

# COMMUNICATION AND INVITATIONAL SOCIAL CHANGE

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The scene is a public square in Oakland California. The date: early December, 2008. Two hundred citizens of Oakland have heeded the call of a local theater company to create a "theatrical reenactment" of the 1946 Oakland General Strike 62 years ago, when Al Brown, a streetcar driver, stopped his streetcar to express solidarity with a picket line of women retail clerks protesting low wages and dismal working conditions (Maher, 2008). When Brown stopped his car, the streetcars behind him stopped in cascading waves of solidarity. Another 100,000 East Bay workers joined in. The strike lasted three days, leading to recognition of workers' rights, a more progressive city government, and better living conditions for working families<sup>1</sup>.

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The website for the "site-specific" 2008 performance invited participation:

*We need YOU – actors, citizens, performers, musicians, activists, regular folks – to take to the streets as part of a site-specific performance project about the 1946 Oakland General Strike. If you can hold a picket sign, carry a tune, dance in the streets, project your voice, or just want to be involved, we want you! ([www.oakland1946.blogspot.com](http://www.oakland1946.blogspot.com)).*

In response to the question "What is a theatrical reenactment," the creators of "Oakland 1946!" answered: "It is what you make it!"<sup>2</sup> Two performances of Oakland 1946! (Dec 5-7, 2008) were held outdoors in Latham Square, at the site of the 1946 strike, and were free to the public. Local union leaders and workers were invited to take the stage after each performance to address the audience. In a newspaper article covering the event, 19-year old resident Gabriel Vieira responded enthusiastically to the event: "I loved how (the performance) started with this fascinating historical story, and they brought it all the way up to the present. A lot of this stuff is still happening" (Maher, 2008).

This performance, part theater, part activism, commemorated a historic civic event, and by openly inviting citizens participation, wove the audience into the fabric of the story itself. Citizens participated in this performance not just as "spectators" more but as "spec-actors" (Boal, 1974; 2004, emphasis added). The creators of Oakland 1946! did not just dramatise and recount the events of 1946, they invited average citizens to become a part of it. After citizens had joined in the action – chanting slogans, holding picket signs, marching around the square – upcoming union organising events were discussed, inviting the "spec-actors" to join in (Maher, 2008).

Individuals from the organisation "Art for a Democratic Society" (A4DS), present at the 2008 performance, described the event as successful in "bring[ing] art and politics together." (2009, para. 9). The performances' Director, Max Bell Alper, said the purpose of the interactive performance was "to make it as engaging as possible so people will remember this [event], and then connect it to current struggles" (Maher, 2008). Some 300 "spec-actors" participated in the performances over the two days, many of whom expressed a desire to participate in future events (Maher, 2008). By invitation, Oakland 1946! enabled citizens' transformation from passive spectators to active "spec-actors" and, potentially, future social change agents.

Mahatma Gandhi goaded the world to action with the phrase "we must be the change we wish to see in the world." In this article, we explore three strategic communication for social change interventions which invite individuals to be agents of their own development – to be the change they wish to see. We propose the term "invitational social change" to unite these forms of communication under a single theoretical umbrella. To illustrate what invitational social change can look like in action, we visit with Mechai Viravaidya, Thailand's family planning and AIDS czar, who used humour and play to promote condoms and healthy passions among citizens in Thailand. Next, we travel to Senegal, West Africa to learn how a storytelling contest that was launched in three African countries in 1997 has grown in a decade to involve close to 150,000 young people in the fight against HIV/AIDS in 47 countries. Finally, we arrive in the small U.S. city of Carbondale Illinois, where we discover how "eco-feminist humour" is being employed to raise awareness about global warming and toxicity in consumer products.

Each case has its unique attributes: there is no formulaic recipe for invitational social change. Nonetheless, we hope the three cases we present will inspire the rendition of other stories of invitational social change across the globe. We begin by providing an overview of how communication has been traditionally used to foster social change. Then we introduce our understanding of "invitational social change," followed by three brief case studies as illustrative examples. Finally, we offer some lessons and conclusions based on the cases as seen through the prism of invitational social change.

## *Communication for Social Change*

Post World War II, the role of communication in social change was aligned closely with theories of modernisation, privileging persuasive, top-down models of communication promoted via mass media (Lerner, 1958; Melkote & Steeves, 1991). The role of the mass media (considered as "magic multipliers") was viewed as "bringing what is distant near and making what is strange understandable [in order to] bridge the transition between traditional and modern society" (Schramm, 1964). In this mass media-centered discourse, diffusion of innovations theory evolved as a local-level framework to guide communications planning for modernisation (Rogers, 1962). It emphasised the ability of media messages and local opinion leaders to create knowledge of new practices, and persuade the target audiences to adopt innovations in agriculture, health, and education. The widespread adoption of the Green Revolution technologies in developing countries was viewed as emblematic and solidified its dominance as a widely-used framework of intervention.

However, disappointments with the diffusion model emerged alongside. People did not relinquish old habits and traditions just because an "expert" believed it was good for them. Rogers, the chief proponent of diffusion theory, acknowledged the model's limitations over the five editions of his book (Rogers, 1962); however, expert-driven development practice found it hard to shed its attraction for the top-down diffusion model. The diffusion model, as it evolved over the next several decades, problematised the pro-innovation biases that came with outside expertise, as also the inequities inherent in adoption and outcomes. Over time, it increasingly recognised the fallacy of construing adopters as atomised individuals (as if they were not influenced by their social kinship networks), and called for "wider participation" of the populace in their self-determination.

Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, alternative views of development gathered momentum. Rogers defined the "new" development as "a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment" (1976). For Goulet (1973), development was holistic and included a clean environment; growth with equity; provision of basic needs such as food, shelter, education and medical care; meaningful employment and relationships with others; and a harmonious relationship between culture and change. Wang and Dissanayake (1984) emphasised the improvement in the quality of life for the majority and protection of nature and local cultures. Jan Servaes (1996) and Alfonso Gumucio-Dagron (2001) strongly advocated for the role of participatory communication in development. And there were many more scholars and voices in a similar vein. The common strand

running through these alternate conceptions was that traditional societies no longer needed to be modernised nor "developed," but rather to be involved and mobilised. Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar called for paying more attention to grassroots movements, focusing not on "development alternatives" but rather "alternatives to development" (1994).

The discourse about direct participation of the people has become increasingly strident in recent years. Rural sociologist Robert Chambers has dedicated his professional career to promoting increased participation of the poor in development efforts. In his book, *Whose Reality Counts, Putting the First Last*, he recommends sustainable development approaches, which are "bottom up" rather than "top-down with blue prints" (11). Chambers conceded, however, that the popularity of participatory approaches have created a "fad," which has led to occasions when participation is "co-opted and contorted" by donors who "demand" an inclusive approach. Agreeing with Chambers, Uma Kothari emphasised the danger of participation becoming a form of "inclusionary control," which, she argues, can serve to induce conformity rather than inviting new voices (2001).

To address induced conformity aspects of "participatory" interventions, we propose the notion of "invitational social change" to supplement rather than supplant participatory communication approaches. The term is put forward to describe a new orientation, which both encompasses and reframes participation.

### *Enter "Invitational Social Change"*

"Invitational social change" refers to communication interventions which invite, rather than require, participation. Rhetoricians Sonja Foss and Cindy Griffin contrast invitation with persuasion, the latter being a form of communication which is used to change others and is embedded in the "desire for control and domination" (1995). Rather than control over the other, invitation appeals to what philosopher Martha Nussbaum calls the "narrative imagination" of the other (2006).

Appealing to the narrative imagination of the other, Nussbaum writes, means "the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone so placed might have" (2006). Nussbaum contends, and we agree, that a particularly effective mechanism for cultivating narrative imagination is through creative activity, including theater, dance and other forms of entertainment (391). "Entertainment," writes Nussbaum, "is crucial to the ability of the arts to offer perception and hope" (2006). Thus, invitational forms of social change seek to substitute interventions which inform with calls to imagine and efforts to inspire.

Invitational social change interventions employ "pull" rather than "push," to borrow terminology from internet expert Peter Morville. According to Morville, push and pull are "interdependent opposites" in relation to the flow of information (2005). Pull is in function when we willingly seek content of interest and quality. Push, on the other hand, is the equivalent of spam in our email inboxes: "unwanted messages" that are thrust upon unwilling recipients (2005).

Put in terms of communication for social change, a highway billboard or a mass text message with the message "AIDS kills!" would be the equivalent of push: the message is unavoidable, unsolicited and aggressive. Pull, in contrast, can be seen in action with the examples which follow: the condom-blowing contests in Thailand, script-writing contests in Senegal and humorous performances in Illinois, USA we discuss in this article all function by pull. In each case, participation, reflection and new action are "pulled in" via various creative forms of invitation.

### *Mechai Viravaidya: Destigmatising Condoms with Humour and Play*

Although Mechai Viravaidya is known to many for his work in HIV prevention in Thailand, he also has a long track record in civil service and family planning. Over the span of his 40+ year career in public service, Mechai has worn a variety of hats, holding positions as an economist, a family health researcher, the Governor of the Provincial Waterworks of Thailand, Cabinet Member, Deputy Minister of Industry and Senator in the National Assembly.<sup>3</sup> Mechai Viravaidya's playful promotion of condom use began in 1974 when he founded the The Population and Community Development Association (PDA) and put his experience to use when he became the Aids Prevention Coordinator in the Prime Minister's Office in the early 1990s.

Mechai's efforts to popularise condoms in Thailand are based on the use of humour. Mechai's condom-blowing contests in Patpong (the red-light district) and his famous Cabbages & Condoms Restaurant in Bangkok are examples of utilising humour to invite discussion about condoms. When the authors visited this restaurant on Sukumvit Soi 12 in Bangkok, they noticed that the menu's cover caption said "Our food is guaranteed not to make you pregnant". They ordered a condom salad as starters, and ended the meal with a condom jelly dessert. When they paid their bill, the small change came in the form of condoms. As they exited the restaurant, a large colourful sign, hanging from a tree, said: "We do not have mints, but please take a condom instead". Beneath this red and yellow sign were two boxes with condoms. One was labeled "Thai size"; the other "International size". People laughed about condoms, and handled them; some even opened the packages to measure which one was larger – the Thai sized-condom or the international-sized condom.

Thai people believe in sanuk (having fun), and Mechai's Cabbages & Condoms Restaurant exemplifies how to invite individuals to have fun with condoms, and in doing so, break the silence on condom use. In Thailand, Mechai is called the "Condom King" or "Mr Condom," and a condom is commonly called a "Mechai." Commenting on the success of his playful communication strategy, Mechai offers this explanation:

*Well, people like to have fun and they like to laugh. And when you laugh, it's much easier to convince people and they laugh with you, rather than being angry. (Rivers, 2007 – unpaginated)*

Partly as a result of Mechai's activities, Thailand achieved a remarkably successful family planning programme, with seventy-eight percent of eligible couples using contraception in 2001. The annual population growth rate dropped from 3.3 percent in the early 1970s, to 1.8 percent by 1982, to 1.2 percent in 1994, and to 0.9 by 2001. Compared to other Asian nations like India and Pakistan, such a successful national family planning programme is almost miraculous. Mechai learned important lessons about communication strategies for changing sexually-related human behaviour. These strategies, gained in the national family planning effort, were carried over, with appropriate modifications, to HIV/AIDS prevention. In a 2007 CNN interview, Mechai cited a World Bank study which demonstrated that the effectiveness of the Thai government's HIV prevention efforts (in which Mechai played a large role), prevented nearly 7.7 million Thais from being infected (Rivers, 2007). Mechai gained so much notoriety for his successful work – in particular for his invitations to play with condoms in order to demystify and destigmatise them – that he was named one of Time magazine's 2006 "Asian Heroes" (Gayle, 2006).

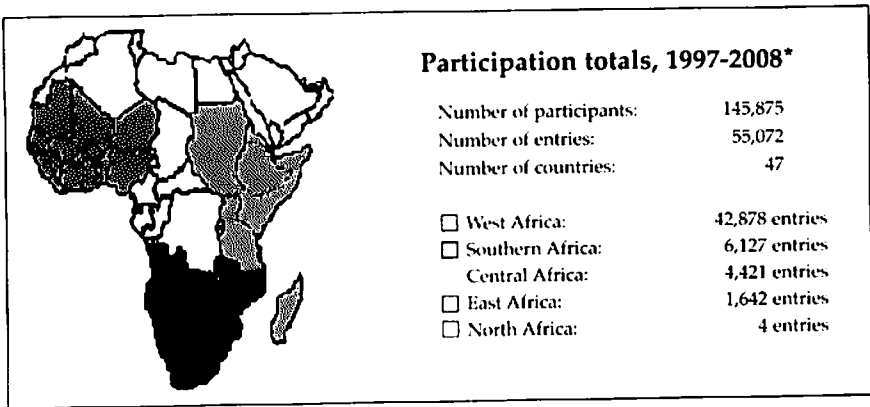
As noted by social activist-academics Sheperd, Duncombe & Bogad, play is a useful strategy because it creates accessible opportunities for increased involvement. They write: "Play supports a pre-figurative community building dimension in which activists seek to embody the image of the better world they hope to create... Most important, play invites people to participate. (2008). Mechai has understood the appeal of play and humour since he began working in family planning in the mid-1960s. By playing with condoms, for instance, and inviting others to join him, Mechai has shown that a frightening and life threatening disease like HIV/AIDS can be fought in ways that invite and inspire mirth rather than fear.

### ***Scenarios from Africa<sup>4</sup>: Creating Channels for Creative Participation***

While Mechai was inviting the citizens of Thailand to play with condoms, another intervention inviting citizen participation was underway in three West African countries. Scenarios from Africa, launched in 1997, is a

communication process<sup>5</sup> that involves three central components: (1) A scriptwriting contest for young people (age 15-24) on themes related to HIV/AIDS, (2) a juried selection of winning scripts, and (3) production and distribution of short films created from the winning script ideas (see Winskell & Enger, 2005). The Scenarios from Africa process – from contest, to jury to film production and distribution – is implemented by hundreds of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community based organisations (CBOs) across sub-Saharan Africa. Since its inception in 1997, there have been five completed "editions" of the Scenarios contest (1997, 2000, 2002, 2005, 2007/8), with a cumulative total of 55,000 scripts submitted by young people from 47 different countries. The exact number of young people participating as contestants in the five contests to date is 145,875 (Global Dialogues, 2008).

Figure 1: Participation Totals



Adapted from "Contest Participation, 1997-2008," (Global Dialogues, 2008)

\*Note: These figures include contestants who may have submitted multiple entries or those who may have participated in multiple contests.

The Scenarios contests are "designed to help break the silence around HIV and to generate dialogue and debate between young people themselves, as well as between young people and a range of other interlocutors in their communities" (Global Dialogues, 2005c). Scenarios co-founder Daniel Enger offered this comment on the intentions of Scenarios organisers:

*The contest is ideally a moment for young people to explore, learn and express themselves on their own terms, and for the massive and diverse Scenarios contest team to listen to the young participants and to learn from them. The focus is on learning, not teaching – a mindset that might not come naturally to many who occupy leadership positions in education, health, the media and government.<sup>6</sup>*

There is widespread agreement that efforts thus far to contain and mitigate the effects of HIV/AIDS have been inadequate because interventions have "treated people as objects of change rather than the agents of their own change" (Panos, 2001). If one accepts this argument, the importance and relevance of youth agency in the Scenarios process is clear.

The innovative results of youth agency are most apparent in the films created from the contest participants' scripts. The storylines reflect the humour, compassion, perceptiveness and ingenuity. (The films can be seen at <http://www.globaldialogues.org/Films.htm>). Contestants pushed the boundaries of what formats script ideas could take, submitting comic strips, poetry and songs, to complement their submissions.

Here we highlight two films, "Iron Will," and "The Shop," to illustrate the creativity of the young script writers and the generative potential of the Scenarios process. Participating in the first Scenarios from Africa contest<sup>7</sup> an 18-year old Senegalese youth named Malick Diop Yade, and his team submitted a prize-winning script, which became the film "Iron Will." The 5-minute film playfully documents a misunderstanding about HIV prevention between friends, showing what happens when young Moussah takes literally his friend Aziz's advice, that he needs "Iron underpants." Moussah has a pair of steel underpants fabricated by the local blacksmith. When Moussah proudly shows his "HIV prevention solution" to his friends, they burst out in laughter, telling him that "iron underpants" is a figure of speech – a way of saying "mind over matter." This film proved so popular that the term "Iron Underpants" entered Malian youth culture as a euphemism for strong will (Winskell & Enger, 2005). The film also inspired an "Iron Underpants" film festival the year after it was first released (Winskell & Enger, 2005).

For Olga Ouédraogo, the young writer of the short film "The Shop," participating in the Scenarios for Africa contest had an unexpected benefit: seven years after submitting her prize-winning script, she became co-director of two Scenarios films (Winskell & Enger, 2005). In Olga's script, a young man enters "The Shop" to buy condoms but loses courage to do so publicly. Embarrassed to ask for condoms, he ends up purchasing several packets of biscuits, until he watches an elderly man enter the shop and calmly asks for condoms. Shedding his embarrassment, the man purchases the condoms and arrives at his girlfriends' house. "It's too late!" she tells him and rides off on a moped. The film has proven so popular with audiences that it was dubbed into 19 languages and has been broadcast in dozens of countries including Fiji, Cyprus, Sri Lanka and Haiti (Winskell & Enger, 2005). As is evident from films like "Iron Will," and "The Shop," when young contestants had an open invitation to be creative, they rose to the challenge. Furthermore, the products of their creativity generated unexpected outcomes: new vocabulary and a foreign film festival, in the case of "Iron Will," and a new professional opportunity for Olga, the creator of "The Shop."



As Brazilian communication scholar Cicilia Peruzzo notes, one of the most important yet often overlooked means to foster community involvement is as simple as the creation of multiple avenues and channels (1996, emphasis added). Since its inception in 1997, the Scenarios from Africa contest mechanism has created channels for young people to lend their energy and talents to the HIV/AIDS communication process. These channels served as an open invitation to African youth to participate – one which was heard and responded to in 47 different countries across the continent. Undoubtedly, these numbers will continue to climb.

### *The Composters: Proof that Feminists Can be Funny*

Performance activists Janet Donoghue and Alison Fisher have crafted a different form of invitation in the United States in the small college town of Carbondale Illinois. These two young women have turned to comedy to invite audiences across the United States (in person and via radio airwaves) to think about environmentalism in a new way. Donoghue and Fisher are "The Composters," a satirical performance duo featuring "Glenda Greenhouse" (Donoghue) "Mary Mercury" (Fisher). Donoghue and Fisher came together joined forces during a battle to overturn a city ordinance banning open compost piles where in Carbondale.

Fisher recalls being chastised by a neighbour for her "illegal" compost pile and being told that she needed to buy an expensive storage container for her organic waste. "I went to city hall and the staff there weren't even aware of the ordinance. I brought a picture of my pile to the next city council meeting and they agreed that night that the ordinance was outdated and that organic matter – regardless of containment. After that, people started talking about composting more; and attitudes began to change." Eventually, Donoghue and Fisher succeeded in having the ordinance changed and the result of their successful collaboration was the formation of the "The Composters."

Janet Donoghue describes their collaboration an "eco-feminist activist performance duo." The Composters' approach to activism uses "humour, irony, satire, and sketch to present environmental information and to ask some really important questions" (Walters, 2008). The Composters turned to humour to provide a counterweight to what Donoghue calls the "doom and gloom" scenarios presented by most environmentalists. "Most environmental rhetoric is we call the 'Apocalyptic narrative'... and yet research has shown that when using that kind of negative language, people tend to tune it out after a certain period of time" (Walters, 2008).

Fisher adds that the characters of Mary Mercury and Glenda Greenhouse employ humour to make environmental issues accessible. "In our act we use the 'straight man and funny man' approach, like Laurel & Hardy. Our process is very dialogic – we try to show several sides of environmental

issues. People make their own connections – they can reflect on what it means to them when one of us [in the performance] is saying 'global warming is just liberal baloney.' The Composters stress that while they aim to entertain, their main goal is to invite audiences to think about environmental issues. "What separates us from comedic double acts is that we're issue based first – we didn't get together just to do comedy."<sup>8</sup>

The Composters have taken their act to several communities across the United States and have a weekly radio show in Carbondale, Illinois.

For Donoghue and Fisher, compost is more than a name, "it's a metaphor for activism" (2008).

*"Compost is movement - it's waste - the death and decay that you normally would just throw away. And the beautiful thing about compost is that it is literal transformation, so death and decay become a nurturing component for new life" (Donoghue & Fisher, 2008; Warters, 2008).*

After many of the public or mediated performances in which The Composters use comedy to invite reflection about environmental issues, they receive questions from audience members about composting or stories of personal experiences advocating environmental causes in front of city councils. After a recent performance about the toxicity of women's make-up, several students at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill approached the duo to inquire about how to research the toxicity levels of make up they wear<sup>9</sup>. Audiences, it seems, are converting what they learn in The Composters' performances into new action, suggesting that the compost-as-activism metaphor – turning something old into something new – is an appropriate one.

The duo is now experimenting with new media, complementing their website and blog with a new Facebook page to share videos of their performances and communicate with "friends & fans."<sup>10</sup> Viewing the videos The Composters have posted online, we found a pithy self-definition: "We use humour to subvert the way we look at environmentalism. We do skits, music numbers, and a lot of research: we put everything on the pile." "On the pile" in their latest videotaped performance for university students was a surprisingly funny look at toxic cosmetics which finished with a request that audience members "check out the 'Campaign for safe cosmetics'"<sup>11</sup> to verify the toxicity levels of their own beauty products. In this performance, The Composters not only rendered a frightening topic accessible, they also used the "pull" (Morville, 2005) of humour to invite audience members to take action and provided them with enough information to do so.

The playful invitation issued by The Composters in their performances means that the outcome of new thought and action is in the hands of the audiences. Unlike traditional, persuasive and "pushy" methods of communication, The Composters' communication strategy respects the

creativity and agency of their intended audience. By employing an invitational form of social change, they accept that it is up to audience members to "be the change" they wish to see in the environment.

### *Lessons and Conclusions*

As suggested earlier in this article, there is no facile recipe for social change. The variety of approaches presented here attest to that fact. Nonetheless, the invitational approach to social change employed in each of the cases is a tool that can increase participation and thus carry the burden of action across more shoulders. The underlying assumption of invitational social change is that all community members – ordinary citizens, radio listeners, and others – can be agents of change for themselves and others. There are no experts implementing invitational social change – only facilitators, catalysts and occasionally, partners in mischief.

Mike Prokash, a veteran organiser with the U.S. economic justice organisation "United for a Fair Economy," emphasised that the primary task of a successful organiser was to "set up structures so people can participate."<sup>12</sup>

For Mechai Viravaidya in Thailand, play was his invitational "structure": by creating a fun, accessible space to become familiar with condoms, Mechai helped thousands of Thai citizens overcome their resistance to safer sex.

The organisers of Scenarios of Africa created a highly participatory structure in the form of a script writing contest. The contest provided a forum for the talents of hundreds of young prize-winning script writers to be committed to film and the opportunity of thousands more young people to commit their ideas to paper – to create HIV/AIDS messages rather than being simply targeted by them.

The Composters in Carbondale, Illinois have created several structures to invite others to join them in sustainable environmentalism. Through live performance and a weekly radio show they demonstrate that toxicity can be funny if the fun is had while learning how to combat it. The Composters' web presence allows the performance duo to remediate their performances by posting videos of live events and uploading links to their radio shows. Each performance, whether live, mediated on the radio or remediated on the internet is an occasion for the duo to invite reflection and inspire new action. The individuals and organisations featured in these cases engage in invitational social change by echoing Gandhi's call to action that we should all "be the change we want to see in the world."

As we have seen in this article, change can come in all shapes and sizes: in a re-enacted union strike, a condom balloon, a contest script or a compost pile. The concept of "invitational social change" is proposed here as one, among many, forms of communication that can be employed when seeking

positive, pro-social change in the world. Strategies based on "push," which rely on aggressive tactics to disseminate information, are at times highly appropriate: in health epidemics, natural disasters and vaccine campaigns, to name just a few contexts, invitational forms of communication would not be appropriate. In social change interventions where participation, creativity and agency are desired outcomes, inviting motivated individuals to voluntarily contribute their time and energy is a good place to start: the rest is up to them.

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### Endnotes

1. For more on the Oakland General Strike, see [www.alamedalabor.org](http://www.alamedalabor.org)
  2. Unless otherwise noted, all information about the Oakland 1946! performance is taken from the website: <http://oakland1946.blogspot.com>
  3. This information was taken from the Curriculum Vitae of Mechai Viravaidya, which is available online at: <http://www.sli.unimelb.edu.au/pda/drmechai.htm>
  4. This section draws upon Greiner (in press).
  5. We use the term "process" rather than project for several reasons: 1) Scenarios founders Kate Winskell and Daniel Enger give preference to this term (See Winskell & Enger, 2005); and 2) the Scenarios process is deliberately decentralized in nature, with many collaborators but no central project office.
  6. Author correspondence with Daniel Enger, February 22, 2008.
  7. The first (1997) and second (2001) contests were held under the title: "Scenarios from the Sahel."
  8. Author interview with Alison Fisher, November 18, 2008.
  9. Author interview with Alison Fisher, November 18, 2008, regarding The Composters' performance at the University of North Carolina in October, 2008.
  10. The Composters can be found online in three locations: Webpage: <http://www.thecomposters.com/> Blog: <http://www.compostthis.blogspot.com/> and on Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/pages/TheComposters/25099057563?ref=ts>
  11. <http://www.safecosmetics.org/> from video, available on Facebook at: <http://www.facebook.com/home.php?#/pages/The-Composters/25099057563>
  12. Cited in Boyd (2002: 252) with attribution clarified during personal interview with A. Boyd, August, 2008.
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