitor the brokers and traffickers, and to map the migration flow of girls. Volunteers approached families who were thought to be at risk of trafficking to discuss the risks of working in the entertainment industry, and how to make migration safer.

The multiple layers of commitment, and the spirit of volunteerism, speak to the success of the first phase of the project—the initial relationship-building and trust-building. Next we examine the results of our second question, which asks for visible signs of change in the implementing villages.

Impact of PD on Girls' Trafficking

RQ 2 asked: How has the implementation of the PD approach contributed to curbing girls' trafficking in rural Indonesia? We discuss the impacts in each of our two sites.

PD Practices in Gadungsari: From Pilot to Ever-expanding Ripples

In 2005, two years after the PD project got underway in Gadungsari, village *kaders*, LPKP staff and Save the Children representatives, noted the following accomplishments of the PD pilot programme (Positive Deviance Initiative/Save the Children Indonesia Field Office 2005).

1. No new girls had left Gadungsari to enter the sex trade (massage parlours, brothels, etc.) since the beginning of the PD anti-trafficking programme.
2. Twenty averted attempts at girl trafficking were documented. 'Averted' is defined in this document as a high-risk girl, that is, between the age of 15 and 18 and not in school, who had been approached by the broker, or who had filled out travel papers to leave the community for 'unknown employment', who was persuaded not to leave.
3. The use of travel papers was rigorously enforced. Travel papers required anyone planning to leave the village to indicate their new address and purpose of work.

4. The 15-member community 'watch group' was actively involved in identifying high-risk girls and visit their families for counselling. They also closely monitored the veracity of information furnished in travel documents, identifying red flags that might suggest trafficking.
5. A Girls Forum (club) was created in Gadungsari, providing an opportunity for village girls to have a designated place to meet, discuss issues of mutual interest, provide tutoring for younger girls and enjoy activities such as reading, painting and sewing. The girls youth club is located in a house donated by a local citizen and is open four days a week. A village volunteer is present at the centre every day to address questions including those related to risks of 'leaving the village'. The centre also provides girls with the opportunity to tutor younger girls in reading and math, thus enhancing their own self-esteem and feelings of 'having an important role to play in the community'.
6. The village received a commitment from the district government for funds to expand training opportunities for girls in the village. Also, village leaders met with officials of the Ministry of National Education at the district level to include trafficking/health risk issues into the school curriculum.
7. The taboo about trafficking was broken as evidenced through anti-trafficking messages routinely delivered in the Mosque, in Koran reading sessions and in schools. Community members in Gadungsari now openly talked about the dangers and risks associated with trafficking.
8. The community held a poster contest for which each hamlet in Gadungsari submitted two posters. Of the 30 posters submitted by the 15 hamlets in Gadungsari, three were chosen to be reproduced in calendar form. Some 2,000 anti-trafficking calendars were printed and distributed to each household in the community and to district and provincial government offices. The contests and the calendars kept the buzz going on anti-trafficking.

What specific PD practices, adopted by community members, led to visible signs of change in Gadungsari? The adoption of any one PD practice in Gadungsari by itself could perhaps only do so much, but taken together, and over a five year time period, they have significantly improved the quality of life of its residents.

The poor socio-economic conditions that families found themselves in five years ago were a common thread echoed by our respondents. Uttari and Nirmala's (both *kaders*) 'before' and 'after' sketches (Image 2) were also revealing in highlighting the changes in Gadungsari.

Uttari narrated:

Before PD came only the traditional methods for cultivation were used, few marketable goods were produced, distribution was limited, and girls and women worked in entertainment 'bars'. We overheard some had even fallen sick and died of incurable diseases. People were poor, and several girls would go abroad [outside the village]. Many women were exploited, and many children were neglected.

Uttari's and Nirmala's 'after' sketch (Image 3) tells a different story—of a transformed Gadungsari. Uttari narrated:

Today the agricultural practices have changed. We are planting different crops. We are turning them into marketable products like cassava and banana chips. People are also raising chickens, goats, and cows. If someone wants to work abroad [outside the village], they can get the documents to do it legally and there are programs to assist them in getting a decent job. Today, the parents look after their children and the government looks after its citizens.

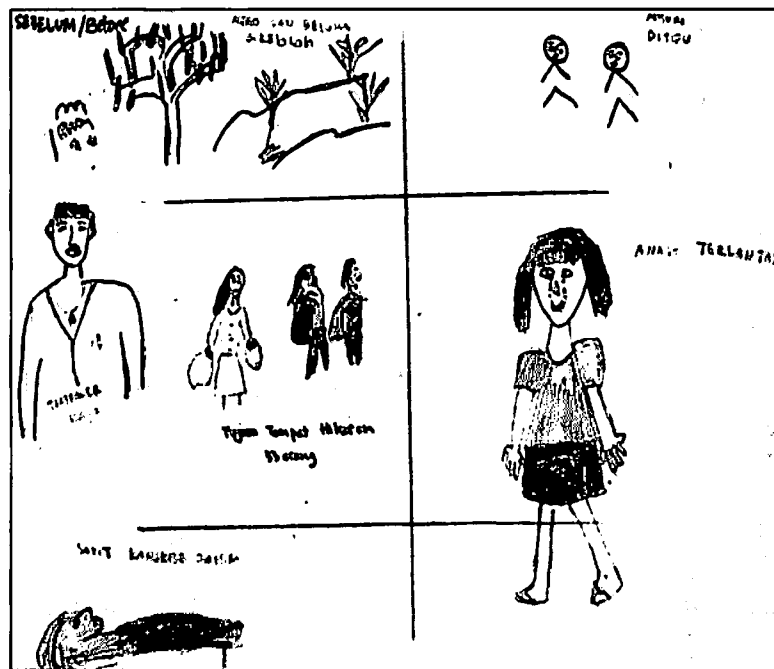


Image 2. Uttari and Nirmala's 'Before' Sketch of Gadungsari

Source: Singhal and Dura (2009: 100).

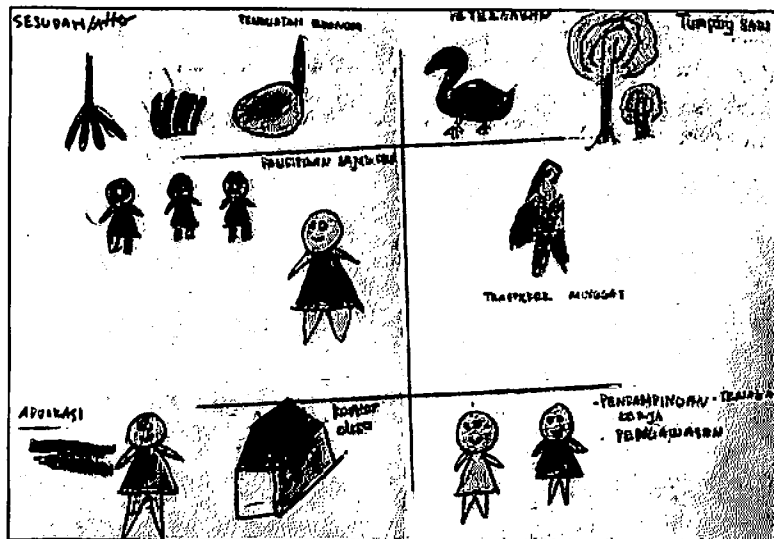


Image 3. Uttari and Nirmala's 'After' Sketch of Gadungsari

Source: Singhal and Dura (2009).

Pak Kasmadi also believed that, relative to other communities, Gadungsari, thanks to its brush with PD, is more socially cohesive—characterized by high levels of trust between its citizens, neighbourly reciprocity and a high degree of volunteerism. In essence, Gadungsari is a community where a lot of ‘capital’ is vested in social relationships, which leads to greater common good.

In summary, the ‘before’ and ‘after’ sketches and narrations provide a general sense of the changes participants from the Gadungsari community perceive. We see that many of the positive changes centre on using different methods for cultivation, an expanded portfolio of income-generating activities, formal and non-formal education and open lines of communication at various levels (for instance, between parents–children, neighbours, and village leaders and government officials). Over time, the PD project has moved beyond the pilot stage focused on a narrowly defined issue—girls’ trafficking—to become a mainstreamed development activity, integrated with other cross-sectoral programmes in education, income generation and livelihoods, nutrition, and physical and psychological health. As a village *kader* emphasized: ‘Gadungsari has adopted PD as its development premise and *mantra*.’

The next section details how PD practices to reduce girls’ trafficking were identified and adopted in Village Kedoyo in District Tulungagung, a village known to send out its girls to work in the sex industry, where Save the Children began PD implementation in April 2007.

PD Practices and Visible Signs of Change in Kedoyo

The village *kaders* and parents in Village Kedoyo, many of whom had been actively involved in implementing the PD programme from 16 months prior to our visit, identified several PD practices that they believe have made a significant difference in reducing the trafficking of young girls: girls are saving, studying, working and learning more. The ability of boys and girls in Kedoyo to obtain an education, both formal and informal, was the visible sign of change most noted by our respondents after the PD programme arrived in Kedoyo. In contrast to Gadungsari, where the PD pilot project on reducing girls’ trafficking (initiated five years previously) seemed in 2008 to be seamlessly integrated into its fabric of development programmes, the programme in Kedoyo is relatively young but showing palpable evidence of effectiveness.

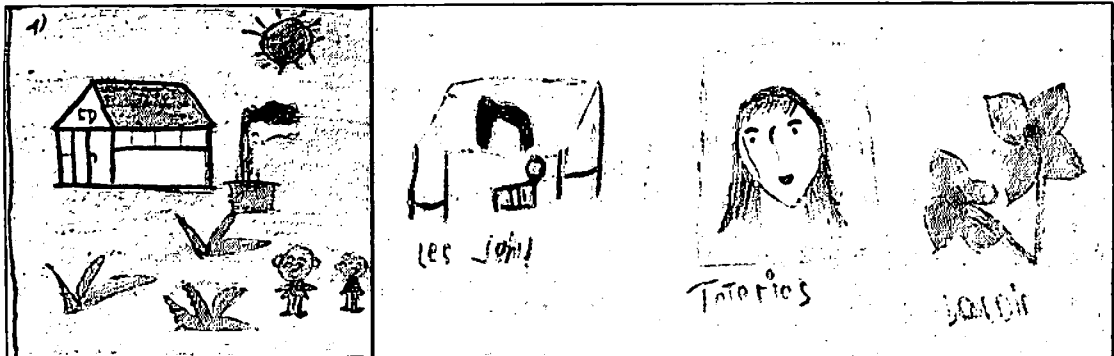
Expanded Learning Opportunities

Our respondents emphasized that seeing other boys and girls engaged in both educational and income-generating activities was inspirational to others, as peer-based role modelling works especially well with young people. No one wants to be left behind. In their sketches, we saw numerous references to various types of vocational courses which provided opportunities for generating income, and the possibility of making a decent living either in Kedoyo or a neighbouring town (Images 4 and 5).

More Conversations

Another sign of change in Kedoyo cited by many of our respondents was the rise in the numbers of group meetings, *kader* discussions, citizen forums and interactions of community members with district-level government officials.

As the following sketch (Image 6) and narration by two *kader* member illustrates: ‘Meetings now occur in Kedoyo in mosques, village offices, and neighbourhoods, covering a variety of topics from



Images 4a and b.

Source: Singhal and Dura (2009: 110).

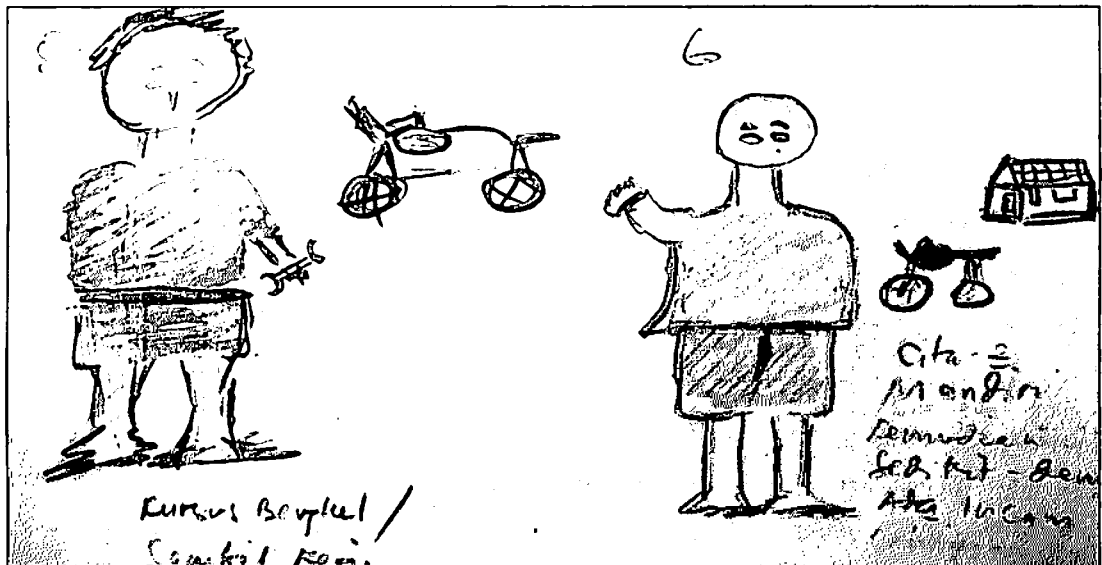


Image 5.

Source: Singhal and Dura (2009: 110).

expanding educational opportunities, to infrastructure development, to expand the range of vocational courses and income-generating activities.'

In closing, the village chairperson summarized the influence of the PD programme in Kedoyo as follows: 'Since PD came to Kedoyo, it seems the village is coming together to discuss and solve its problems. The kader now are more vigilant, alert, and motivated and also the parents see a brighter future for their children and themselves.' A village elder, who was silent for most of the day, added: 'The sun is just rising in Kedoyo. There are more people involved in more activities. There is more energy. This bodes well for the village's future. Come back and see us in a few years.' The sketches and narrations

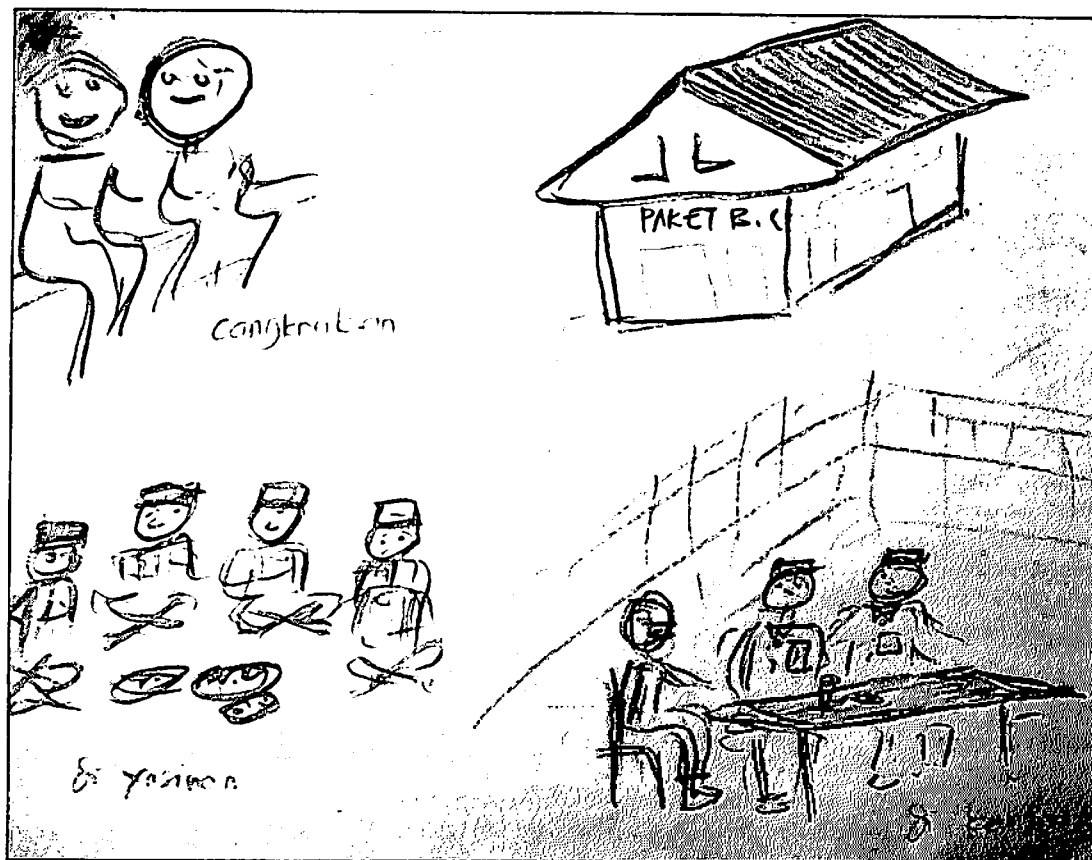


Image 6. More Dialogue, Debate and Discussion now is Visible in Kedoyo

Source: Singhal and Dura (2009: 111).

from Kedoyo show that families are highly interested in the reduction of girls' trafficking in their community after only one year. Increased conversation and access to education are unanimous gains.

Conclusions

Positive Deviance is a time-intensive and skills-intensive approach, yet it is also rich in communication and relational practices. It offers communities a unique vantage point to build human capital and sustain positive impacts. We see that both long-term and short-term projects, when rooted in the PD process, yield ripples of change beyond the scope of a traditional approach to social change. Since the PD programme was launched, Gadungsari has moved beyond girls' trafficking to become an integral part of other local development activities in education, income generation and livelihoods and physical and social health. Furthermore, it continues to serve as a model for the replication and scaling of PD to

address girls' trafficking in Indonesia. We see through younger programmes like the one in Kedoyo that PD motivates conversations and enables mobility.

While a solid means of implementing and monitoring are necessary for the practical success of a PD programme, the initial trust-building and relational investments of the facilitating team are a living example of how theory, research and praxis can come together to enable effective on-the-ground communication efforts. We can see through these projects that a strong communicative basis in the planning phase of a social change approach can yield significant, sustainable results. We can also see that these results are often unexpected, a product of a structured yet organic process that listens to a community's needs, foregrounding local knowledge and ceding ownership of both problems and solutions.

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