

Opening up for Inclusive Education in Cameroon

Understanding frame resonance in NGO advocacy



August 2017

MSc International Development Studies

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Specialization: Communication, Technology & Policy

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Thesis code: CTP-81333

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Acknowledgements

To Willem

Thank you for believing in me, and giving me the chance to participate in this wonderful and inspiring research project. Your support and enthusiasm throughout the past year have kept me eager to improve.

To Margit

Thank you for your critical questions. From the start to the end your questions challenged me to reflect on and rethink every step of the process. With that they have been key; both in the development of my research, and the development of my personal research skills.

To CBCHS

Thank you for the warm welcome, the openness and the support you gave me during my time in Cameroon. It was wonderful to work with you and you have truly inspired me. A special thanks to Glory, Emmanuel, and Julius, as you made an extra effort to make me feel welcome and ensure I could speak to the stakeholders I wanted to interview.

To the Liliane Foundation and the African Studies Center

Thank you for creating this inspirational and useful research project. I am very grateful that you provided me the opportunity and the necessary resources to participate in this project.

To Walter

Thank you for accommodating me at my first arrival and for showing me around in Bamenda, despite your health problems.

To my family

Thank you for your everlasting support and for inspiring me to do research within the field of disability. You have opened my eyes for what could be.

To my friends

Thank you for your friendship and your support. A special thanks to my friends who made an effort to discuss my research with me, even though the topic was far from their specializations.

Summary

Despite a global trend towards the acceptance and inclusion of children with disabilities (CWD) within the society, the inclusion of CWD in many developing countries is lacking. There is an effort from various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to improve the living conditions for those children. Those NGOs are increasingly using advocacy in addition to or in replacement of direct support to improve their living conditions. There is, however, limited knowledge on the success factors of NGOs advocacy, especially in the Global South. Through a qualitative case study, this research aims to address this knowledge gap. The research looks at the Socio Economic Empowerment of Persons With Disabilities program (SEEPD) in Cameroon, a program seeking to make education inclusive for CWD in the North West-region of Cameroon. To ensure Inclusive Education (IE) for CWD, the SEEPD-program developed an intervention strategy with a variety of activities, of which advocacy is one. This study looks at their advocacy activities through the theoretical lens of framing-theory and aims to explain the role of frame resonance in relation to the larger intervention strategy of the program. Accordingly, this study aims to answer the question: *What role did frame resonance play in the intervention strategy of the SEEPD program in persuading different target audiences to support Inclusive Education?*

Semi structured interviews, participant observations, focus groups and content gathering were conducted in order to answer the research question. The research found that SEEPD used a dual intervention strategy; capacity building and advocacy. Capacity building was used because SEEPD recognized that all of its target audiences struggled to some extent with a lack of knowledge, materials, and finances, and due to this lack the target audiences had a limited capacity to help to realize IE. Consequently, SEEPD focused part of its interventions at providing those resources to empower their target audience to contribute to IE. Advocacy was used as a response to the negative perceptions around CWD, and the lack of will among target audiences to do something for those children. With these interventions communicative persuasion tactics were used to change target audiences views on disability and to convince them of the importance of IE. For this purpose, SEEPD adapted their message to the target audiences mainly with help of two frame resonance strategies, frame transformation and frame extension. Frame transformation was used by showing examples of successful CWD. SEEPD was able to transform the old belief that CWD were incapable and useless into a new belief that they are actually able to have successes and that IE is important to help the children succeed. Frame extension was implemented by extending their frame on IE towards other areas that were important to the target audiences such as social security and personal responsibilities. Both frame resonance strategies appear to have contributed to the persuasion of the

target audiences towards the importance of IE and the willingness of the target audiences to contribute to IE.

The dual strategy of SEEPD seemed vital for the successful persuasion of the target audiences. Within the context of Cameroon, where previously the will to make an effort for CWD was low and resources were limited, advocacy was necessary to give the target audiences the will to do something. In combination with advocacy, capacity building was, also, necessary to give the target audiences the power to do something. The results indicate that in resource scarce contexts a costly advocacy goal as IE cannot be reached merely through advocacy. After all, this research shows that besides the will to act, the ability to act is just as important to actually persuade target audiences to act. These results indicate the importance of an adaptive approach for NGO strategy development. An assessment of the target audiences, and specifically their willingness and capacity to contribute to a goal like IE, seems to be a valuable step during the development of new (advocacy) strategies.

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List of acronyms

ASCL	African Studies Center Leiden
BTSHP	Baptist Training School for Health Personnel
CBCHS	Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services
CBR	Community Based Rehabilitation
CECPES	Center for Clinical Pastoral Education
CEFED	Center for the Empowerment of Females with Disabilities
CWD	Children with Disabilities
EDID	Empowerment and Disability Inclusive Development program
GCE-Board	General Certification of Education Board
GTTC	Government Teacher Trainer College
IE	Inclusive Education
IOB	Inspectie Ontwikkelingssamenwerking en Beleidsevaluatie
LF	Liliane Foundation
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NW-Region	North-West Region
PWD	Persons with Disabilities
SEEPD	Socio Economic Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities program
WHO	World Health Organization

1. Introduction

While global poverty has seen a quarter-century-long sustained decline, not everyone is benefiting equally (World Bank, 2015). Some groups still live in extreme poverty and have almost no way of getting out. One of these groups, persons with disabilities (PWD) represent an estimate of 20% of the poor population according to The World Health Organization (WHO). This high percentage is due to a cycle in which poverty and disability enable each other (Bruijn et al, 2012). Poor people have a higher risk of acquiring a disability, for example because they are more exposed to disabling diseases. At the same time, people with disabilities have an increased risk of falling into poverty because they are often prevented from participating fully in society. To break this poverty-disability cycle and improve the situation for disabled people, the United Nations created the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which aims:

“to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities, and to promote respect for their inherent dignity” – United Nations, 2006

A total of 160 countries signed this convention and most of them also ratified it (United Nations, 2016). While in theory this means that PWD have the same rights as able people, in many developing countries this is often still not the case (Bruijn et al, 2012). Especially children with disabilities (CWD) are vulnerable because the community often rejects these children and their families. Another reason is because these children are dependent on their parents and caretakers, and thus have a harder time standing up for themselves.

Advocacy

Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) focus on improving the living conditions of such marginalized groups. They try to help out when the government does not fulfill their responsibilities. While traditionally most of them have been doing this by direct support to the marginalized, in recent years there has been a growing popularity to invest in advocacy activities to extend their impact. This so called ‘social justice advocacy’ can be described as:

“organized efforts aimed at influencing public attitudes, policies, and laws to create a more just society guided by the vision of human rights including political, economic, and social rights” - Nilsson and Schmidt, 2005: p.267

However, despite a growing popularity among NGOs to invest in advocacy activities, there is little research into the conditions for successful advocacy work for NGOs in the field of international development (Chapman & Fisher, 2000). A large part of the publications on NGO advocacy comes

from the sector itself, and only a fraction comes from the academic community (Elbers, forthcoming). Consequently, much of the available literature has a practical orientation, as reflected by the large number of 'how to guides' on advocacy that can be found on the internet.

Strikingly, a considerable part of the academic literature on advocacy in the context of international development is also policy oriented. Part of this work focuses mainly on developing frameworks and guidelines for effective monitoring and evaluation (e.g. Barrett, Wessel & Hilhorst, 2016; Coates & David, 2002; Gen & Wright, 2013), and part focuses mainly at the actual monitoring and evaluating of NGO advocacy work (e.g. Cugelman & Otero, 2010; MFAD, 2012; Coe & Majot, 2013). On the one hand these publications aim to give insight into conditions for effective advocacy practices as a learning for future advocacy work. On the other hand they serve as a way to evaluate the effectiveness of past and current practices, to inform NGOs and their funding partners on the return on their investment and to hold the executing parties accountable.

In the academic literature on advocacy, also outside the field of international development, there is currently no agreement on how to best measure the conditions for successful advocacy by NGOs. This directly relates to the complexities of advocacy work. Advocacy is not a linear process in which input can directly be translated to output. Rather, advocacy takes place in a complex environment in which various external factors play a role. Therefore, similar resources and advocacy strategies can generate very different results (Coates & David, 2002; Teles & Schmitt, 2011) and besides intentional outcomes, advocacy efforts can also generate unintended outcomes (Kolb, 2007). Furthermore, results can also come at different time paces; while at a certain moment an intervention does not seem to deliver positive results, later in time the situation might still develop in a positive way. It could also be the other way around: while on short term advocacy might deliver a positive result, in long term it can turn around in a negative way. All these factors make it difficult to establish internal and external causes in relation to internal and external outcomes across time. As a consequence of these complexities the outcomes of advocacy are a difficult subject to study, and while scholars have tried to explain the diversities of advocacy, systematic research into the subject is lacking (Kolb, 2007).

Most of the academic research examining the factors that might influence advocacy success has been conducted in a Western context (see Almog-Bar & Schmid, 2014 for an overview). One strand of this literature has focused on the environmental factors and the political opportunities that contribute to advocacy success (e.g. Kriesi, 2004; Schock, 1999; Osa, & Schock, 2007;). Other studies have examined the advantages and disadvantages of the dependence on external funding for advocacy (e.g. Mosley, 2011; Chaves et al., 2004; Bass et al., 2007; Grogan & Gusmano, 2009; Guo &

Saxton, 2010). Yet other research has focused on the organizational and structural properties of NGOs and their relationship with (successful) advocacy practices. Here aspects like size and age of the organization, existence of organizational and financial support networks, accessibility of information systems, and professional leadership are for example linked to advocacy success (Bass et al., 2007; Child & Gronbjerg, 2007; Schmid, Bar & Nirel, 2008; Donaldson, 2007). Then there is also research which has tried to identify which NGO advocacy strategies are most successful. Here a clear difference is made between more aggressive and confrontational strategies and less aggressive and more cooperative strategies (Berry & Arons, 2003; Onyx et al., 2010), with a strong tendency among NGOs to opt for more cooperative and less confrontational strategies (Schmid et al., 2008).

A strategic aspect that as of yet seems to have been neglected in the NGO advocacy literature in general, but particularly in those advocacy studies in the field of international development, is the role of strategic communication and framing in advocacy. This is notable, because in political science and social movement studies framing is assumed to be a major factor for the success of interests groups and social movements (Bruycker, 2017; Busby, 2002; Dütting & Sogge, 2010). Political scientists have for example been interested by arguments and issue definitions chosen by interest groups to promote their cause, and the way in which those choices affected advocacy outcomes. Recently, an increasing number of those scholars has explicitly been relying on the concept 'framing' as a way to influence policy decisions in the desired direction (Bruycker, 2017). Similar ideas can be found in the social movement literature where ideas about framing have been used to explain social movement success since the 1980s (Benford & Snow, 1986; Dütting & Sogge, 2010). According to those scholars for advocacy activities to be successful, frames need to 'resonate' with the target audiences. A frame resonates when it is of significance to its audience, because it evokes an association or strong emotion, through congruence with society's values and principles (Ferree, 2003, Benford & Snow, 2000). Since strategic communication and in particular frame resonance are believed to play an important role in 'related' literatures (with a clearly Western focus), it would be relevant to investigate the role of strategic communication and 'frame resonance' in NGO advocacy in the context of international development.

Research project

This study is part of a four-year cooperative research project between the African Studies Center Leiden (ASCL) and the Liliane Foundation (LF): *'Breaking down Barriers to Inclusion – Building Capacity for Lobby and Advocacy for CWD'*. The research project seeks to increase the understanding of success-factors of advocacy and build the capacity of the LF and its partners. The project takes place in two countries where partners of the LF have played an important role in advocacy for CWD:

Sierra Leone and Cameroon. This study looks at the Socio Economic Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities program (SEEPD) of the Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services (CBCHS), the strategic partner of the LF in Cameroon. The SEEPD-program seeks to make education inclusive for CWD in the North-West region (NW-Region) of Cameroon. To this end, the program has an intervention strategy with a variety of activities of which advocacy is one. Two students have already examined the advocacy of the SEEPD-program in early 2016. They looked at the role of organizational capacity and the political context in CBCHS' advocacy work (Mohammed, 2016 & Potthof, 2016). This study will build on their research and aims to expand the current knowledge by examining the process of CBCHS' (strategic) framing and the concept of frame resonance in relation to the larger intervention strategy of the SEEPD program.

Both researchers found positive advocacy outcomes, indicating that there is a high probability of frame resonance among the advocacy targets of the SEEPD program. After all, if the target groups were successfully persuaded to enable education for CWD, it can be expected that messages of CBCHS were significant to them. Some interviewees further indicated that CBCHS used strategic messages to convince their stakeholders. However, the exact role of (strategic) framing and frame resonance in the advocacy of the SEEPD program has not been investigated yet.

At first glance, the cultural and historical views on disability in Cameroon raise questions because it seems like the cultural environment in Cameroon was very hostile towards the messages of SEEPD. The predominant views on disability and CWD in Cameroon were very negative, while SEEPD sends a message that was very positive about CWD and the inclusion of CWD in mainstream schools. That SEEPD seems to have successfully convinced target audiences of the importance of Inclusive Education (IE) is extraordinary because theory states that for advocacy to be successful frames need to 'resonate' with the target audience and evoke an association or strong emotion, through a congruence with society's values and principles. It is, thus, interesting to find out what role frame resonance played within the intervention strategy of the SEEPD program, and in what way it contributed to open up the target audiences for IE. The main question of this research is therefore:

What role did frame resonance play in the intervention strategy of the SEEPD program in persuading different target audiences to support Inclusive Education?

In order to be able to answer this question, this thesis will look at frame resonance within the larger intervention strategy of SEEPD and the way in which it has contributed to the persuasion of the target audiences towards new ideas around disability, CWD and IE, relative to other aspects of the larger intervention strategy.

To investigate this process it is important to get an understanding of the larger intervention strategy of SEEPDs advocacy, SEEPDs (strategic) framing and the accompanying frames, the cultural views on disability, CWD, and IE, the way in which SEEPD's framing resonated with these cultural views, and the way in which the process of frame resonance contributed to the persuasion of the different target groups. Accordingly, the following six sub-questions were formulated:

1. What were the cultural views of the target audiences of SEEPD regarding disability, CWD and IE?
2. What was the intervention strategy of SEEPD?
3. What was the framing strategy of SEEPD regarding CWD and IE?
4. What were the frames that SEEPD used to promote IE?
5. In what way did SEEPD's frames resonate with the cultural views of the different target audiences regarding disability, CWD and education?
6. How did the process of frame resonance contributed to the persuasion of the different target audiences?

This study adopts an open approach to come to an understanding of the process from the (strategic) framing and frame resonance, towards persuasion. With that, it aims to contribute to a better understanding of the implications of frame resonance on a micro level in NGO advocacy in the Global South. Since frame resonance is seen as a potential factor for advocacy success, this study will, thus, also form a contribution to the debate on factors that contribute to advocacy success for CWD.

2. Theoretical and analytical framework

To be able to answer the research question '*What role did frame resonance play in the intervention strategy of the SEEPD program in persuading different target audiences to support Inclusive Education?*', it is necessary to first define the main concepts of the question. This chapter will examine the main concepts of the research question with help of existing literature.

In the existing literature, there is a lack of knowledge on the relationship between advocacy activities and other activities within NGO intervention strategies. The existing literature gives no insights into how different activities of NGOs might reinforce or constrain their advocacy practices. The theoretical framework will therefore focus on the other main concepts of the research question: advocacy, framing, and frame resonance. Thereafter, this research will shed light on how those concepts might relate to the larger intervention strategy.

2.1. Advocacy

There are many different fields in which advocacy is used and consequently there are also many different definitions of advocacy (Almog-Bar and Schmid 2014). The existing definitions can be divided into two categories. One category being definitions that narrow advocacy down to activities that are conducted in order to influence policy and law. For example the definition of the Inspectie Ontwikkelingssamenwerking en Beleidsevaluatie (IOB), which focuses explicitly on influencing decision-makers, and which defines advocacy as:

“A wide range of activities conducted to influence decision-makers in the public and private sectors at international, national or local levels towards the overall aim of combating the structural causes of poverty and injustice and contributing to sustainable inclusive development” (MOFA, 2015: p.19).

Within the other category, definitions extend advocacy to include activities that are conducted in order to influence public attitudes. For example the definition of Cohen (2001, p. 8), which describes advocacy as organised efforts which “seek to highlight critical issues that have been ignored and submerged, to influence public attitudes, and to enact and implement laws and public policies so that visions of “what should be” in a just, decent society become a reality”.

While both definitions slightly differ in the way they describe the aim of advocacy, the real difference lies in the activities that are thought to appertain to advocacy. While influencing law and policy might be seen as the core of advocacy in both definitions, the second definition recognizes that changing policy and the implementation of policy is inextricably linked to changing informal practices as well. After all, in many cases a change of policy does not necessarily lead to the intended

change in society. Therefore, to increase the likelihood of success and reach the desired change, sensitization of the wider public is also seen as an important aspect of advocacy.

The SEEPD program follows the second definition and directs its advocacy efforts both at decision makers and the general public. This research aims to produce a holistic understanding of the advocacy practices of the SEEPD program and consequently follows the broader definition of Cohen (2001, p. 8).

2.2. Framing

Social movements are familiar with framing strategy as a way to increase their movements' effectiveness (Dütting & Sogge, 2010) and research into their framing activities provides useful insights which can be used to analyse the framing of CBCHS. In social movement studies, frames are referred to as 'collective action frames' (Snow & Benford, 1988). Snow & Benford (1988: p.198) defined collective action frames as "frames which are simplifying and condensing aspects of the 'world out there', but in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support and to demobilize antagonists".

Snow and Benford (1988: p. 199) have identified three basic tasks of a collective action frame:

1. **Diagnostic framing:** "a diagnosis of some event or aspect of social life as problematic and in need of alteration;"
2. **Prognostic framing:** "a proposed solution to the diagnosed problem that specifies what needs to be done;"
3. **Motivational framing:** "a call to arms or rationale for engaging in ameliorative or corrective action."

The first two tasks are directed toward creating consensus on the issue; the frame identifies a social problem and who is responsible for it and a proposed solution to this problem, which explains what can be done to solve it. The third task is directed at motivating people to take action. A frame can motivate people to get in action by stressing differing vocabularies. It could stress the severity of the danger of the issue, the urgency with which the problem needs to be addressed, the sense of power one has to address the problem and the duty that someone has to act (Christiansen, 2016).

Gamson (1992) offers an alternative list with three basic components of a collective action frame (Noakes & Johnston, 2005: p.6):

1. **Identity component:** defines an oppressed group with shared interests and values and creates a 'we' versus 'them' feeling;

2. **Agency component:** recognizes that the horrid conditions between the 'we' and 'them' can be changed and encourages those who belong to the 'we' to take action and become agents of their own history;
3. **Injustice component:** places the blame for the horrid conditions on the people or institutions that belong to the 'them' group and asks members of the 'we' group to respond.

The major difference between these two characterizations of collective action frames is the role of injustice in mobilization (Noakes & Johnston, 2005). While Gamson argues that collective action frames always contain an element of blame and injustice, Snow and Benford do not deem this necessary. An important part of CBCHS' advocacy work is directed towards power holders and trying to develop sustainable working partnerships with government officials. In order to do this, NGOs are more likely to use less aggressive tactics and stress similarities and similar interests; instead of the differences that are needed to create a 'we' versus 'them' feeling (Onyx et al., 2010). The categorization of Noakes & Johnston therefore seems more appropriate to analyse the SEEPD frames than the categorization of Gamson.

Frames are created as part of framing. Framing is a communicative persuasion technique aimed at influencing how people view reality. To frame is to "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman 1993: p.52). Essentially, it involves selection of some elements and suppression of others; meant to convince other people of a certain point of view and let them adopt it, to garner bystander support and to demobilize antagonists. Different from using argumentation as a persuasion technique, framing is about evoking certain images and emotions (Benford and Snow, 2000).

Benford and Snow (2000) identified two framing processes which help to give meaning to certain events or situation: frame articulation and frame amplification. "Frame articulation involves the connection and alignment of events and experiences, so that they hang together in a relatively unified and compelling fashion" (Benford and snow, 2000: p.623). Parts of observed, experienced, and/or recorded "reality" are assembled, compared and packaged together in such a way that a new point of vision or interpretation is provided. For example 'not going to school', 'having a disability', 'inaccessible school buildings' and 'untrained teachers' can be connected to give meaning as to why someone is not attending school and what can be done about it.

“Frame amplification involves accenting and highlighting some issues, events, or beliefs as being more salient than others” (Benford and snow, 2000: p.623). For example, the need for the government to take responsibility for the rights of CWDs can be highlighted, while no attention is given to the need for CWDs to stand up for themselves, or the need for the community to take responsibility. Of course, this example can also be the other way around. In that case, the frame can avoid mentioning the governments need to take responsibility and instead stress the importance of the CWDs themselves and their communities to take responsibility. Both frames give a completely different meaning to the situation and direct the target to take different actions.

These two processes are not necessarily about the creation of new and original ideas. Rather they are about the manner in which existing ideas are combined, in a way that reality can be viewed from a new angle, enabling a new interpretation of events. The connection to existing ideas is even thought to be very important. As Valocchi (2005: p.11) mentions in his chapter on collective action frames, “the key to framing is finding evocative cultural symbols that resonate with potential constituents and are capable of motivating them to collective action”. Frame resonance, as a key aspect of framing, will be explained further in the following paragraph.

2.3. Frame resonance

Social movement theory indicates that the success of a movement’s frame depends on a frame’s cultural resonance (Benford & Snow, 2000). At the root of this contention lies the belief “that social movements are more likely to succeed when activists articulate their cause in terms that are legitimate and meaningful to people outside the movement; that is, when frames “resonate” with key beliefs, values, and ideas held by ordinary people” (Benford and Snow 2000: 621). Originally the concept of frame resonance was developed to explain how social movements could mobilize supporters. However in this research, the use of the concept is extended to explain the persuasion of different types of audiences to support the point of view of CBCHS. For this purpose, frame resonance will be defined as *the alignment of a frame with a target audience’s cultural beliefs/values and needs/interests*. The accompanying key assumption is that the more resonance (alignment), the more likely a frame will be perceived as compelling, and the more likely it will be persuasive. According to Benford & Snow (2000) through the association that frame resonance evokes frames can even evoke strong emotions.

According to Snow and colleagues (1986), there are four framing strategies that are used by frame senders to increase the resonance of their frames (Noakes & Johnston, 2005):

- **Frame bridging:** “linking two or more frames that have an affinity but were previously unconnected” (p.12). For example linking the rights for disability frame to

the feminist frame, to encourage girls and young woman with disabilities to stand up for their rights.

- **Frame amplification:** “coming up with a catchy phrase or slogan to market the essence of the movement”(p.12). For example slogans like ‘power to the people’, ‘it’s a child, not a choice’ or ‘keep your hands off my body’.
- **Frame extension:** “extending aspects of a frame to new areas that are presumed to be important to the target audience” (p.12). For example expanding the framing on how important schooling is towards chances on the labour market and a future income.
- **Frame transformation:** “changing old understandings and meanings and or generating new ones” (p.12). For example the shift that the World Health Organization has made from the framing of PWDs as helpless and in need of aid, towards framing them as capable persons with rights, who are only disabled by restrictions in the environment.

Whether these four strategies are also leading strategies to create frame resonance in the Global South is still unknown. This research will try to shed light on whether these or other strategies are leading in the establishment of frame resonance within the case of the SEEPD program. It is therefore a first exploratory research with regard to frame resonance strategies within the global south.

In order to gain an understanding of the framing strategies deployed by SEEPD that contributed to their frame resonance, it is useful to look at different factors that can influence frame resonance. According to Noakes and Johnston (2005) there are three factors that contribute to frame resonance: the qualities of frame itself, the attributes of the frame receiver and the qualities of the sender of the frame. The *qualities of the frame* are “a snapshot of the various components of a collective action frame; values, beliefs, goals, rhetoric, ideological elements and other resources from the cultural tool kit, such as slogans, tactics, motivations, portraits of “us” and “them”, prognoses, and diagnoses” (Noakes and Johnston, 2005: p.12). The *attributes of the frame receivers* concern the target groups’ ideological, demographic, attitudinal, and moral orientations and their needs and interests (Benford & Snow, 2000; Busby, 2010). The *qualities of the sender of the frame* influence how well the sender is able to evoke resonance among the frame receivers. This concerns, for example, the credibility of the frame sender, the extent to which they hold charismatic authority, and their strategic and marketing qualities (Noakes and Johnston, 2005).

This research paper will first take a look at the three factors that contribute to frame resonance separately, and then go into the way in which SEEPD attempted to bring them together in their framing strategy in order to create frame resonance. For this purpose chapter 4 will discuss the cultural background of the frame receivers, chapter 5 and the beginning of chapter 6 will discuss the frame sender and the frames that have been used, and the end of chapter 6 will discuss what framing strategies SEEPD deployed to evoke frame resonance and how these strategies related to their whole intervention strategy regarding the promotion of IE.

2.4. Resonance and Persuasion

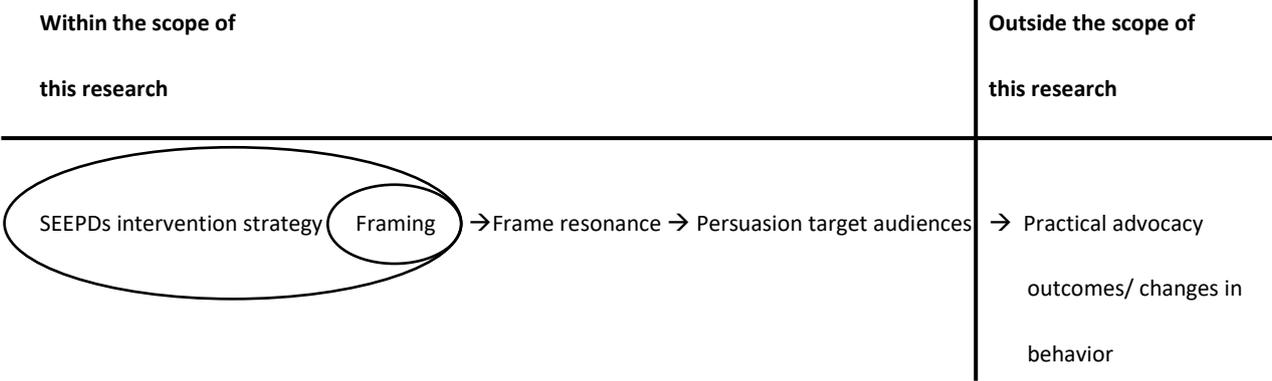
Unfortunately, the concept of frame resonance as an explanation of advocacy success is still problematic (Ferree, 2003). Especially because frame resonance has not been operationally defined independently of the outcomes it claims to produce. Social movement studies often assume that the movement's eventual success indicates that frames resonate or, if a movement is unsuccessful, that the framing was faulty (Bloemraad, Silva & Voss, 2016). However, these studies lack a clear explanation as to what extent and for which reasons the outcomes are the result of frame resonance. Bloemraad, Silva and Voss (2016) suggest using a survey experiment to solve this problem; however an experiment cannot give concluding insight into framing processes that have already taken place. Therefore, the explanation of advocacy success on the basis of frame resonance remains problematic.

However, to gain valuable insights into the process of frame resonance towards advocacy success, it is not necessary to try to explain advocacy success in its entirety. Through taking one step back, looking at changes in perceptions and attitudes instead of the whole range of advocacy outcomes, important insight can be gained into the process of frame resonance. Perceptions and attitudes are appropriate to gain insight into frame resonance as a tool for advocacy, because in order to reach advocacy goals, people first need to be convinced towards new ways of thinking. Framing in essence is about sense-making, interpreting and giving meaning to what happens in the ongoing world (Aarts & Woerkum, 2006). Framing can, thus, be a valuable tool to influence the meaning-making processes of target audiences of advocacy, and with that also towards advocacy success. To establish a connection between frame resonance and changes regarding perceptions and attitudes, it is important not only to determine that changes took place, but also to get insight into how these changes took place.

According to Aarts and Woerkum (2006), new problem definitions and solutions as proposed in CBCHS' advocacy, can be reached through framing. This happens when actors involved recognize the mental models that underpin how they operate, and realize that they interpret the world around

them, and that things happen according to their specific backgrounds and interests. If framing is able to evoke such recognition, they are one step closer towards accepting new ways of framing, and gaining a different and/or broader view on their own interests, opportunities and/or identity. This research will, therefore, look both for changes in perceptions and attitudes, and the underlying reasoning of the target audiences for their new ways of thinking. Do target audiences accept the reframing of CBCHS? Are they able to express why they accept CBCHS' framing or why not? Can they reason why they had different ideas before, or why other people have different ideas, based on background and interests? In other words: is it possible to identify the meaning making processes of the target groups, and to understand the contribution of CBCHS' framing in their meaning making processes?

While analyzing the process of frame resonance and the (changed) perceptions and attitudes can be a good indication of the (positive) effects of frame resonance, this study does not attempt to claim that it produces unambiguous evidence for a causal relationship. Also it is not able to give evidence to explain the complete range of advocacy outcomes.



3. Methodology

To be able to understand how this research was set up, and to understand on the basis of what the research conclusions were drawn, this chapter will give insight into the methodology of this research. For that purpose, it will first explain the research approach, and then specify the research location, timing, units of analysis, and the methods that were used for data collection and analysis.

3.1. Research approach

This research is a case study of the SEEPD program of CBCHS. The research attempts to produce a holistic understanding of the frames CBCHS used and the extent to which they resonated with the different target audiences. The case study is done from an interpretive approach and mainly focuses on how CBCHS and the target audiences construct versions of the world and give meaning to it.

3.2. Location

The base of the field research was the office of CBCHS in Bamenda, Cameroon. Interviews were conducted in Bamenda, and in other areas in the NW-region where SEEPD is active. Interviews were mainly held with local and regional target audiences as SEEPD efforts are mainly focused on these target audiences, and because of a languages barrier with the French speaking part of Cameroon. One interview took place outside of the NW-region. This concerned an interview with the formal program manager of the SEEPD program, who is now doing advocacy work for another NGO.

3.3. Time frame

The SEEPD program has been running since 2009 and will continue until 2018. This research focuses on the lobby and advocacy efforts that CBCHS made regarding IE between 2009 and the end of 2016.

3.4. Units of analysis

In order to be able to answer the research question the following units will be analyzed:

- The intervention strategy of SEEPD regarding the promotion of IE
- The framing strategy of SEEPD regarding CWD and IE
- The frames that SEEPD used for the promotion of IE
- The cultural views of the target audiences regarding CWD and IE
- The meaning making process of target audiences regarding CWD and IE

3.5. Methods of data collection and analyses

In order to realize a truly holistic understanding, multiple methods have been used and triangulated. In conducting the research, both empirical research and ethnographic observations have been used. Both ‘informal’ research methods, including conversations with staff and ‘formal’ research techniques, including interviews and participatory research techniques were used throughout the research. The methodology used was chosen according to experiences in the field, because once a researcher is on the ground different methods might appear to be more relevant/ suitable for the given situation than initially expected (Snow & Trom, 2002). Eventually the following research methods were used: semi-structured interviews, (participant) observation and informal small talk, focus groups, and content gathering. Table 1 shows what data was retrieved with these methods and how the data was used during the analysis.

Method of data collection	Data	Analysis
Semi-structured interviews	36 interview transcripts with stakeholders of the SEEPD program	Coding
(Participant) observation and informal small talk	Field notes	Triangulation of interview findings
Focus groups	Fieldnotes of 2 focus groups: 1. Self-help group for parents of CWD 2. Self-help group for disabled entrepreneurs	Triangulation of interview findings
Content gathering	Presentations SEEPD program Newspaper article Flyer Transcript radio show SEEPD program Website CBCHS Facebook SEEPD program	Triangulation of interview findings

Table 1: methods of data collection

The next paragraph will explain more about the data and the data collection process. After that the last paragraph of this chapter will give more insight into the data analyzation process.

3.5.1. Data collection process

In cooperation with the program officer and the program manager of the SEEPD program, a list of possible interviewees and a schedule with interview dates was created. This schedule changed multiple times, and due to unexpected external events some interviews had to be cancelled.

However, it was a valuable guidebook, and eventually it led to 36 recorded interviews and 4 unrecorded interviews within a time period of 7 weeks. In the appendix a chronological overview of the interviews can be found.

The fact that the list of interviewees was decided in cooperation with employees of the SEEPD program both has its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the influence of SEEPD might have led to the selection of a sample in which positive target audiences are overrepresented and negative target audiences are underrepresented. In a discussion with SEEPD, this problem was addressed and the request was made to interview people who were not (yet) on board. While SEEPD said to be willing to enable interviews with stakeholders who were not (yet) persuaded, such interviews unfortunately did not take place. Power holders that were not cooperating (yet) were located very far from Bamenda, and within the time set for the research, it was not possible to travel to those areas. Parents who were resistant to cooperate were closer by, however, due to strikes and political turmoil it was not possible to come along with a CBR worker to visit them. On the other hand, the involvement of SEEPD in the interviewee selection and planning also had its advantages. SEEPD provided easy access to the targets, and because the interviewees were invited by the program officer and the program manager, the likelihood that interviewees were willing to participate increased greatly. The interview guide was made independently and the interviews were also done independently. Only during the focus groups assistance of a CBR worker was used, who was familiar with the participants and who was able to translate.

Participatory observation and small talk were done during three months. This took place within the office of SEEPD, with employees of the SEEPD program, and outside the office of SEEPD with a large variety of people. Topics that were discussed during these moments related mainly to cultural and personal views on disability and CWD and personal experiences with CWD, but could also relate more indirectly to the topic of this study, for example to the hierarchical system in Cameroon, the importance of education in general, or the various problems the country faces with regard to poverty and unemployment. During observation and small talk field notes were made regularly.

Content was received from various employees of the SEEPD program. Strategic documents were lacking, but there was a lot of communication material that SEEPD was able to provide. The content that was retrieved consisted of: PowerPoint presentations of the SEEPD program, a newspaper article, a flyer, a transcript of a radio show of the SEEPD program, the website of CBCHS, and the Facebook page of the SEEPD program. These documents all provided information on elements of the education domain of the SEEPD program, which could be used to triangulate the

outcomes of the interview data. The PowerPoint presentations provided information on SEEPDs strategy, while the newspaper article, flyer, radio show, website and Facebook page provided information on the way SEEPD communicated. In some of the content, the views of target audiences were also discussed. If so, they were mainly presented as success stories; for example the radio show broadcasted interviews with majors who were enthusiastic about what the SEEPD program had done and the training they received from the SEEPD program.

3.5.2. Data analysis process

The purpose of the data analysis is to gain insight into the process of frame resonance of SEEPDs advocacy frames with the cultural ideas of their different target audiences within the wider intervention strategy of the SEEPD program. It aims to show in what ways frames that promote IE can resonate with target audiences that live in a cultural environment that is initially hostile towards CWD. More insight into this process will help to gain a better understanding of the implications of frame resonance on a micro level in NGO advocacy. It aims to show what happened on the ground in this case, look for lessons that can be learned from it, and inspire more comparative research.

For the purpose of data analysis all 36 interviews were transcribed by two independent transcribers from Cameroon. The text was transcribed literally, without any special attention to pauses, sounds or other audible behaviours, since that was too costly for the purpose of this research.

The interviews were analysed with help of the coding program Atlas.ti. Since this is an exploratory research, the first round of coding was inductive. During this round coding categories were derived from the raw data. In Vivo coding was used, to ensure that the first coding cycle delivered categories based on the participant's perspectives. Because the literature indicates that emotions and values have an important role in frame resonance, special attention was paid to emotion coding and values coding, so values, attitudes and beliefs could be recognized. Coding units existed of a phrase, a sentence, or a paragraph depending on the length of a theme expressed in the interview. During the first round of coding, reflection on the codes took place repeatedly, and ideas for coding categories were developed and adjusted several times. Categories were compared, and since the categories partly overlapped, a visual overview was created in which the different coding results could be placed, to enhance understanding of the complexity of the way in which the different aspects worked together.

The field notes of the (participant) observation and informal small talk, the focus groups, and content from documents were used to triangulate the findings of the coding and analysis of the interviews.

3.6. Research limitations

This research was limited by time and external circumstances. The field period was supposed to take three months, a short time to do extensive research in such a complex area in which so many different target audiences are involved. Due to political turmoil, this time was further reduced to two months. During these two months, there were days in which there was no activity possible and therefore some interviews had to be rescheduled or cancelled. While interviews took place with 36 stake holders and many informal conversations took place in- and outside the office of SEEPD, it was not possible to speak to multiple stakeholders of each target audience and no interviews could be conducted with traditional leaders. The study runs the risk of having a positive bias with regards to the stakeholders that were interviewed, as the limited time made it difficult to get access to ignorant or negative stakeholders. For future research, it would be interesting to dive deeper into the differences between the different target audiences. It would, also, be interesting to explain variation within groups of target audiences, since it is likely that not all persons belonging to one target audience are persuaded exactly at the same pace and exactly in the same way.

Other possible distorting factors of this research are caused by features of the researcher. Within a society in which power and hierarchy is usually run by black African males, the researcher was a white European female. However, the researcher did not experience this as an issue, since it seemed like being white and European opened a lot of doors, and people were actually eager to engage in interviews and tell their stories. Another feature of the researcher that might have distorted or limited this research is her limited experience. While overall, it seems like the research went quite well, it is surely possible that the researcher overlooked certain things, or the analysis was limited due to lack of experience. On the other hand, inexperience can also come with extra creativity and enthusiasm, which might have made up for these limitations.

4. Cultural views on disability and CWD

To understand where the SEEPD program comes from, and in order to be able to determine the extent of frame resonance between SEEPD's frames and the cultural views on disability and CWD, it is important to understand the existing dialog around disability and CWD. This chapter will therefore explain cultural views on disability and CWD. First, it addresses the global views on disability. Then, it will go into the views on disability and CWD in the African context, and lastly, it will zoom in on the views around disability and CWD in Cameroon.

4.1. Global views on disability

Disability is a complex, dynamic and multidimensional concept (De Beaudrap P, Pasquier E, Tchoumkeu A, et al., 2016). As a result, instead of a single and objective definition, there are multiple definitions that only partly overlap. In global disability movements there are three predominant approaches. The first approach is the medical approach. This approach has prevailed for decades and focuses solely on impairments and their causes. The medical approach has been challenged by people with disabilities and some academic writers. They brought about a shift towards a more social approach. In this approach, people with disabilities are viewed as being disabled mainly because of environmental barriers that prevent them from participating fully in the society. Integrating these thoughts, a third approach was created: the bio-psycho-social approach. This approach states that disability is constructed of three connected components (impairments, activity limitations and social participation), and results from the interaction between individuals and their environment. The last model is promoted by the WHO, and is winning in popularity all over the world.

4.2. Dominant views in (West) Africa

In most parts of (West) Africa, the dominant views on disability differ from the three models above. CWD are stigmatized and discriminated against. Often there is a discourse that denies the agency of CWD (MacLachlana, et al. 2014). They are ignored, shouted at, insulted or blamed and socially isolated. The stigmatization and discrimination comes both from within the family of the CWD and from the larger community. The family often isolates the CWD from the rest of the society and therefore the care for CWD usually takes place in the home environment (Kuyayama, 2011). For one, because parents and care takers often do not have the right means to take them somewhere else (wheelchair and such). For another, because there is a tendency to hide disability, because the CWD would become the (negative) center of attention and embarrass his/her family members or irritate others (Kuganab Lem, 2011). For example because of loud vocalizations, hitting or kicking other children, drooling, seizures or incontinence of stool or urine. The community stigmatizes and discriminates the CWD simply because of perceived disability (disability as exclusion criteria) and

because of cultural and traditional beliefs, values and practices (MacLachlana, et al. 2014). The community often sees CWD as objects of pity; they see them as helpless, unable, and as a burden upon society because they are seen as passive and economically unproductive. Disability is further associated with maternal failure, witchcraft, misfortune, and religious punishment (Kuyayama, 2011). In the cases in which researchers did not find discrimination, they expected that it was the case either because people are afraid that the situation with the CWD may befall on their families, or that the respondents were hiding their discriminating thoughts by saying that they lack the skills to interact with CWD.

4.3. Dominant views in Cameroon

During the field work in Cameroon, it became clear that PWD and CWD are also stigmatized and discriminated against. Both, during interviews and in informal conversations people consistently confirmed that it has happened for a long time in their own communities, either by themselves, or by people around them. Traditionally, there exists a strong believe that disability is connected to witchcraft. A special needs teacher explains that *“they look at it as shameful kind of thing. Some look at it as curse, and some look at it as some sort of witchcraft, as if the children have been bewitched”* (Interview 31).

In Cameroon, witchcraft does not have the same meaning as it had in Europe around the 17th century. Rather Cameroonians believe that there are supernatural powers that can have a bad influence on human beings. They believe that these supernatural powers can punish you when you have done something wrong. During small talk people explained that this could happen for example when you have not honored the dead properly during a funeral, when you have lacked to take care of a friend in need, or when you have not been a proper Christian or Muslim. Punishment can take various forms, and one of them comes in the form of disability. When you or your child has a disability, it is believed that it must be due to your own behavior. Not knowing or recognizing that there is a physical cause to the disability, they will search for another reason behind the disability and try to repair their wrong, instead of giving attention to the CWD. When their attempts to reverse the disability fail, they are often left with shame and disgust for their CWD.

Negative perceptions around CWD are further reinforced because there is a strong belief that CWD cannot fulfill the role that children are supposed to fill. An interviewee explains that *“the parents don’t love these children. These are parents who believed that children with disabilities can’t do something”* (Interview 31). Children in Cameroon are very important, especially because they are “the work ethic” of tomorrow. Children are the main means to ensure social security. Without children, there is no one that will take care of you at a later age, when you are not able to take care

of yourself anymore. People believe that CWD are not able to learn and develop, and that therefore they will not be able to work and support the family when they grow up. Thus, there is a lack of will to invest in these children. As interviewees mentioned repeatedly, CWD are seen as “a waste of time” and “a waste of resources”. Consequently, people try to hide their CWD away locked up in a room, to hide from other people that they are being punished for their own wrongdoing. Or they try to dispose of them, by leaving them at the side of the forest; hoping that the burden will go away. That the situation is extremely poignant is illustrated in box 1 by a personal story of one of the employees of the SEEPD program.

Box 1: Disability within the family

When I was young I grew up with a brother who had a physical disability. He did not have legs and therefore I always took care of him. I brought him from one place to another, fed him, and washed him. Me and my grandmother were the only ones taking care of him. No one else cared. When I got older I went to study, and therefore I had to move to Yaounde, where I could go to university. Then my grandmother died and when I could go back home during the holidays, I did not see my brother. I asked my family where he was, and they told me he was upstairs. I went upstairs, and found him locked in a dark room. My family only opened the door slightly to push a plate with food towards him, but otherwise he was left alone. He had to do everything in that room, eat, sleep, poop, and he had no legs! I cleaned him and I cleaned the whole room. But when the holidays were over I had to go back to Yaounde to study, and the next time I got home he had died. This experience has never left me, I loved him. (Personal communication)

However, these traditional beliefs are now being challenged by the beliefs of the global disability movements. Multiple NGOs are trying to advocate for those beliefs and argue that disabilities have medical causes and that a disability is a combination of impairments, activity limitations and social participation. In the NW-region of Cameroon CBCHS is one such organization. Through advocacy and sensitization they are trying to shift the beliefs around disability and improve the living conditions for CWDs. More about CBCHS and their advocacy programs can be found in the next chapter.

5. Overview of the SEEPD program

In order to grasp the process of frame resonance in the case of the SEEPD program, it is important to get a better understanding of the SEEPD program. This chapter will therefore shed light on the SEEPD program with help of the two previous research projects by Mohammed (2016) and Potthof (2016).

5.1. The SEEPD program

The SEEPD program was started by the Health Department of the Cameroon Baptist Convention in 2009 (CBCHS, 2016). CBCHS is a non-profit faith based healthcare organization, which started over 60 years ago in the NW-region of Cameroon. The services CBCHS offers range from Primary Health Care to highly specialized hospitals and a variation of social services. CBCHS comprises of six hospitals, over 25 integrated Health Centers, 50 primary Health Centers, a pharmaceutical procurement and distribution department, a Baptist Training School for Health Personnel (BTSHP), a Center for Clinical Pastoral Education and Social Services (CECPES), and Services for People with Disabilities. The SEEPD program falls within the last category. It has the overall aim to provide holistic services to empower PWD and mainstream disability among communities in the NW-Region of Cameroon. Its goal is to contribute development by breaking the poverty-disability cycle. The program covers four main domains of intervention: Medical and Rehabilitation Care, Education, Livelihood and Social Inclusion. While all four domains are supported by an advocacy and a research component, this research focuses specifically on the Education domain.

The previous two research projects (Mohammed, 2016 & Potthof, 2016) explain that the overall aim of the Education domain is to empower CWD in the NW-region by ensuring that they have equal access to education in government schools. This is their aim, because SEEPD noticed that there were almost no children with impairments in mainstream schools and that almost no one in the region was aware of the need to provide suitable education services for CWD. Before the program started, special schools were the only option for CWD to learn within an environment that suited their needs. However, not all forms of disabilities need a special learning environment and not all families are able to send their children to such schools. Accordingly, the Education Domain focuses on overcoming the following two challenges:

1. Increasing the number of CWD who attend (government) schools
2. Ensuring that inclusive education becomes sectoral (government) policy

5.2. Advocacy strategy

To overcome these challenges SEEPD focused its advocacy strategy both at influencing public attitudes towards disabilities, via sensitization, and influencing policy and the implementation of

policies through lobbying. They directed their sensitization and lobbying to a wide variety of target audiences, to create support for IE throughout the whole society. The two previous research projects (Mohammed, 2016 & Potthof, 2016) recognized the following target audiences: the general population, CWD, parents of CWD, school personnel, traditional community leaders, religious community leaders, mayors and their municipalities, and relevant stakeholders in regional bodies. SEEPDs activities to reach these target audiences were chosen according to a twin track strategy (Internal presentation SEEPD, 2016). Within the first track they tried to empower CWD, their families and organizations. They did this for example by the provision of disability specific services, mobility aids and communication devices, and by awareness-raising and training on rights and advocacy. Within the second track they tried to mainstream disability and the rights of CWD in all sectors of society. This means they wanted to ensure that CWD can fully participate in and have access to for example health care, education, recreation, and social services. One way they accomplished this was by assessing the implications for CWD of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programs and by ensuring that CWD are integrally involved in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all actions in all sectors of society. The activities of the SEEPD program regarding these two tracks took place within three time phases.

5.3. Three phases

The previous two research projects (Mohammed, 2016 & Potthof, 2016) analyzed the three phases of the SEEPD program. Both did qualitative research projects, and their research was mainly based on interviews held with personnel from CBCHS and stakeholders from the SEEPD program. From their research, it became clear that the three phases had distinct sub objectives, with different strategic activities, target groups, and outcomes. The first phase mainly focused on the empowerment of CWD. It aimed to increase awareness of the right to schooling for CWD, to create a demand for IE, and to create equal, fair schooling and examination opportunities. Their main strategies to reach these objectives were media campaigns casting role models to support the creation of a pilot project in government schools, and the Braille of examination scripts. During these activities, they targeted the general public, regional delegates, the education advisor, parent teacher associations, teachers and the General Certification of Education Board (GCE-Board). As a result of phase one there was increased awareness in communities in the NW-region of Cameroon, a pilot project for IE started in 17 government schools, the first student with a severe visual impairment was able to attend a government school, and CWD were able to have exams at the same time as other students, which was previously not possible.

The second phase mainly focused on mainstreaming disability. Its main objective was the further implementation of IE in pilot schools. Their main strategies for this objective were training

sessions for teachers, the appointment of lead persons within pilot schools, the construction of a resource center for IE in Bamenda, and the donation of an embosser to Braille the exams for the GCE-board. During this phase, SEEPD mainly targeted the regional delegates, the Government Teacher Trainer College (GTTC), teachers and the GCE-Board. However, SEEPD executed activities regarding CBR to reach the general public continued as well. The second phase resulted in the facilitation of 30 CWD in the pilot school in Bamenda, changed regulations with regard to the examinations, and a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the GCE-Board to keep working together.

The third phase focused on mainstreaming disability further among local development actors. The main objectives of this phase were the improvement of the capacity of local development actors, in order to sustain the projects SEEPD initiated in the previous phases, and the encouragement of the government to take over. To reach these objectives, SEEPD directed meetings with mayors across the NW-region to involve municipal councils, conducted workshops for councils, and held a meeting with the Minister of Basic Education. Their focus in this phase was mainly on local councils and mayors in the NW-region, and on the prime minister and ministry of education. CBR activities to reach the general public continued. Up until December 2016, when the last data for this research was retrieved, the third phase has resulted in Memorandums of understanding (MoUs) and action plans in 18 out of the 34 councils in the NW-region in which mayors have agreed to mainstream IE in their agendas and budgets, the appointment of a focal person who acts as an intermediary between SEEPD and the council for each of the 18 councils, and the sensation of the ministry of education.

Table 1 shows an overview of the three phases, and the accompanying objectives, strategies, target audiences and outcomes.

	Objectives	Strategies	Target audiences	Outcomes
Phase 1: 2009- 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Empower PWD - Increase awareness of the right to schooling for CDW & create a demand for IE - Create equal and fair schooling and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media campaigns & show casting of role models - Creation of a pilot project in government schools (providing suitable technology, trained teachers & 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - General public - Regional delegates - Education Advisor - Parent Teacher Associations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased awareness in communities in the NW-region - 17 pilot government schools for IE - First student with a severe visual impairment was able

	examination opportunities	universal building access) - Brailing scripts for examinations	- Teachers - GCE-Board	to attend a government school - CDW able to have exams at the same time as other students
Phase 2: 2012-2014	Mainstream disabilities - Further implement IE in pilot schools	- Training session for teachers - Appoint lead persons within pilot schools - Construction of a resource Center for IE in Bamenda - Donation of an embosser to braille the exams to the GCE Board	- Regional delegates - GTTC - Teachers - GCE-Board	- Pilot school in Bamenda facilitates 30 CWD o Implementation is better in some pilot schools than in others - Changed regulation: CWD are entitled to a braille script and provided with 25% additional time o However, not all schools are aware yet of this change in policy - MoU with the GCE Board to keep working together
Phase 3: 2015-2018	Mainstream local development actors - Improve the capacity of local development actors in order to sustain	- Direct meetings with Mayors across the NW-region to involve Municipal Councils - Conducting workshops for Councils	- Local Councils and Mayors in the NW-region - Prime Minister and Ministry of Education	- MoU and action plan in which 18 out of 34 Councils in the NW-region agreed to mainstream IE in their agendas and budgets

<i>By the beginning of 2016</i>	<p>the projects SEEPD initiated in the previous phases</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourage the government to take over 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meeting with the Minister of Basic Education 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Appointment of a Focal Person for each of the 18 councils, who acts as an intermediary between SEEPD and the Councils - Sensitization of the Ministry of Education
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Table 1: The three phases of the SEEPD program (sources: Mohammed (2016) & Potthof (2016))

5.4. Conclusions earlier research

Besides discovering the objectives, strategies, target audiences and outcomes of the three phases Mohammed (2016) specifically focused on the political environment, and the way in which that constrained and enabled effective advocacy for CBCHS. Potthof (2016) specifically focused on the organizational capacities of CBCHS, and the way in which they influenced CBCHS' advocacy outcomes.

In her research, Mohammed (2016) concluded that a country's political system can both enable and constrain advocacy for CWD. Her research identified three main features of the political system in Cameroon that influenced CBCHS' advocacy work. These were the spatial closeness of the power holders in a partially decentralized system, the lack of resources within the political system and democratic elections among mayors. She showed that local NGO's have more opportunities to engage in successful advocacy when key power holders are nearby, lack resources and can profit electorally from engagement with the cause concerned. However, she also explained that exactly those points that enabled the advocacy successes might undermine their long term success. Lower level power holders that are nearby might be overruled by higher level power holders who are located at a greater distance, the lack of resources might hinder continuance of the work once help and funding from CBCHS stop, and while elections might stimulate one power holder to invest, it does not guarantee that his successor will continue the work. Additionally to these three key factors, she found that in restrictive settings were critical voices are not being tolerated by the government, existing government policies on disability were a good base to engage power holders.

Potthof (2016) concluded that three types of organizational resources were decisive for achieving CBCHS' advocacy outcomes. Firstly, it was important that the organization was credible and recognized for its track record, performance and integrity. Secondly, CBCHS' strong social ties were

crucial in reaching the advocacy outcomes. For one, because they helped to get access to specialized expertise on disability and IE, which was necessary to develop strong advocacy plans (like the development of the IE pilot with 17 government schools) and to create a strong message to convince the target audiences of their cause. Also, their social ties helped them to reach and convince various power holders. Thirdly, CBCHS' charismatic representation was key in the successful engagement with their target groups and was consequently an important resource in reaching the advocacy outcomes.

6. Intervention strategy

The previous chapter already revealed the objectives, strategies, target audiences and outcomes of the SEEPD program as identified by the two previous research projects (Mohammed, 2016 & Potthof, 2016). This chapter will analyze SEEPD's intervention strategy further and aims to show how framing played a role in the larger intervention strategy for the persuasion of target audiences to support IE.

Shortly summarized the goal of the Education domain is "to empower CWD in the NW-region by ensuring that they have equal access to education in government schools" (Mohammed, 2016 & Potthof, 2016). SEEPD aimed to reach this goal by influencing stakeholders across all levels in the society to support and enable IE. As described in the previous chapter, SEEPD executed a wide variety of interventions towards the different target audiences for this purpose. Overall, a dual strategy can be recognized. On the one hand SEEPD executed its interventions with the aim to address capacity gaps and physical barriers to inclusive education, like providing suitable technology, trainings for teachers and helping target audiences to establish universal building access. On the other hand, SEEPD executed its interventions with the aim of persuading target audiences to adopt more positive views on disability and inclusive education, like visiting communities, broadcasting media campaigns, and meeting with Mayors across the NW-region to speak about IE. While the first set of interventions focused on improving the ability of power holders to implement inclusive education, the second addressed their willingness. Both seem to have been instrumental in persuading target audiences to support IE, and as is argued throughout this thesis, especially the combination of these interventions seems to have been crucial in the persuasion of the target audiences. However, before coming to this argument SEEPDs' individual interventions to address the capacity and willingness to implement IE will be discussed.

6.1. Capacity strengthening

A large part of SEEPDs intervention strategy aimed to strengthen the capacity of target audiences to implement inclusive education. By analysing the outcomes of the previous research projects (Mohammed, 2016 & Potthof, 2016) and with additional information from the interviews it became clear that SEEPD provided their target audiences with three kinds of resources to do this: knowledge, materials, and finances. This paragraph will analyse what SEEPD undertook with regard to the provision of these resources and how that strengthened the capacity of various target audiences.

6.1.1. Knowledge

SEEPD provided their target audiences with knowledge on disability, CWD and IE. The provision of knowledge contributed to the capacity of the target audiences to help enable IE. While it was also an element to persuade the target audiences towards the willingness to contribute to IE. The role of

knowledge provision as a means to make target audiences more capable will be central in this section. The role of knowledge provision as a means to make targets more willing to contribute to IE will be explained more elaborately in the paragraph on framing, specifically in paragraph 6.2.3..

From the interviews, it became clear that the knowledge SEEPD provided was mainly transmitted through media campaigns, personal meetings, community meetings and through workshops. Part of the knowledge provision came from SEEPDs employees directly in the form of stories with explanations and examples, and by handing out documents. Another part came from the facilitation of knowledge exchange between target audiences. As the CBR supervisor explained,

“There are presentations that are given [by the SEEPD program], and people will ask questions, than there will be discussions, and you [SEEPD personnel] will be able to show documents which show possible provisions for PWDs.” (Interview 1)

The general population received knowledge through the media campaigns. In addition specific community members (among which CWD and parents of CWD) received knowledge through personal meetings and community meetings organized by CBCHS’ CBR workers. School personnel received knowledge through workshops. Traditional community leaders and religious community leaders received knowledge through personal meetings. And mayors, municipality workers, and regional power holders received knowledge through personal meetings and workshops.

By providing knowledge SEEPD responded to a lack of knowledge among target audiences, and the challenge that that lack posed on the target audiences if they want to help to enable IE. A special needs teacher explains that *“the society still has very little knowledge about inclusive education and persons with disabilities, and as such they need a lot of sensitization and education”* (Interview 31). That there is a huge lack of knowledge with regard to disability, CWD, and IE became clear during field observations, in the focus group with a self-help group for parents of CWD, and during the interviews. During a focus group, parents of CWDs indicated that they had difficulties to understand what was ‘wrong’ with their children for example because they lacked knowledge on different forms of disability and the best way to interact with them and help them. In interviews it became apparent that the other target audiences also struggled with this lack of knowledge and the best way to go about issues with CWD and IE. Especially the lack of practical knowledge and the desire to learn more on the best ways to go about issues around CWD and IE was articulated repeatedly by the various target audiences. School personnel express their appreciation to learn more on how they can include CWD in their classrooms. As a sign language interpreter of a government school explains when being asked after the most important message that SEEPD tells them,

“She [Education Advisor SEEPD] just, she usually just sensitize teachers on how they can handle their lessons so that everybody will benefit, all the learners will benefit. The ways how our lessons can include all the learners. For instance, if you want to teach a lesson it is good to bring materials, so that these persons with visual or hearing impairment, those with visual impairment they can feel the touch and with that they will when you are presenting your lesson, they will get you, they will understand better. Even those with hearing impairment can see those things, they will be able to learn better, even writing on the board. Those with hearing impairment they will be able to keep it in their mind.” (Interview 4)

Mayors and municipality workers express how valuable it was for them to learn more on how to include CWD and IE in their practices and the implementation of policy. As a focal person of a municipality states about the workshops the municipality received,

“It is so enriching, I now have a clearer picture on what disability is about. It helps a lot. We always come out of the workshops so enriched and with more knowledge on how to go about disability as focal persons. (...) They are talking about more disability inclusive development, like in our case the Kumbo council: that for every activity we want to carry out we should think of disability inclusion; that is including persons with disability from the planning stage to the implementation and follow up phase. Like when we are carrying out recruitment, we always put in a clause that persons with disabilities should apply. That is something we use to just leave out without knowing that is something very important and when we started seeing now that when we call for application we find persons with disabilities coming freely to apply and that has never been the case.” (Interview 35)

The regional stakeholders regarding primary and secondary education also expressed their appreciation with regard to the practical knowledge that they received from the SEEPD program. As a regional delegate explains:

“Prior to that [the introduction of the SEEPD program] we have already been envisaging some activities with regards to inclusive education, but we were not really technicians in level matter. So we could not really go through what we had without guide from an institution that was expert in the matter, so when they came in, it was really like timely.” (Interview 9)

How traditional and religious community leaders responded towards the knowledge provided by SEEPD is not clear, since the interviews with them were hindered due to the political turmoil that took place at the time of the research. However, it can be expected that they also welcomed information which could help them to interact better with their people.

In sum, with regard to the ability of target audiences to do something with CWD and IE, it can be said that with the provision of knowledge SEEPD responded to the need of the target audiences to learn more about disability, CWD and IE, and in particular the need to gain more practical knowledge on how to go about issues around CWD and IE.

6.1.2. Materials and finances

Besides responding to a lack of knowledge, SEEPD also responded to a lack of materials and finances among its target audiences. The way SEEPD responded to the lack of materials and finances served to influence the willingness and ability of the target audiences to do something with IE. The interventions SEEPD took to influence the ability of the target audiences and the way in which they did this will be discussed in this section. The way in which SEEPD addressed the lack of materials and finances that influenced the willingness of target audiences to do something with IE will be explained more elaborately in the paragraph on framing, specifically in paragraph 6.2.2.3..

While knowledge was provided generously to all target audiences, materials and finances were distributed more carefully. SEEPD assessed whether they thought target audiences needed specific materials or finances in order to enable IE and provided them accordingly. Since SEEPD did not have a documented overview of precise donations of materials and finances towards the different audiences, this section will illustrate SEEPDs activities and the way in which they responded to needs of the target group as well as possible with help of examples from the interviews.

The first example concerns parents of CWD. SEEPD created the Empowerment and Disability Inclusive Development Program (EDID), especially for parents of CWD. The EDID program provided money for parents of CWD who do not have the finances to send their CWD to school. As a CBR Administrative Assistant explained:

“We work with the families and the councils and we inform them that, these are schools that this child can go to. And with the EDID program many children are able to acquire education, because the children that have been enrolled in the EDID program are able to sit in class. In partnership with the EDID program and their families the school fees are paid and the children are able to go.” (Interview 13)

With the EDID program SEEPD responded to the financial need that many parents of CWD have. As a fieldworker explained clearly,

“Those are some of the challenges and sometimes the financial situations of some of the people in the communities. You know most of the PWDs come from poor home and the cost of

handling a disability situation is always more expensive than other situations, and so it's a big challenge." (Interview 14)

A remarkable example of the support that SEEPD provided through the EDID program was the story of a child with a visual impairment who represented his parents during the focus group with parents of CWD. He explained that because of the EDID program, he was able to go to school, while his non-disabled siblings could not go to school, because his parents lacked the needed finances for their tuition fees.

While the EDID program was designed to help pay school fees for CWD of poor parents, SEEPD did not just give the money away. They looked critically at the motivation of parents to not send their children to school, to evaluate whether it was really a lack of money, or maybe a lack of motivation. Also SEEPD made an effort to see whether other stakeholders would be able to contribute to the tuition fee. A CBR fieldworker explains that:

"Yes, we help them with the money, in some cases we advocate for councils to help them pay half of the money. Or if the mayors can even pay; some of our mayors also help in paying all the fees." (Interview 16)

SEEPD further supported schools with materials and/or finances in various cases. As with the support to parents, in these cases SEEPD also considered whether or not their support was appropriate and 'deserved' by the school personnel. The head teacher of one of the pilot schools explains that they first needed to create space and install electricity and light before they would receive special computers for CWD. Another example comes from the vice principal of another pilot school, who explained that SEEPD provides wages for the sign language teacher, interpreter and transcriber, while lobbying for the Parent Teacher Association to take over the financial responsibilities. By looking for ways to support schools in the execution of IE, SEEPD responded to the material and financial needs of the pilot schools. A teacher from a pilot school explains that

"Even though financially there are some things we need that can help these children, but we don't have money to provide for the need for the children. We don't have many things that these disabled children need. At times it is frustrating because we really need to help them but we don't have finance that we can use to help them." (Interview 27)

Municipalities and regional bodies also received support in the form of material or finances in some cases, while in other cases they were motivated to take care of costs around CWD and IE independently of the SEEPD. A mayor explained for example that they do not receive material or financial support from the SEEPD program.

“No they don’t give us that assistance [material or financial support]. They assist us with technical expertise. (...) The mayor pays for every child in that community who has impairment and the mayor said that the council has taken that responsibility and any parent that keeps the child at home will have to face the law.” (Interview 36)

“Money will have to go out, not come in. We spend because SEEPD is not giving me any money nor resources. All they give is their technical expertise. I am the one recruiting the sign language teacher, I am the one helping the less vulnerable.” (Interview 36)

While another mayor and a regional power holder explained that SEEPD did give material and/or financial support to help them to enable IE:

“Knowledge is far greater than other considerations, because when your mind is opened up to something, when you have information, it makes a lot of difference. As I earlier said: the knowledge we have from the SEEPD program really assist us, and their financial assistance too is of great help, because our councils is always at the verge of any program that comes in and helps us.” (Interview 34)

“They have been very instrumental, they empowered personnel, they have given us material, in fact, they help us set up a center at government high school at Ntaumlung.” (Interview 8)

By giving financial and material assistance to local and regional power holders SEEPD responded to the financial and material needs of these target audiences. Something with which they indicated they need help. The mayor explains that,

“It is not the content of the message, it is that the government of this country does very little for less privileged and if I show you my budget... Assistance for equipment to rescue the vulnerable population is 1.5 million which is equivalent to 750 dollars not even up to 1000 dollars. And this municipality is above 200 thousand inhabitants. That is what the government is sending to me, it shows that they are not interested to take care of the vulnerable population. So I have to work hard to get funds from elsewhere to do that.” (Interview 36)

Since the interviews with the traditional and religious community leaders could not take place, the extent of financial and material support towards these target audiences is less clear. However, a CBR worker explained that they cooperate with churches to obtain church funds for PWD and CWD in several communities, thus it might be the case that these target audiences are not supported with finances or materials. Or, as with municipalities and regional bodies, they might receive support on some accounts, and not on others.

Besides the above mentioned main target audiences, occasionally SEEPD also provides support to associate advocacy bodies. During the interview process two examples of this kind of support came up. The first was the support SEEPD gave to the director of CEFED, a special needs teacher trainer college, during her advocacy campaigns. As the director explained:

“Partnering with SEEPD and other organizations, SEEPD sponsored CEFED to carry out two huge press conferences advocating for the ratification of the UN convention and so we have all these platform people on board. It was huge with more than 20 media that covered the two occasion. The proceedings are going on in the prime minister’s office to be amended. I say again that change and advocate takes long.” (Interview 37)

The second example that came up was the financial support SEEPD kept giving occasionally to the association for media advocates for persons with disabilities after creating it and declaring it independent¹. As the chairman of the association explained:

“As of now I still see it as independent, but we cannot ignore the support we have received from SEEPD so far, because they were at the center of the creation, but we have been trying to create initiatives on our own and implement them at the different media organs without the influence of SEEPD. That is the level that I see its independence, but now when it comes to general initiatives that need funding, we turn to structures and they support us to get some work done. So, I cannot take away SEEPD from us, because they have remained a very reliable partner.” (Interview 38)

In sum, it appeared from the interviews that all target audiences struggled with a lack of finances and materials. While in some cases target audiences were able to obtain funds and materials independently of SEEPD, in other cases the support of SEEPD was very instrumental in helping target audiences to enable IE.

6.2. Framing

Besides focussing on capacity building to ensure target audiences were able to do something with CWD and IE, SEEPD also focussed its interventions on the persuasion of target audiences to adopt

¹ The creation of an association for media advocates for PWD seems like a good way to make SEEPDs message echo throughout the various media in the society. However, in the informal conversations and interviews with SEEPD personnel it was never mentioned that they used it actively as such. When being asked how the message was communicated besides personal communication, they merely mentioned their own Facebook page and their own radio show.

more positive views on CWD and IE, in order to increase their willingness to do something. This section analyzes the interventions SEEPD undertook with that aim.

The interventions aimed at creating willingness among targets to do something with CWD and IE, were interventions in which SEEPD used communicative persuasion techniques aimed at influencing how their target audiences viewed reality around CWD and the importance of IE. For the purpose of this research, those communicative persuasion techniques have been analyzed with help of framing theory.

Although SEEPD's advocacy process have not been guided by framing experts, as the former project manager explained, analysis of the data reveals that SEEPD did approach their framing strategically. An analysis of their choices regarding the framing approach and framing messages shows they were not 'just' sending messages. Instead, they made clear considerations as to what best suited the various target groups. To come to an understanding of how SEEPD has influenced the willingness of target audiences to contribute to IE, the following paragraphs will analyze the framing interventions that SEEPD implemented, and the way in which they resonated with the various target audiences. To get a comprehensive understanding of the framing strategy of SEEPD paragraph 6.2.1 will elaborate on the way SEEPD approached the various target audiences in order to communicate their frames. 6.2.2 will elaborate on the frames SEEPD used to persuade the different target audiences towards new ideas, and 6.2.3 will explain what frame strategies have been found to have been key in the creation of frame resonance among the various target audiences.

6.2.1. Communication strategy

SEEPD strategically decided how to bring their message to the different target audiences to make sure its target audiences would be open to receive the message of SEEPD. The choice for the different activities was made with the attributes of the different target audiences in mind. This can be seen because SEEPD seems to have made considerations based on characteristics of the target audiences as to which person was most appropriate to approach which target audiences, what the most appropriate way was to approach the different target audiences, and what suitable channels were to reach the different target audiences.

6.2.1.1. Communication: internal roles and responsibilities

That SEEPD took the target audiences into consideration in the decision on who would communicate towards which target audience can be derived from the division of communication responsibilities among SEEPD employees.

From the field observations during office hours, it became clear that framing activities regarding the education domain were initiated mainly by six employees: the director of CBC Health Services, the SEEPD program manager, the SEEPD program officer, the SEEPD communication officer, the SEEPD education officer and the SEEPD education advisor. Both the director of CBC Health Services and the SEEPD program manager held a lot of authority, and consequently they campaigned mostly towards target audiences high up in the hierarchy, because SEEPD suspected that this was most appropriate. The program officer was the one who had to keep overview of the planning of the activities of the SEEPD program and guide the employees in the execution of the (framing) activities. The communication officer was mainly concerned with media broadcasting, but for the creation of content she also had personal contact with target audiences. The education officer was mainly involved in contact with the pilot schools and school personnel. The education advisor initiated contact with various target groups in the education domain because she already had a network in the field. During training sessions and workshops for target audiences, the employees combined forces.

As can be seen from the division of communication, SEEPD made the strategic decision to reach high level target audiences through high level CBCHS employees, and SEEPD made the decision to reach certain target audiences through the education advisor, since they expected that those target audiences would be more open to listen to her, because she already had personal connections with those target audiences.

That SEEPD took the target audience into consideration in the decision on who would communicate towards which target audience can also be seen in their strategy to extent their frame communication towards target audiences that they already convinced of the importance of IE. That is, SEEPD has made use of the target audiences they already convinced to get their message across towards other target audiences. *“It was asking you advocacy and letting you know what it is all about. Letting become some sort of an ambassador, believer of it, and then doing it yourself”* (personal interview 3).

Especially target audiences high up in the hierarchy have been very instrumental in SEEPDs framing activities. SEEPD has used the existing hierarchy and the importance of superiors in the Cameroonian culture as a means to reach target audiences lower in the hierarchy. This is effective because in Cameroonian culture if target groups are invited by a superior they are obligated to come. The following two quotes illustrate how this happened with regard to teachers and regional power holders:

“They (teachers) were invited and because they were invited through the school, they surely attended.” (Interview 3)

“Well, they did not come to me directly, they passed through the Regional Delegate of Secondary Education to get to us divisional Delegates for the training that they had.” - Regional Delegate of Secondary Education, Former Divisional Delegate (Interview 9)

Besides considering who would be most effective in communicating the message, SEEPD also thought about the best way to approach the different target audiences. This could be seen, because SEEPD was conscious of the fact that they had to be very polite and beg their target audiences for attention. They knew that with an aggressive advocacy strategy, the likelihood to succeed in Cameroonian society is very small. A interviewee explains how SEEPDs approach should look:

“You plead, you beg that what you have is very important and that the person [target audience] should just give you five minutes of his time, that what you have is important.” – (Interview 39)

Another interviewee explains her personal experience with both approaches within the Cameroonian context:

“Sometimes you need to be persuasive and sometimes you need to be...let me give you the experience. When we started advocacy in the early days we were very aggressive and when we were aggressive, they would just shut the doors, and when we became more persuasive, doors were being opened. (Interview 37)

Therefore, SEEPD did not focus on opposition, but rather on similarity and togetherness to motivate the target audiences to partner with SEEPD. This approach is common among NGO’s. They often try to avoid aggressive tactics and try to stress similarities and similar interests, instead of the differences that are needed to create a ‘we’ versus ‘them’ feeling (Onyx et al.,2010).

6.2.1.2. Channels of communication

Besides considering who should communicate the message and how they could best approach the target audiences, SEEPD also made considerations regarding the best channels to reach the different target audiences. It seems like they did this based on characteristics of the target audiences and based on timing. The following quote shows for example how the Coordinator of the Regional Inclusive Education Resource Center recognized that not all target audiences can be reached through the same medium.

“All of them are important in their own right, like not all people listen to the radio and when you listen to the radio, and you come to a workshop, and you see the things being done, it creates a better impression and a lasting impression, and it’s more effective, so all are complementary and very important.” (Interview 2)

The CBR supervisor further illustrates how SEEPD took timing into consideration when they decided on the right activities to use:

INTERVIEWER: *“And in what way do you bring that message? Is it just informing? Speaking and then learning, or is it a discussion, or in what kind of forms are you bringing the messages?”*

CBR SUPERVISOR: *“There are presentations, they are general, just pouring the messages like rain is just falling and it falls, I mean generally, you just give the message in opportunities where you have an opportunity, in the church it’s difficult to work on a session, so you just give the message, there are some people who will take on the messages and even seek to meet you afterwards to ask questions. In workshops, there are presentations that are given, and people will ask questions, there will be discussions, then you will be able to show documents and show provisions on the documents that provide for the PWDs. So in both ways, we don’t use just one approach, whichever way shows up, we just use it because one way never just fits all, yeah.”*

(Interview 1)

With these considerations in mind SEEPD choose to communicate their frames through personal contact and the media. With regards to personal contact, SEEPD reached their target audiences through personal letters, calls, meetings, workshops, and CBR. So is the general population, among which CWD and parents of CWD, reached personally through CBR. CBR workers conducted home visits, called families in order to check up after their visits, and organized community meetings. School personnel were reached personally via letters, calls, school visits, meetings, and through workshops. Traditional community leaders were contacted personally via calls and visits. Mayors, municipality workers, and regional stakeholders, were contacted via letters, calls, meetings, and workshops.

The data reveals that personal contact is valued by the target groups for different reasons. Interviewees explained that interaction was important, for example, because it allowed for the opportunity for target audiences to ask questions in response to SEEPDs message. While the exact reason why this is valued has not been addressed during the interviews, it can be presumed that the possibility to ask questions is valued because it stimulates the meaning making process of target audiences to come to a new understanding, while also being able to respond to questions SEEPD increases the credibility of their messages. Other reasons that were named by interviewees were the opportunity to share experiences and exchange ideas. For parents this interaction helped to realize that they are not the only ones with a CWD, and to gain new ideas on how to deal with their CWD, for teachers this could give insight into how other people handle difficult situation in the classroom, and for power holders this could give insight into the struggles and successes of their communities,

and the ways in which they can respond to those struggles and successes. This does not only happen through interaction with the SEEPD personnel, but also through interaction with the other target audiences that are involved. One interviewee explains that the positive aspects of the workshops is that *"we interact, we get ideas with the various teachers, delegates and inspectors"* (Interview 20).

Besides personal contact SEEPD also uses media as a means to reach their target audiences. They mainly use the radio to send their messages. The radio proves to be a useful channel because all communities have access to it. However, while radio is broadcasted in almost all communities in Cameroon, it is expected to be mostly effective in rural communities and a lot less in urban communities. This difference can be attributed to a difference in lifestyle in these communities. People in towns have less time to listen to the radio than people in the country side, because they are busier, and when they do have time, they are more likely to watch television than listen to the radio. Like an interviewee illustrates:

"The radio is effective, especially in rural areas. Yes. In towns and cities radios may not be very very effective, although it is one of the forms of communication, because in town people watch tv, people are very busy, they move up and down. In the villages rural areas, they can sit near their radio and listen to things." (Interview 3)

However expanding the communication towards television to reach more people in urban areas might prove to be difficult. For one, because television is a lot more expensive than radio, as the Lead Person for Inclusive Education explains:

"It is that tv is always very expensive to communicate messages through, so at one moment, maybe the program can find it very costly and so on." (Interview 3)

For another, because television is less accessible, since the popular networks are broadcasted nationally, and mainly in French, while the official language in the NW-region is English.

SEEPD has made an attempt to use social media for the promotion of IE by the creation of a Facebook page. However, they rarely posted messages on that page related to education. The use of social media in Cameroon has both advantages, and disadvantages. Using social media for the promotion of IE would be a lot less costly for SEEPD than using radio or television, and while in rural areas many people do not have access to the internet, in urban areas it could be used in order to reach people. As an interviewee states *"people in town, will easily get messages through internet"* (Interview 3).

However, among the people who use social media in Cameroon there is a lot of fake news being spread, and therefore social media is perceived as less reliable than radio and television. As the Lead person for inclusive education illustrates:

“Although social media is having complains in Cameroon, because of authenticity and so on. People just put anything up there.” (Interview 3)

It is, thus, debatable whether an intensified and extended use of social media would be valuable or not.

Altogether, it can be said that SEEPD has made a serious attempt to adapt its communication strategy to the various target audiences, in order to make them receptive towards their message. They did not only think about who was the most appropriate person to reach whom, but they also considered the right way to approach them, and the right channels to reach them through.

6.3. Frames

Due to a lack of capacity in the earlier stages of the SEEPD program, the messages that SEEPD has sent to the target audiences have not been professionally designed. This appears from a lack of strategic documents and a statement from the former program manager of the SEEPD program:

“I would say that the messages that have been presented by CBC’s disability wing might not have been very professionally designed. If we take for example the message that you are mentioning and advocacy messages, they are not things that someone just thinks in their head and then says now I have an advocacy message. They go through lots of processes until then you have a refined message for a specific issue for a particular audience, you know, specific time and different things coming to that. Those messages have not really been arranged as such within CBC.” (Interview 40)

Because there are no strategic documents regarding the formulation of the message of the SEEPD program towards the different target audiences, the message had to be reconstructed in this study through the different communication expressions of the program and the reports of the target audiences regarding the message that SEEPD has sent to them. From these sources, it appears that CBCHS has been consistent in the way they framed the issues around CWD and IE, this is illustrated through the similarities in responses between the various interviews which took place with the target groups about the messages of SEEPD.

As expected SEEPD refrained from creating an oppositional message, like the categorization of Gamson (1992) defined. SEEPD does not focus on creating a ‘we’ versus ‘them’ feeling; in which the ‘we’ group should stand up against the horrid conditions they have to endure. Instead, SEEPD focuses

on similarities and equality. They also do not focus on the oppressed group to stand up for themselves and take action, but their message calls on the rest of the society to take action to include CWD. From recounts of the target audiences it has become clear that SEEPD did this by using diagnostic, prognostic and motivational elements in their framing messages. Their message will therefore be analysed with help of this categorization.

6.3.1. Diagnosis

According to Snow and Benford (1988), the first basic task of a collective action frame is the identification of some event or aspect of social life as problematic and in need of alteration. Such identification is also at the base of SEEPD's framing. SEEPD defines the situation around CWD and education as problematic and in need of alteration. They carefully express that people have wrong ideas with regard to disability and ask people to rethink their ideas on CWD and disability. They express that disability is not a curse and does not come from witchcraft, but instead has medical causes. As an interviewee explained during her interview:

"I did not know what disability was. Before I came in I thought that disability was a curse, but looking in the program I am now made to understand that it is not the cause of the child or whatsoever. It can be prevented, and if it happens there is rehabilitation, there is hope."

(Interview 13)

Then they go further by stating that disability is not inability, it is the consequence of barriers in the society that prevent people with an impairment (loss or abnormality of the physiological, psychological or anatomical structure or function) from participating fully in the society. They explain that there are different barriers for PWD: physical, institutional, informational/communication and attitudinal, and that because of these barriers PWD are vulnerable to abuse, discrimination, exploitation and stigmatization. Figure 1 shows a visual SEEPD used to illustrate this point during a training workshop for CBR volunteers.

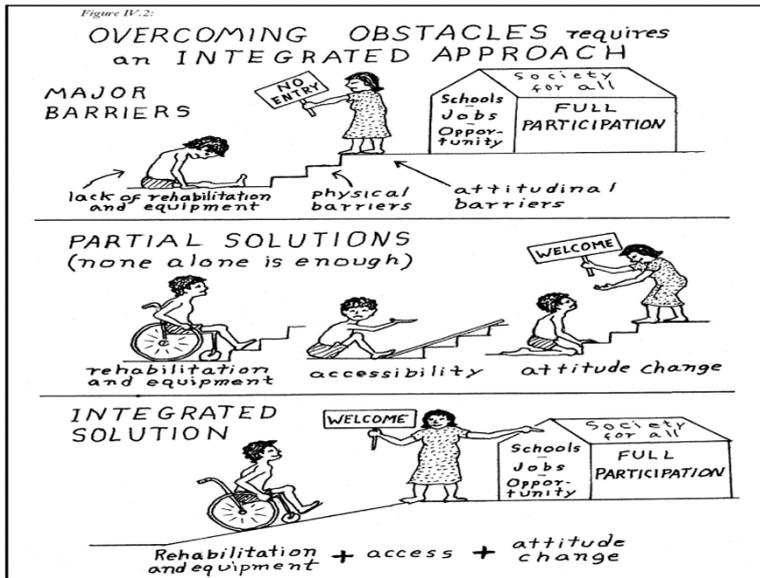


Figure 1: illustration used during presentation towards CBR volunteers

SEEPD explains that as a consequence most PWD suffer from low schooling, poverty, poor social standings, and they often end up in a vicious cycle in which poverty and disability enable each other. They support this statement by showing the numbers of PWD and CWD in the communities. A fieldworker explains how and why they do this:

Interviewer: *“So how did these traditional leaders become so involved?”*

Interviewee: *“In fact, it was through a good number advocacies, it was also through a good number of meetings, and it was through a good number of interventions that were done in that community. You know we were just working blindly like in the past, but today we are able to say these are the 10 people in your community we have identified with this problem, what do you think we can do? So when you give the 10 people and the consequences of them not coming to the hospital, it pains him, it borders him.”* (Interview 14)

They go further to show that PWD are also humans and that just like everybody else they are also children of God/or brothers and sisters. PWD have equal rights and should, thus, be included in the society, to take away the discrimination and marginalization. As a teacher of a pilot school explains:

“God create all human beings and all of us are equal in the face of the lord and we are been made in the image of God and whether somebody is not seeing, is not having hands, we are all the same in the eyes of God, and we make our children know that they need to love one another no matter the differences they should love each other.” (Interview 27)

Then SEEPD goes on to claim that this situation is in need of alteration because if PWD are supported and offered opportunities just like other people, they are capable of reaching great successes. They can often even provide for themselves and their families (socio economic empowerment). They support this claim by showing examples that prove that if the environmental barriers can be overcome, PWD are successful. Such examples came in many different forms, some explicit and some more implicit. An interviewee explains how he comes with evident examples when he wants to convince people of the importance of IE.

“Well, simply to be persuasive, to give them examples of people with those impairments who have succeeded in school, succeeded in life, people who are working and who are achieving and contributing their quarter to the development of humanity” (Interview 2)

Photo 1 shows a more implicit example; where SEEPD communicated a message on their Facebook page which showed that children with a hearing impairment can also dance, and even have *“talent of dancing”*.



Besides giving examples themselves, they also let role models tell their own stories. This happens for instance through their radio show, but also during meetings where SEEPD invites role models to tell their story.

They, further, reinforce the need of alteration by personalizing the situation for target audiences, by saying that disability could happen to everyone, and if it would happen to you or your children you would also want to be included and offered opportunities. The vice principal of a pilot school explains how this message was brought to him:

“The first time, the coordinator madam Fobuzie [education advisor SEEPD] sold the idea to us, or started up by saying that no child bought an impairment and that everybody, all of us we

have some form of impairment. All of us, and that even though we are walking upright today, we hear and we see, tomorrow by an accident or anything we may become handicapped. So they are people like us, and so we have to shift from the traditional method of putting them in special schools in special centers where they are being taken care of by being given an education that is related to their impairment.” (Interview 6)

6.3.2. Prognosis

The second task of a collective action frame is the proposal of a solution to the diagnosed problem and a specification of what needs to be done (Snow and Benford, 1988). After stating the problem SEEPD indeed goes on to propose a solution to their problem prognosis, namely inclusive development. They claim that if environmental barriers are removed, and PWD are included in all aspects of the society, they can participate successfully in the society. As a mayor answered during an interview:

Interviewer: *“So what do you think is the main message of the SEEPD program?”*

Interviewee: *“Inclusive development”* (Interview 36)

Accordingly, with regard to education, they claim that IE is the solution. They reason that if CWD learn how to participate in the society on an early age, they will also be able to participate in the society successfully later in life. As the Vice Principal of a pilot school explains:

“The most important message that they brought to me was that about inclusive education, that is putting the visually impaired, students with visual impairment, hearing impairment, in mainstream education with children who are normal. They will build up lifelong friendship with the normal students and they will learn already how to live in the community with normal people and that will also help them know that they can survive despite the fact that they don’t hear, they don’t see that they are normal human beings and they can survive in the community and also do certain things. Though not all things they will be able to do, but also certain things that normal people do.” (Interview 6)

They go on to specify what needs to be done in order to realize this. Here they start to specify their message according to what the different target groups can do. One can see that communicative persuasion and capacity strengthening are used simultaneously. Within their message they incorporated knowledge provision to motivate and enable target audiences to do something to enable IE. Towards regional power holders for example they explain how they can include IE into policy. A Regional Delegate explains that in this regard SEEPD really needs to tell them what they can do:

“The little thing we are doing is thanks to them, that they can direct us to be able to do this.”

(Interview 8)

Towards mayors, local power holders, and school personnel SEEPD explains how they can promote IE and include it in their current practices. For mayors this can be a message on how they can include ramps into future building plans so that PWD can access new buildings, or a proposal for a structure with which the municipality can identify CWD, in order to send them to school. The Coordinator of the Regional Inclusive Education Resource Center explains how the stakeholders are shown what they could and should do:

Interviewer: *“What was the message that the SEEPD Program brought to the various stakeholders that enabled this change of perception?”*

Interviewee: *“Well, they merely led them understand that society inclusive, that those with visual impairments or hearing impairments or disabilities or any impairments we all are the ones turning that impairments into disabilities, the way we manage them, the way we provide the resources, that is, the resources of our societies. For example, the way we construct buildings, it makes it difficult for people with impairments to get in, it makes it difficult for people with orthopedic impairments to move smoothly. Let the people understand that we are the people creating these problems, these people with impairments are as good as we are.”*

(Interview 2)

Local power holders receive a message on how they can identify CWD in their communities and motivate their people to send their children to school. A CBR fieldworker explains for example how church leaders are explained how they should identify CWD so they can be send to school:

“So we [SEEPD program] are looking at the opportunities where, though I have not started working it but I am building up a program where these church leaders these community leaders will be able to identify PWDs and even support them [community leaders] to do it not necessarily looking at SEEPD. If SEEPD is not tomorrow, will the work end, will disability end? No way. So we are now looking at, we are looking more on sustainable approaches, then in the absence of SEEPD, the work can continue, because disabilities continue.” (Interview 14)

Teachers mainly receive practical lessons on how they can teach classes with both children with and without disability. A sign language interpreter of a pilot school explains:

Interviewee: *“She [SEEPD representative] just, she usually just sensitize teachers on how they can handle their lessons so that everybody will benefit, all the learners will benefit.”*

Interviewer: *“So they [SEEPD] help practically and how to execute?”*

Interviewee: *“Yes, the ways, yes how it can include, our lesson can include all the learners. For instance, if you want to teach a lesson it is good to bring materials, so that these persons with visual or hearing impairment, those with visual impairment they can feel the touch and with that they will when you are presenting your lesson they will get you, they will understand better. Even those with hearing impairment can do those things, they will be able to learn better, even writing on the board. Those with hearing impairment they will be able to keep it in their mind.”* (Interview 4)

A head teacher of a pilot school shared his own experience of how SEEPD explained what he and his colleagues could do:

“In their workshops we actually see how to deal with these children and how do I handle children with disabilities, and we discover that children with disabilities have different impairment like the visual, the orthopedic, the speech. That’s what we do in the workshops how to deal with the children with different impairments, that’s what we do with the workshops. How can you handle them, and what materials can you use to handle them with their various impairments. Like in my school here I have the visual impaired, and how do we use the materials, in the workshops we are trained. I have never seen a talking clock but now I can use one. I discover in the workshop, the reading mirror, braille papers, now I know how to use them.” (Interview 19)

Towards the community and parents of CWD the message explains that they can now send their children to government schools, something parents weren’t aware of before. As an interviewee explains:

“Before 2009, before the advent of the SEEPD Program and the inclusive education governing the SEEPD Program, people did not believe that we could invest in a child with impairments, that we could actually send a child with impairments to school.” (Interview 2)

Besides messages that parents can send their CWD to public schools now, the message of SEEPD also explains what the community and parents can do practically to assist CWD in the communities.

“And another thing that we do is sensitization of the minds of people in the community on how to assist persons with disabilities.” (Interview 15)

Something, which is very necessary according to the Lead Person of IE, because otherwise parents tend to pass all their responsibilities on to the schools:

“My experience with the parents is that, the parents are generally, they are excited to know that there is a place where they can send their children to. They are happy to say ok I never knew my child could go to school, so if you people can, if this child can go to school. My worry will then be that, I will need to train them [parents] further to know that it’s not only about being excited and sending them to school but it is about taking responsibility.” (Interview 3)

6.3.3. Motivation

The last task of a collective action frame is a call to arms or rationale for engaging in ameliorative or corrective action (Snow and Benford, 1988). The message of SEEPD also contains such motivational elements. Besides explaining why the situation should be changed and what the target group can do to enable this change; their message focuses on aspects that can motivate their target audiences to get in action. The data reveals that they do this mainly by focussing on the sense of power that target groups have to address the problem, and the duty they have to act.

Firstly, their message addresses the three major problems the target group has, which can hinder their capability to do something: a lack of finances, material, and knowledge. As already explained in the beginning of this chapter, the target groups of SEEPD have limited finances, material and knowledge. This lack of resources already starts in the homes where the CWD grow up, because parents often have the idea that they are not able to support their children and send them to school. This is also valid for other target audiences of SEEPD. An interviewee explains for example very vividly that limited resources influence whether the government feels like IE is something they could and should contribute to, and how a lack of resources makes it even more difficult do decide whether or not the government should support IE:

“Yeah, it’s difficult to have a situation without challenges, and I mentioned that sometimes people don’t really know much about certain things, so initially it took a bit of time for government to understand exactly what it was that was inclusive education, and what practically could be done in the context of Cameroon for inclusive education to become reality. The next challenge was that we are living in a setting where resources are not, you know, resources are not totally that available for everything. We have schools in Cameroon where you don’t have teachers, we also have primary schools without school buildings, and all of these are pressures on the government, so when there is a new initiative, inclusive education, you need to give it time to convince government that this is something that needs to go into state budget.” (Interview 40)

To address these issues, SEEPD provides the target audiences with resources and they address these challenges in their message in order to convince target audiences that limited resources do not

have to hinder the development of IE. Here one sees, again, that capacity building and communicative persuasion are used together. Towards regional power holders they explain that including IE in policy does not have to be a big financial burden, and they offer them training that gives them knowledge that can help to understand how to include IE in policy. Interviewees mentioned that because of SEEPD policies were installed that obligates the incorporation of ramps into construction plans for new (school) buildings. A measure that does not have to be very costly, because including ramps in new buildings is much less costly than asking to build ramps in all existing buildings. Towards mayors they explained that they can include IE in already existing practices, in order to keep the cost low and after signing a MoU they offered them action plans and training in which they could gain knowledge on the implementation of IE. An employee of SEEPD explained that this was necessary so that municipalities gain knowledge on what they can practically do and so it becomes clear which responsibilities belong to SEEPD and which belong to the councils. Towards local power holders, they mainly asked for cooperation to sensitize the public and identify CWD in their communities and for this action they refrained from putting a financial burden on the local power holders. They further offer local power holders training and knowledge on disability, identification of CWD, and IE, to help them take an active role as ambassadors of IE. As a fieldworker mentions:

“I am building up a program where these church leaders, these community leaders will be able to identify PWDs.” (Interview 14)

Towards school personnel, they explain how IE can be made possible with a small extra investment, and they meet this extra investment by offering part of the necessary resources. The creation of a resource Center for the pilot schools for example is one way of offering crucial assistance without the high financial burden. They also offer training to school personnel which gives them the practical knowledge that is needed to include CWD in government schools. As a language interpreter of a pilot school explains when being asked what the main message of SEEPD is:

“She (represented of SEEPD) just, she usually just sensitizes teachers on how they can handle their lessons so that everybody will benefit, all the learners will benefit.” (Interview 4)

Towards parents SEEPD explains that they can send their CWD to primary school for free, and that they can send their CWD to secondary school with help of the EDID program (a financial and material support program created through funds of the LF). Via CBR visits, they further try to educate the parents and give them knowledge which can make the care for their CWD easier. A CBR worker explains how this message is send to parents of CWD with help of various partners:

“First, we have to do sensitization, we work with stake holders in the communities. There are right now a few fieldworkers who are doing sensitization in the communities. They talk about the right of the children to study, of children with disabilities to have education. And as they do sensitization, we work with stake holders to be able to do identification within families, and even people living with disabilities to be able to identify those children that have disability and have been at home, and they are hiding at home. And when that is done they are identified and accessed. Then those who are of school going age are referred. And we work with the families, the councils and we inform them that, these are schools that this child can go to and, with the EDID program many children are able to acquire education because the children that have reenrolled in the EDID program are able to sit in class in partnership with the EDID program and the school fees is paid and the children are able to go.” (Interview 13)

Secondly, SEEPD message tries to motivate the target groups, by emphasizing the different duties that the target groups have to act. On the one hand these are duties that are related to religious norms and values. They express that everyone is equally created by God and imply that target groups should, thus, equally care for them, like they should for their other brothers and sisters. A teacher explains how this message is transferred to the children in the pilot schools:

“For the start it wasn’t going on well because those with disabilities felt that they were being isolated, but when we sensitize the children and all of them in the class, first we make them to be God fearing you know God create all human beings and all of us are equal in the face of the lord and we are been made in the image of God and whether somebody is not seeing, is not having hands, we are all the same in the eyes of God and we make our children know that they need to love one another no matter the differences they should love each other.” (interview 27)

Within this aspect SEEPD does not focus specifically on Baptist norms and values, but rather takes an all-inclusive perspective towards God and religion. They try to refer to overarching beliefs across religions, so they do not exclude target groups who believe in a religion other than Baptism. As the pedagogic education advisor of SEEPD stated: *“I think morals cuts across all religion”* (interview 30).

On the other hand SEEPD emphasizes the duties of the target groups, which are related to their role or position in the society. The CBR supervisor explains for example how municipalities are called on their responsibility to contribute to IE for CWD because it is a development issue, and municipalities are responsible for the development of their communities:

“We see disability issues as more of development issues. We tell them how these are development issues. We work on current reports and share with them e.g. the current reports on the situation of disabilities in the region, shows a prevalence of disabilities in the region and

how this affects each municipality. So if you are going ahead with this population and not seeing this 10.2%, it means that 10.2% of your population are actually left out unattended to and it is your responsibility to do something.” (Interview 1)

As such, regional power holders are called on their duty to take care that municipalities are able to execute policy in favour of the public. Their job has a social responsibility, and SEEPD points this out to them. For mayors, as can be seen in the quote above, this also relates to the social responsibility to take care of their communities that comes with their job. They stress that they have to execute policy in favour of the public. For local power holders, they also express the duty to take care of their people. Towards school personnel they express that it is their duty to teach all learners the best they can. The law states that all learners should have access to schooling, and although the law does not specifically mention CWD, SEEPD manages to use this to argue to teachers, that they should teach all learners equally. The Lead Person for Inclusive Education explains this as follows:

“They were convinced by the fact that teaching learners with disabilities, as almost any trained teacher will discover that teaching learners with disabilities, is just the same like improving on your personal duty, because the government says you should teach all learners, even though they don’t say learners with disabilities, they are training you if you can teach everybody. Then you will meet the needs of everybody so that’s one of the most important motivation because you discover that the teaching it’s not like really separately teaching these people and separately teaching these other people.” (Interview 3)

Towards parents, SEEPD stresses that they have the duty to take care of their CWD, as it is their parental responsibility to take care of their children, and help them succeed. This is especially important, because if SEEPD only focuses on the possibility of parents to send their children to school, parents tend to see this as an opportunity to withdraw from their responsibilities. The Lead Person for Inclusive Education explains his personal experience with parents regarding this message:

“My experience with the parents is that, the parents are generally, they are excited to know that there is a place where they can send their children to. They are happy to say ok. This my child I never knew he could go to school, so if you people can, if this child can go to school, my worry will then be that, I will need to train them further and to know that it’s not only about being excited and sending them to school but also about taking responsibility.” (Interview 3)

6.4. Frame resonance

As explained in the chapter 3, for the purpose of this research frame resonance is defined as the alignment of a frame with a target audience’s cultural beliefs/values and needs/interests. To

understand how the frames of SEEPD resonated with the target audiences the previous chapters and sections reviewed the target audience's cultural beliefs and values, the message of SEEPD and the way in which the message of SEEPD responded to different needs and interests of the target audiences. This section will examine frame resonance further. Firstly, by looking at the underlying strategies that SEEPD used to evoked frame resonance, and with that address the willingness of the target audiences to do something with IE. And, secondly, by looking at the way in which framing and frame resonance related to the other aspects of SEEPDs intervention strategy: especially to their capacity strengthening interventions and the way in which they addressed the capacity of target audiences to do something with IE.

Looking at it through a theoretical lens of framing-theory (Benford & Snow, 1986), there are two framing strategies that SEEPD seems to have used predominantly: frame transformation and frame extension. Frame bridging and frame amplification were found only to a limited extent, and the analysis did not reveal any strategies other than these four strategies.

6.4.1. Frame transformation

Frame transformation is "changing old understandings and meanings and or generating new ones" (Snow and colleagues, 2000: p. 625). This strategy appears to have been at the base of the alignment of SEEPDs frame with the target audience's cultural beliefs and values around disability and CWD. As explained in chapter 4, initially the cultural beliefs and values in Cameroon were negative towards disability and CWD, since people believed disability was a curse and CWD were not capable of doing anything, and were thus a waste of money and time. In line with these views, IE could not count on much support from the target audiences, since IE would seem impossible to the target audiences and a waste of money and time.

To gain support for IE for CWD, SEEPD had to challenge the prevailing views on disability and frame disability in a new and distinct way. As explained in 6.2.2, they stated that a disability is not a curse and has medical causes instead of spiritual causes, and they claimed that CWD are capable of doing things and reaching success just like other children if they are given the right assistance. By doing this, SEEPD, thus, engaged in frame transformation. Now, the interesting aspect of this frame transformation lays in the way in which SEEPD convinced its target audiences of these new ways of thinking. They did this by showing examples which confirmed their claims. These examples mainly concerned stories which showed that CWD and PWD could be successful if they were given the right chances. SEEPD called this 'show casting role models'. The show casting of role models happened in three ways: by telling people about role models, by showing role models to the target audiences, for example by taking them to the pilot schools, and by letting role models speak about their own

success stories. The coordinator of the regional Inclusive Education Resource Center gave an example of the first:

Interviewer: *“And if you convince them, what is the best way to go about it?”*

Interviewee: *“Well, simply to be persuasive to give them examples of people with those impairments who have succeeded in school, succeeded in life, people who are working and who are achieving and contributing their quarter to the development of humanity”* (Interview 2)

During an interview the Regional delegate of Primary Education gave an illustration of the second. He explained the way in which SEEPD showed role models to the target audiences and the way in which it influences target audiences according to the interviewee:

Interviewer: *“And how does that work? How is the SEEPD program trying to do the sensitization? How do they change the thinking of people?”*

Interviewee: *“Take for example, if you go to GBHS where our center is, you will see the way visually impaired children function. It’s interesting, if you get one or two people from the society and they see these children, the message goes. Even despite that the child is disabled, he is still capable of something, they have seen it. Because when they see the children acting and doing other things they were impressed. They will know that, every other child, despite the impairment can always be able to do something.”* (Interview 8)

A field worker explained how the third worked. He explained how role models can be even more powerful in persuading target audiences if they speak themselves:

“That’s the kind of strategy we use in the community. Sometimes, I have actually realized that sometimes, when we talk, when I talk while I’m on my two legs they don’t hear, but when somebody talks when he doesn’t have two legs, I mean, they receive it more than when I am talking. I just need to, like a technician, build the capacity of that person to be able to create the impression at community level.” (Interview 14)

These examples have been key in transforming the ideas around disability, CWD and IE, this can be seen by the frequency in which interviewees referred to these examples. In many cases interviewees explicitly referred to examples as a tool to convince people of the importance of IE. In other cases interviewees referred to examples to explain how their own ideas had changed. They expressed surprise and admiration of the fact that CWD were capable, and all the opportunities that this realization opened up. As the Regional delegate of Secondary Education for example exclaimed:

“So in all I want to say, I ended up discovering that most of them are endowed with abilities that we can never really we could not have imagined. And that were abilities, some abilities that we, we don’t have. And so if there is a way of encouraging them to have a way in life.”
(Interview 9)

6.4.2. Frame extension

Besides frame transformation, frame extension also played an important role in the process of frame resonance. Frame extension is “extending aspects of a frame to new areas that are presumed to be important to the target audience” (Noakes & Johnston, 2005: p. 12). During the analysis, it became clear that SEEPD connected their frame on IE mainly to three new areas which are important to the target audiences. These areas were: social security, religion and the corresponding norms and values, and personal responsibilities. This subsection will take a closer look at the way in which SEEPD connected these areas to IE, and how that helped to make the frame more compelling to the target audiences.

6.4.2.1. IE and social security

In Cameroon there is no social security system run by the state, instead social security comes from family. While all family members are expected to come to someone’s aid when necessary, and when possible, children take a central role in the social security system. They are an investment for their parents once they stop working. For parents, children are a necessity to ensure income and care for when they cannot do the work themselves anymore. Someone said during an informal conversation: *“children are the work-ethic of tomorrow”*. Children are, therefore, perceived as very important. In line with that, people also view education for children as very important because education increases the opportunities for children to get a good job. SEEPD leaned on these ideas and extended this idea from non-disabled children to CWD. They did this by explaining that CWD are also capable, and that schooling can give them, just like other children, the skills and knowledge that are needed to work and earn a living. Something which is very important for parents, and which can relieve the burden that CWD pose on the society when they are just left helpless.

While this aspect of SEEPDs message leans on the existing cultural perception that children and education are important, previously the connection with CWD did not exist, because people did not know CWD were able and capable to go to school. As an interviewee explains:

“The parents are not, they think that the child is a burden onto them but they don’t know that tomorrow that stone they are rejecting will become the corner stone in their family.” (Interview 6)

Now, due to SEEPD target audiences are now making this connection. As can be seen by a statement from a mayor SEEPD targeted:

“We are working hard and we are hoping that in the next future we will assist those people with disabilities to be able to help themselves financially and to be able to run some businesses that will generate them income so that will not always be at the receiving end.” (Interview 34)

6.4.2.2. IE and religion

Alongside the cultural idea that children and education are important, SEEPD also leaned on the importance of religion and religious values within the Cameroonian culture. Religion plays a very important role in Cameroon, and during the field period it became clear that atheism does not exist (at least not openly). Various religions are present in Cameroon such as Baptism, Christianity, Islam, and various traditional religions. While the different religions worship life in different ways, they share the idea that morals are important, because morals *“cut across all religion”* (Interview 30). SEEPD especially utilizes the notion that everybody is created equally in the eyes of God, and the idea that we *“are all brothers and sisters”* (Interview 27) and people should thus treat CWD with love and care, just like they should treat their other brothers and sisters with love and care. Like an interviewee explains:

“You must have that love for them [CWD] and that love is cultivated through the church, look at them like your brothers and sisters, you must have sympathy.” (Interview 30)

As previously stated, the general population thought it was normal to discriminate and marginalize CWD. The connection between these religious norms and values and CWD was only made by few of the Cameroonians. However, some people already viewed CWD in this light. As a visually impaired person explains:

“My parents accepted me since they are Christians, they accepted the situation, they say is God given and so they did not treat me differently. They bought me dresses, shoes and fed me just like other children, I was really fine. Even when I was schooling in the CBC integrated school for the blind, some people thought I was a worker, because I have always been neat.” (Interview 30)

SEEPD has promoted this line of reasoning to the target audiences that did not make this connection yet and, thus, helped its target audiences to make the connection between the morals of religion and the need to provide IE for CWD.

6.4.2.3. IE and personal responsibilities

The third area to which SEEPD extended their frames on IE, were the personal responsibilities of the different target audiences. As already explained in 6.2.2.3. SEEPD tried to motivate target audiences to get concerned about IE by emphasizing the different duties the target audiences had because of their positions within the society. Shortly summarized SEEPD made the following connections for the different target audiences:

- Towards municipalities SEEPD connected their frames to the responsibility of the council to work on development issues, by stating that (the lack of) IE is a development problem;
- Towards regional power holders SEEPD connected their frames towards their social responsibility to execute policy in favor of the public, by stating that CWD are part of that public;
- Towards local power holders SEEPD connected their frames towards their responsibility to take care of their community members, by stating that CWD are part of that community;
- Towards school personnel SEEPD connected their frames towards the duty of teachers to teach all learners, by stating that CWD are also part of that group;
- Towards parents SEEPD connected their frames to their responsibility as parents, by emphasizing that just like their non-disabled children, CWD are also their children and their responsibility.

By connecting their frames to the personal responsibilities of the different target audiences SEEPD aligned its frame with the interest of the target audiences and made the topic very tangible to them.

To create frame resonance, SEEPD has made use of frame extension. They extended the importance of IE to ideas regarding the value of children, the value of religious norms and values, and the personal responsibilities of the target audiences. With this strategy SEEPD, thus, extended their frame to include other areas that were of importance to the various target audiences.

6.4.3. Frame bridging and frame amplification

The use of frame bridging and frame amplification did not emerge as clearly from the analysis. Frame bridging is: “linking two or more frames that have an affinity but were previously unconnected” (Noakes & Johnston, 2005: p. 12). In one case a head teacher explained enthusiastically that she was stricken by the fact that especially girls with disability needed extra attention and help, as they were more vulnerable than boys because of gender differences within the Cameroonian society. However, other interviewees hardly made this connection and the fact that the SEEPD program had different programs for IE and for gender rights shows that SEEPD mainly treated these topics as separate areas. They hardly made an effort to bridge the disability frame with the gender frame. Another case of frame bridging, which was found during this research, was the connection of the disability frame

towards development frames. This connection seemed to have been used especially towards majors. The CBR supervisor explained how this was done:

“We see disability issues as more of development issues. We tell them how these are development issues. We work on current reports and share with them e.g. the current reports on the situation of disabilities in the region which show the prevalence of disabilities in the region and how this affects each municipality. So if you are going ahead with this population and not seeing this 10.2%, it means that 10.2% of your population are actually left out unattended to and it is your responsibility to do something.” (Interview 1)

However, statements related to this frame bridge were not repeated as frequently by interviewees, as did aspects regarding frame transformation and frame extension. It, therefore, appears that this has not been a prominent strategy for SEEPDs communicative persuasion.

Frame amplification, also, did not appear to have been a prominent strategy. Frame amplification is: “coming up with a catchy phrase or slogan to market the essence of the movement” (Noakes & Johnston, 2005: p. 12). In SEEPDs communication expressions, it was not possible to find a clear slogan that was used consciously to market the essence of the movement towards its target audiences. However, there was one sentence which multiple interviewees mentioned repeatedly, “*disability is not inability*”. From the analysis of SEEPDs communication expressions, it seems like this was a sentence which was used casually and not with the intention to array a IE movement behind this statement. However, it seems like the phrase has stuck with the target audiences, because it is a catchy phrase. Therefore, while SEEPD did not use the phrase as a slogan, it might have potential to be used in the future.

6.5. An integrated approach

The previous sections already set out the intervention strategy of SEEPD. From that account it has become clear their intervention strategy was twofold. On the one hand, they focussed on capacity strengthening to ensure the ability of target audiences to do something with IE. On the other hand they used communicative persuasion tactics to persuade target audiences towards positive ideas on CWD and IE, to create the willingness to do something with IE. However, this dual strategy cannot simply be seen as the sum of two separate sets of interventions. Rather, it is an integrated approach in which capacity building and framing were intertwined and used to strengthen each other.

They were intertwined because some interventions served both capacity building and communicative persuasion. For example, the knowledge provision that was included in SEEPDs messages served both to strengthen the capacity of the target audiences and to persuade them to

believe that IE was possible, and that they could contribute to it. They strengthened each other because capacity building influenced the target audience's ability to do something with IE, and communicative persuasion influenced target audiences willingness to do something with IE. Two aspects that, as will be argued in the following part of this paragraph, were crucial in the context of the SEEPD program, and that would not have been as effective if used separately.

The importance of each approach to the other can be explained most clearly by reasoning the expected effect if SEEPD would have chosen to use only one of the approaches. Imagine for example the limits of frame resonance if it is used without capacity strengthening. If SEEPD would have managed to be very persuasive and convince target audiences of the importance of IE, the fact that most target audiences have limited resources could hinder target audiences to get truly enthusiastic about IE, because they would not be able to do anything with it anyway. Hence, people might see the need of IE and be willing to do something to enable it, but lack the ability to do something to realize it.

On the other hand, imagine what would have happened if SEEPD would have used capacity strengthening without framing. If target audiences would receive the resources to do something with IE but they would stick to their old frames, they cannot be expected to get enthusiastic about IE and develop the will to do something to realize it. Because if they keep believing that CWD are useless and a waste of money and time, and they would not make the connection between the issue around CWD and IE and areas that are relevant to them, they cannot be expected to make an effort to realize IE with the resources they receive. Hence, they would be able but remain unwilling.

Following this line of reasoning it seems rational to assume that in a resource deprived society like Cameroon, both lines of interventions are not only complementary to each other but they are necessary to each other. That is, if you want to ensure that your target audiences have both the will and the ability to contribute to an advocacy goal like IE, where both the will to do something and the availability of resources are a necessity to reach the goal. However, one approach might suffice, if either the will or the resources are not a barrier to a particular advocacy cause. Choosing for a cause with limited costs can, for example, make it sufficient to only use framing as a persuasion tool.

7. Conclusion

In response to a recent trend among NGOs from direct support to marginalized groups towards advocacy activities to extent their impact, this study seeks to contribute to an increased understanding of advocacy. As part of the project “breaking down barriers to inclusion”, a cooperation between the ASCL and the LF, a case study was conducted at the strategic partner of the LF in Cameroon: CBCHS. From 2009 to 2018 CBCHS runs the SEEPD-program, a program seeking to make education inclusive for CWD in the North-West region of Cameroon. To ensure IE for CWD the SEEPD-program developed an intervention strategy with a variety of activities, of which advocacy is one.

While strategic communication and framing are thought to be important for the success of interest groups and social movements, they have not gotten attention yet in the NGO advocacy literature in the field of international development. This study addresses this gap in the literature by exploring the role of framing strategy on the (success of) NGO advocacy. This study looks at SEEPD’s advocacy activities through the theoretical lens of framing-theory and aims to explain the role of frame resonance in relation to the larger intervention strategy of the program. Accordingly, the main question of this research is: *What role did frame resonance play in the intervention strategy of the SEEPD program in persuading different target audiences to support Inclusive Education?*

This chapter summarizes the main findings of this study, provides the conclusions that can be drawn from these findings, and explains the practical implications for the SEEPD-program and the NGO sector at large.

Initially the cultural environment towards CWD in Cameroon was quite hostile, since CWD were stigmatized and discriminated against. Most people believed disability was a curse. Therefore, a lot of shame exists around issues of CWD and people tended to hide them from the community. Further there was a strong belief that CWD were incapable of fulfilling their role as ‘social security’ for their parents, and CWD were, thus, perceived as a waste of time and money. CBCHS wanted to challenge these traditional beliefs in the NW-region of Cameroon to improve the living conditions of CWD in this area. CBCHS created the SEEPD program in which they advocated that CWD should not be neglected and should be included in society. To this end the SEEPD program contained different domains, one of which focuses specifically on the promotion of IE. The overall aim of this domain was to empower CWD in the NW-region by ensuring that they have equal access to education in government schools. SEEPD approached the general population, CWD, parents of CWD, school personnel, traditional community leaders, religious community leaders, mayors and their municipalities, and relevant stakeholders in regional bodies to reach their aim.

The previous two research projects produced a first overview of the activities that SEEPD undertook towards the different target audiences as part of their intervention strategy. This research found that those activities can be divided through a dual intervention strategy focusing on capacity building and advocacy/communication persuasion. SEEPD recognized that generally all of its target audiences struggled to some extent due to a lack of knowledge, materials, and finances, and that this potentially hinders them from helping to realize IE, therefore indicating a need to pursue capacity building. Consequently, SEEPD focused part of its interventions at providing these resources, so their target audiences would be empowered to contribute to IE.

On the other hand SEEPDs interventions focus on advocacy. Within these interventions SEEPD used communicative persuasion tactics to change target audiences' views on disability. SEEPD realized that they needed to influence the way their target audiences viewed the reality around CWD, because with the existing negative ideas around CWD it would be difficult to convince the target audiences that they should help to create IE for CWD. After all, why would they help to enable education for children if they thought those children could not do or achieve anything? To that end, SEEPD made an effort to create an appealing advocacy message for the target audiences which would convince them of the importance of IE by showing CWD could be successful. This study uses concepts of framing and frame resonance to examine SEEPDs communicative persuasion techniques, since interests group and social movements scholars already showed that framing theory and frame resonance can be valuable concepts to gain understanding of the influence of strategic communication on advocacy success.

While SEEPD did not have framing experts within their organization, this research shows that SEEPD has made strategic considerations with regard to the content of their frames and the way in which they transmitted their frames to the various target audiences. In both cases, it seems like SEEPD has made a serious attempt to adapt their approach to the different target audiences. With regard to the communication of their frames, this can be derived from their considerations with regard to which person would be most appropriate to communicate the frames towards which target audiences, their considerations regarding the best way to approach the different target audiences, and their considerations regarding the most suitable channels to reach the different target audiences. While this research cannot conclude whether SEEPDs choices were the best or most effective choices, it can be said that they used an adaptive approach in the communication of their message.

With regard to the frames themselves, SEEPD also made an attempt to adapt their message to the target audiences in order to persuade them to believe in the importance of IE. Without knowing

the concept of frame resonance, SEEPD has used frame resonance strategies to make its message appealing to the different target audiences. The two frame resonance strategies that seem to have played a key role in the persuasion of the target audiences towards IE are: frame transformation and frame extension. The beliefs around CWD were quite negative, and SEEPD needed to transform these ideas in order to make their message resonate with the target audiences. SEEPD did this by showing examples which confirmed their claims. These examples mainly concerned stories which showed that CWD and PWD could be successful if they were giving the right chances. The importance of these examples, for the persuasion of target audiences towards new ways of thinking, became clear in the frequency of references made to them by interviewees during the course of the research. They explicitly referred to examples as a tool to convince people of the importance of IE in many cases. While in others interviewees explained how they changed their own ideas about CWD due to these examples.

Besides frame transformation, SEEPD made use of frame extension. During the analysis it became clear that SEEPD connected their frames on IE mainly to three new areas which are important to the target audiences: social security, religious norms and values, and personal responsibilities. They showed that CWD could provide social security just like non-disabled children, as they realized the importance of children as future care takers for parents. They made use of the religious norms and values which claim that all people are brothers and sisters and that people should, thus, equally take care of each other as they realized that religion is a powerful force across the Cameroonian society. And they addressed the personal duties of the different target audiences, as they realized what target audiences could be held responsible for according to their different positions within the society.

It has become clear; both parts of SEEPD's intervention strategy seem to be instrumental in persuading the target audiences to support IE. Especially the combination of both seems to have been influential in the successful persuasion of the target audiences that have been interviewed for this research. When used separately, capacity building and advocacy/communicative persuasion, have some serious limitations, while used together these limitations can be overcome. Within the context of Cameroon where previously the willingness to make an effort for CWD was very low, and resources were very limited, framing was necessary to give the target audiences the will to do something, and capacity building was necessary to give the target audiences the power to act. After all, if one has the resources but not the will, it is questionable if the resources will be used as intended, and if one has the will but not the resources, it is questionable if one can do something with that will.

It takes two to tango, doesn't it?

This research is a response to a recent trend among NGOs to extent their practices from direct support towards advocacy. While this trend has come with an increase in publications and research into NGO advocacy the available literature remains limited, especially the literature on NGO advocacy in the Global South. While strategic communication, framing and frame resonance are identified in the political science and social movement literature as playing an important role for reaching success, to our knowledge no studies have examined NGO advocacy in the field of international development from a 'framing lens'.

This study makes two key contributions to the literature on NGO advocacy in the field of international development. First, it shows that in the context of advocacy for inclusive education in Cameroon, framing and frame resonance indeed play an important role in the persuasion of target audiences. This finding also indicates that framing theory, despite its Western roots, can also be meaningfully used to understand advocacy outcomes in non-Western contexts. The conceptualization of Noakes and Johnston (2005) proved useful to gain insight into the frame, the frame receives, and the frame sender. Moreover, it shed light on the multiple factors within a complex environment relevant to framing and the way in which they relate to each other. The typology of framing strategies formulated by Snow and colleagues (1986) also appeared to be helpful (frame transformation, frame extension, frame bridging, frame amplification) to analyse the process of frame resonance. In this study, not all strategies were used to the same extent. More research could shed light on the prevalence of certain strategies and the conditions under which they contribute to advocacy success

Second, this study contributes to the existing literature by showing the relative contribution of advocacy/communicative persuasion in relation to the larger intervention strategy of a NGO, in particular in relation to capacity building. A relationship that does not seem to have been addressed in the existing literature on advocacy and framing. It shows that within the context of a developing country where knowledge, finances and resources are scarce, using communicative persuasion to create the willingness to contribute to an advocacy goal is often not enough. As, because of a lack of knowledge, finances and/or resources, target audiences in this context often lack the capacity to actually contribute to an advocacy goal, capacity building is also essential to reach advocacy success. However, this research also shows that strategic communication and capacity building should not be used together thoughtlessly towards all the target audiences. Rather an adaptive approach is desirable, in which the willingness and capacity of the different target audiences are assessed, and responded to accordingly. To some extent these findings contradict the notion that advocacy would

be more cost effective than service delivery. At least for the forms of advocacy where capacity building is necessary to empower target audiences to actually do what is asked for.

These findings are valuable for the NGO sector in two main ways. On the one hand they underline the importance of paying attention to strategic communication/framing in developing a campaign strategy. The case material illustrates the importance of tailoring messages to specific audiences using appropriate forms of communication. Moreover, the study illustrates the importance of using the frame resonance strategies as identified by Snow et al. (1986) (e.g. frame transformation, frame extension). Second, by confirming the importance of framing in achieving advocacy success, the study points to the importance of strengthening the framing capacity of NGOs. While strengthening the capacity of NGOs is already a common strategy in the field of international development, strengthening the framing capacity of advocacy NGOs currently does not seem to be at the forefront of donors' minds.

Given the fact that this research is merely based on one case study there are clearly limitations about the extent to which the findings can be generalised. It would be relevant to see how other NGOs in the global South take on frame resonance within their intervention strategy, and learn whether the combination of advocacy/communicative persuasion and capacity building has also been key in their approaches. As stated before, more comparative research would also be helpful to better understand how frames, framing and frame resonance work in NGO advocacy in the Global South.

Finally, and in line with the research findings, it seems that SEEPD should continue its adaptive approach regarding capacity building and framing. In doing so, SEEPD can empower the target audiences to do something and persuade them to want to do something. To increase their success, SEEPD could further consider making their use of frame bridging stronger. Especially frame amplification has a high likelihood to market the importance of IE further, due to the availability of the catchy phrase "disability is not inability". Besides considering the use of frame bridging and frame amplification, SEEPD should take a critical look at their all-inclusive approach in which they tried to approach many different audiences in many different ways. While it would be very powerful to convince target audiences across all levels of the society, it might be overly ambitious. As they have limited staff and finances the consequence of addressing many different target audiences in various ways could be a lack of follow up, which could diminish their advocacy impacts. After all, coming to new understandings takes time and repetition. Also, this research raises questions on the sustainability of the advocacy results of the SEEPD program. As it is questionable to what extent

power holders will be able to continue the execution of IE if SEEPD stops providing the needed expertise and resources to empower them to execute IE.

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Appendix 1: Personal reflection

I'm not exaggerating if I say that to me the past year was one large learning curve. Never before have I done such extensive research. While many separate elements of qualitative research have been discussed during different part of my bachelor and master studies, this was the first time I integrated all these elements structurally in one big research project. Here, I will discuss my learning process and reflect on what I have done and what I might do differently next time.

The main challenge occurred during the writing of my thesis proposal, where my thesis supervisor (Margit van Wessel) asked me some critical questions on how to operate frame resonance. This question remained a difficulty for me during the field research, the analysis, and the writing process. Multiple times I felt like I found the solution, only to discover later that there were still flaws in my argumentation. At times this was frustrating, but it was also interesting. It kept me focused and it forced me to think critically for myself, since I could not follow an established research procedure.

After I finished my proposal, I went to Cameroon to do my field work. This was also a period in which I learned many different things. These were both personal lessons, and academic lessons. Personally, I learned for example how to navigate through a for me totally new and different world, and I learned more about the community and family spirit that exists in Africa (as opposed to the emphasis that Western people put on individuality and individual success). Academically, I learned how to do culturally sensitive research in Cameroon. I learned for example about the importance of taking the hierarchy into consideration, and the importance of being very polite to people. I also learned that I really enjoy doing interviews. It was extremely interesting to talk to all these people and learn from their experiences. I was fascinated by this for me new world, and pleasantly surprised by the openness of all my interviewees and their welcoming behaviour. I also learned the importance of being flexible and responding adequately to unexpected events. At times my interviews were cancelled due to unexpected events, and at other times I unexpectedly got the opportunity to interview multiple people quickly after each other. I am very happy that I took those opportunities, even when at times it was very tiring, because I had to travel for many hours and/or work until late. If it was not for my hard work during that period, I would not have had as much data and gained the same insights, since I could not return later due to the strikes.

When I returned from my field work I started coding my data and analysing the outcomes. It was interesting to puzzle with the data and this process required multiple cycles of reflection and recoding. I had never worked with atlas.ti before, but to me this program, combined with a coding round where I literally puzzled with the codes on my table (see picture 1), proved to be a valuable

tool. It really helped me to structure my thoughts, to see which aspects were repeated most by the interviewees, and to find suitable quotes during the writing process.



Picture 1: creative coding

After the process of coding and writing I improved my academic writing skills. Especially the process of structuring the data and presenting it as a logical story with clear conclusions was a process of constant reflection, adjustment and improvement. Multiple times I had to turn my whole story around, because I came to the realization that a different presentation would be more powerful. Initially I got part of the ordering of the concepts wrong, as I compared concepts which were of a different kind or a different level of abstractness. This made me think critically about my finding that the examples of successful CWD and the connection of the IE-frame to areas that are important to the target audiences were important for successful persuasion, and it helped me to recognize how the finding of my research were actually to an extent in line with advocacy strategies developed by earlier research (frame transformation & frame extension).

Looking back at my research there are a couple of things that I would do differently next time. Firstly, I would have been more active at the start of my field work to make sure that I would limit the possible positive bias among my respondents. Now I did certain things that helped to reduce the risk of positive bias, like speaking to students on my own outside of the formal setting to get their honest opinion, and interviewing stakeholders from less successful pilot schools. However, it took me too long to put pressure on SEEPD to plan different appointments with me, to be able to interview more negative or ignorant stakeholders. As a consequence, by the time we started to plan these appointments the political turmoil unfortunately hindered the execution of these interviews. So in

the future I would really try to anticipate on this more, and try to incorporate more measures to reduce possible bias in the interviewee selection from early on.

An aspect which I really missed at times during my research was a sparring partner, with whom I could discuss my findings to develop my thoughts further. Therefore, during this research I made an attempt to discuss my research with all the people close to me. While that helped, as it helps me to speak out my thoughts aloud, my research was far from their specialization, and thus I missed real in-depth discussions. Therefore next time I think it would be good to make an effort to find a study buddy interested in the same topics, too be able to have more extensive conversations on my topic of research.

Another aspect which I would do differently next time, is thinking better about the extent of my research and the focus on a variety of target audiences. SEEPD has focussed on many different target audiences, and while I found extensive information on various of those target audiences, not all target audiences are represented to an equal extent in my data. Next time I think it would be good to consider in the beginning whether it is feasible to investigate all the target audiences, and to what extent I need to find information on each target audience. By doing that, I think that I could have given a more equal and stronger representation of the target audiences.

Appendix 2: Chronological order interviews

	Interviewee	Date
1	CBR supervisor	2/11/16
2	RIERC coordinator	12/11/16
3	Lead Person for Inclusive Education	7/11/16
4	Sign Language Interpreter GBHS Bamenda	7/11/16
5	English Language Teacher GBHS Bamenda	7/11/16
6	Vice Principal GBHS Bamenda	7/11/16
7	CWD GBHS Bamenda [unrecorded]	7/11/16
8	Regional delegate of Primary Education	15/11/16
9	Regional delegate of Secondary Education	15/11/16
10	Head Teacher GPS 1 Bamenda	16/11/16
11	Head Teacher GPS 2 Bamenda	16/11/16
12	CBR Administrative Assistant 1	16/11/16
13	CBR Administrative Assistant 2	16/11/16
14	CBR Fieldworker Boyo	16/11/16
15	CBR Fieldworker Mezam West	16/11/16
16	CBR Fieldworker Mezam East	16/11/16
17	Divisional Delegate of Social Affairs Boyo	17/11/16
18	Pastor Fundong [unrecorded]	17/11/16
19	Head Teacher GS Kobenyang	18/11/16
20	PTA President GS Kobenyang	18/11/16
21	CWDs and peers GS Kobenyang [unrecorded]	18/11/16
22	Principal GBHS Mbengwi	18/11/16
23	Peers of CWDs GBHS Mbengwi [unrecorded]	18/11/16
24	Mayor of Fundong	21/11/16
25	PTA president GS Bamenda 1	25/11/16

26	PTA president GS Bamenda 2	25/11/16
27	Teacher GS Bamenda	25/11/16
28	President Womans Group Belo	25/11/16
29	Lady Womans Group Belo	25/11/16
30	Pedagogic Education Advisor Secretary CBCHS	29/11/16
31	Special Needs Teacher	29/11/16
32	Anthropology Assistant professor CATUC Bamenda	29/11/16
33	Disability Focal Person Jakiri	2/12/16
34	Mayor Jakiri	2/12/16
35	Disability Focal Person Kumbo	2/12/16
36	Mayor Kumbo	2/12/16
37	Director CEFED Special Needs Teacher Training College	14/12/16
38	Chairperson Media Advocates for Persons with Disabilities	14/12/16
39	Disability focal person Bamenda 1	14/12/16
40	Former director of SEEPD, current director of Sight Savers	20/12/16