Boubli in Tunisia: Youth Media Literacy for Civic Intentionality

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Abstract

Work that generates new knowledge about the potential connections between media literacy, communities and civic engagement and thus to understand better the possibilities for addressing media literacy's "civic problem" (Mihailidis, 2018) is that which is operationalised in creative intersections - third spaces (Bhaba, 1994) - between these domains and practices. However, the social inequalities that impede equal access to mediated civics are more deep-rooted and structural than discourses of centres and margins can account for. For this reason, 'neutral' frameworks for media literacy competences fail to address both the desired 'uses' of media literacy (Bennett et al., 2020) and the way that such competences are related to traditional hierarchies of social capital and intersect with other forms of stratification (Helsper, 2021). This article applies a theory of change for the role of dynamic, and 'unsettling' media literacies (Potter & McDougall, 2017; Lee et al., 2022) with civic intentionality (Sayah, 2022) in improving the health of media ecosystems to a culturally situated intervention - the work of Boubli, a youth-led alternative media platform in Tunisia. Our analysis of Boubli's model for developing media literacy into capability with positive civic consequences investigates how this change is generated through third-space combinations of education and training, subcultural and community activity, art and activism (Medrado & Rega, forthcoming). Our mixed methods research combines audience data, community surveys, interviews and focus groups. Our approach views civically oriented media literacy as deeply situated in cultural and geo-political contexts, and, as such, it attempts to avoid more universal and potentially colonial assumptions endemic to media literacy 'solutionism'. In this article, we explore the ways in which Boubli's outputs, non-formal education and social practices are consonant with civic media literacy and hold the promise of deep, distinct but partly transferable, impacts on media ecosystems, polarisation and homophily.

Keywords: Media Literacy, Civic Engagement, Theory of Change, Youth, Tunisia.

Introduction

Boubli is a Tunisian non-profit youth media broadcasting start-up, supported by the British Council, who commissioned an evaluation of the project as a youth-led alternative media platform (YLAMP). In this article, we focus on how Boubli's model develops media literacy into capability with positive civic consequences. This article is partly adapted (with full permission from the British Council) from the evaluation.

A joint venture of two youth-led civil society organisations, AMAN and Bo3, the Boubli project received seed funding and technical support from the European Union through the British Council's Tunisia branch in 2019-20. The choice to work in Tunisia to support Boubli was made by the British Council, our role was to evaluate Boubli's model, and here we are theorising the YLAMP using our theory of change for media literacy with agentive, positive consequences, including civic engagement.

In Tunisian discourse, *boubli* describes a commotion, often caused by conflicting views. Among young people, the term has a more positive connotation: "to make a boubli" is to disrupt norms and conventions. As a media platform, Boubli produces 'problem-driven content', focussing on youth civic engagement. Boubli as an organisation self-identifies as "the alternative community for Tunisian youth" and states its mission as to "empower young people, especially the most marginalised, to disrupt the media landscape and to challenge dominant narratives and stereotypical representations of youth through innovative content." It

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describes its approach as "based on an organic community that evolves according to the virality of our concepts."

Boubli's primary target audience is young Tunisians, aged 15 – 25, living in marginalised areas, typically disengaged, pessimistic, conflict-affected and tending to reject the 'establishment'. They are inter-sectionally marginalised in the combination of spatial marginalisation (alienated by dominant discourses which portray their neighbourhoods negatively, combined with physical restrictions of mobility from socio-geographic profiling); economic marginalisation and cultural marginalisation (barriers to access to platforms for self-expression/representation and to the means of media production). Boubli addresses the latter by building media literacy capacity as an '*incubator for the next digital creatives*' by training in audio-visual media production, supporting projects in multi-channel and network contexts and fostering the kickstarting of sustainable youth development projects promoting representation and engagement (including *Dual Netizenship*, see Rega and McDougall, 2021).

Boubli was created in response to dissatisfaction with mainstream media in Tunisia among young people, resulting in significant migration to social media. Whilst this is typical of youth across the world, the reasons cited in Tunisia were distinct, with the representation of youth, trivialisation of youth experience and marginalisation of youth perspectives (which combine to exclude youth from decision-making and civic agency) being as important as the preference for social media over more 'traditional' mass media. Boubli is typical of youth-led media literacy initiatives which seek to, at the same time, challenge media practices whilst training participants to enter the media ecosystem. But since Boubli exists as an alternative media platform for disaffected young people, the media content produced by Boubli and its audience reception are inextricably linked. In this article, we describe Boubli's media content and then focus in our research on aspects of this youth-led alternative media which relate more to counter-narratives, community building and civic intentionality.

Rather than imposing a model of media literacy onto Boubli, through this mixed methods analysis, we use a theory of change to generate further new knowledge about transferable working principles for youth-led media literacy with a focus on youth narratives, counter-script and subcultural media representation converging as civic intentionality. The use of a theory of change for media literacy to frame our findings and recommendations ensures the necessary focus on the *uses of* media literacy (Bennett, McDougall and Potter, 2020) with regard to civic cultures.

The research questions for evaluating Boubli using the theory of change were:

- (1) Access how does Boubli impact on youth identities, self-representation and self-actualised narratives for content creators and for audiences?
- (2) Awareness how do digital media engagements generated by Boubli develop media literacies and reflexive / `meta' awareness of the relative health of the media ecosystem?
- (3) Capability how does Boubli convert access and awareness into capability through its function as non-formal education?

(4) Consequences – how can the capabilities generated by Boubli (for creators and audiences) positively impact on the local media ecosystem in the longer term?

Literature review and theoretical context

Media literacy is dynamic, living and unsettling (Potter & McDougall, 2016; Pahl & Rowsell, 2020; Lee et al., 2022). It develops as such through 'third space' partnerships involving education, training, subcultural and community activity, activism and 'artivism' (Medrado & Rega, forthcoming). This was of understanding media literacy as deeply situated in cultural, geo-political and media ecosystem contexts seeks to avoid universal, 'neutral' solutionism understands tensions and nuances, such as the ways in which media literacy interventions in response to 'information disorder' can risk the erosion of freedom of expression and democracy in fragile societies. Many Tunisians agree that - despite abundant attempts to erode it (Freedom House, 2021) - freedom of expression is the only lasting gain of the revolution which led to the collapse of Ben Ali's authoritarian regime in 2011 (Hammami, 2015). Mihailidis (2010, p. 107) notes that "media literacy practices often focus on the protection of young people from harmful media messages and focus on providing skills to empower individual media creation". In this way, conventional media literacy approaches are potentially hegemonic, even when they seek to foster critical thinking for example, because they often rely on the vertical imposition of epistemological and value systems rather than horizontally negotiating the rules of the game (McDougall et al., 2015, p. 15-16). Likewise, whilst media development initiatives increasingly focus on supporting independent and community media and promoting regulatory frameworks which are conducive to freedom of expression are valuable, they often struggle to adapt their intervention logic to contemporary media ecosystems. Despite recent research pointing to the limited relevance and viability of mainstream and traditional media as avenues for positive change - especially with regard to youth representation and inclusion (Sayah, 2020) - many donors operating in the media development space tend to invest in reforming traditional media, notably by generating incentives to be more inclusive of youth - by creating youth-centric shows or by ensuring the inclusion of young voices in pre-existing programmes. These approaches are short-sighted and deliver limited impact: while they boost youth inclusion in the short-term, local media organisations often revert to youth exclusion as soon as donor-funded projects - and the associated incentives - come to an end. This was notably the case of the Ija Inbox youth-led show on the public broadcasting Watania TV channel. Funded by BBC Media Action between 2015 and 2018, the programme stopped airing as soon as the grant ended and Watania remains one of the least youth-inclusive broadcasters according to recent media monitoring data (Sayah, 2020).

The intersection of media literacy and artivism that we were observing at work in Boubli can develop participatory and community media production, with origins in action learning and postcolonial and indigenous epistemologies, towards an agile and reciprocal media literacy for diverse and fragile societies (Bozdağ et al., 2022). This way of seeing media literacy is also informed by Bruinenberg *et al.* work with young migrants:

In an increasingly privatized and commodified media literacy education context, all youth are considered as uniform and equal, which means differences between groups are not acknowledged. Engaging with literacy and the particular practices of particular young people reveals media literacy assumptions are mostly based on the lives of Western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic societies. These normative frameworks partly align but also proved to be at odds with their digital identification, self- censoring, civic-engagement and (non)-news consumption. These findings demonstrate the urgency of situated, reflexive, flexible, culture and context-aware critical media literacy education. There is a strong need to provide a flexible media literacy education program with space to recognize needs of communities involved, and room for adjusting the program towards these needs. (Bruinenberg et al, 2019, p. 43).

These recent voices from the diverse field of media literacy are shifting the focus to differentiated and indigenous media literacies and Global South perspectives, combining literacies with activism for social justice through g/local application, intersecting with movements for 'mining back' in algorithmic cultures, and mobilising counter-representations of nature, ethnicity, indigeneity and various forms of difference towards media literacy edu-cologies, the field is exploring diverse cartographies. This is very far from the binary, deficit logic of solutionism and the situating of media literacy in either regulatory or instrumentally educational spaces (see Friesem et al, 2022; Lopez, 2020, Cubbage, 2022, Mateus, Andrada & Quiroz, 2019). Our own theory of change for dynamic, civically oriented media literacy addresses the paradox that unhealthy media ecosystems are not caused by a lack of media literacies so much as the toxic uses of them (McDougall & Rega, 2022). To move beyond skills and competences alone to focus on these uses, a first step is to work with Sen's capability approach (2008) to emphasise the significance of active media behaviours and decision-making (functioning) and be more attuned to variations and local contexts (resources):

People with media literacy can demonstrate: Full and safe ACCESS to digital technology and media, Critical AWARENESS of media representations and what content and information can be trusted, The CAPABILITY to use their media literacy actively, rather than as passive consumers and the critical understanding of the CONSEQUENCES of their actions in the media ecosystem and how to use their capabilities for positive consequences.

Change occurs as media literacy develops in people from access to awareness to capability to consequences. Access is enabled as people first gain the means to be included as an individual in the full media ecosystem and then increase and/or change their access through changing media behaviours; Awareness develops as people come to understand, at the micro level, how media represents the world from particular points of view with intentions and at the macro-level, the relative health of their media environment. The Capability stage involves people *using* their media literacy for particular purposes in their lives. This can include civic engagement, employability or community actions. However, there is no reason why this capability *will* lead to the *positive* uses of media literacy unless this is combined with Consequences in particular ways, through the conversion of media literacy capability into *positive* change, requiring an active desire for our media to promote equality and social justice. Far from being the inevitable outcome of media literacy, the evidence suggests the opposite.

To achieve such positive change in deeply situated contexts, civically oriented media literacy approaches in the contemporary information environment should be relational, experiential and practice-oriented; animated by a caring ethic and civic aims; change-oriented and mindful of the media context (representation, networked structure of the public sphere, power dynamics, dynamics of exclusion and marginalisation), beyond aspects of text and ownership.

One of the most obvious ways in which the Boubli approach intersects with civic intentionality is the teleological aspect which is centred on taking action to change the media environment rather than merely deciphering it. Boubli's self-positioning as an alternative media and its purpose of challenging the norms of youth media representation in Tunisia form, indeed, a transformative agenda. Boubli was also very consciously conceived of, ex ante, as a system-level intervention: introducing a disruptive agent animated by a *caring ethic* (Mihailidis, 2018) into a deeply oppressive national media ecosystem. This resonates with Milan's (2016) concept of emancipatory communication practices which "represent a challenge to dominant powers in the communications and media realm" (p. 108), seeking to "create alternatives to existing media and communication infrastructure" (p. 108). Drawing on Milan's work, Mihailidis (2018, p.11) identifies emancipation as one of the constructs which underpin civic media. Boubli also follows one of Gordon and Mugar's (2018) key civic media practice prescriptions: persistent outputs. A truly transformative civic media practice may not be built upon a constellation of one-off or ad hoc pieces of content. Rather, it requires the kind of persistence Boubli exhibits though continued engagement with the community, frequency of publications, and long-term, problem-driven, and serial content which explores social, cultural, political, and economic issues. Two of the other activities of civic media practice identified by Gordon and Mugar (2018) are closely intertwined within Boubli's approach: holding space for discussion and distributed ownership. These involve *meaningful inefficiencies* which are characteristic of civic media practice or, in Mihailidis' (2018; 2019) parlance, reflect a prioritisation of *civic intentionality* over efficiency considerations. Boubli has built around itself a vibrant social infrastructure and uses it to hold participatory deliberations with its community (audience and allies), leading to increased responsiveness and involving some relinguishment of ownership over the brand and its platform. In addition to regularly polling its community via the YouTube page - often collecting over 30,000 responses -, Boubli has developed an intimate relationship with its audience through constant interaction via a Discord server which gathers over 23,000 core members of its subscriber base. Initially designed as a group-chatting platform allowing people to easily communicate while playing video games, Discord's livestreaming, video-calling and instant messaging functionalities are increasingly used by young online communities to stay in touch. In Boubli's case, the Discord app is used to host weekly live debates between the editorial team and subscribers but also to livestream exclusive previews of upcoming Boubli content. Moreover, Boubli's social infrastructure includes a growing coalition of youth social movements, artist collectives, and civil society organisations with which Boubli shares its material resources and social capital. Boubli often amplifies their actions and ideas via its own dissemination channels to advance common causes. These have included feminist organisations, anti-corruption watchdogs, and a social movement pursuing the end of crony capitalism and the rent economy. Boubli's ethos of pluralisation also involves empowering young people to challenge the socio-cultural norms imposed by and the roles assigned to them by elites, institutions, and older generations - and with which a number of young people are growing frustrated. Practically, this means frequent and arduous negotiations balancing conflicting value and belief systems. When defining the editorial policy, some members and allies wished to position Boubli as a progressive media and considered that its mission was to educate segments of the public which they deemed ignorant and bigoted. However well-intentioned, such a positioning could have led Boubli to reproduce exclusionary logics which already dominate Tunisia's mediascape - which is marked

by a strong social boundary opposing progressives to conservatives, two social sites which largely overlap with class. Instead, Boubli has opted for pluralism which, for certain team and audience members, has involved renouncing hegemonic desires, embracing humility, and developing a capability for dealing with conflicting views, and uncomfortable conversations. Although it may be criticised for its perceived relativism, this ethos of pluralisation makes Boubli a truly unique media literacy intervention in that it has been able to negotiate a space of mutual understanding, bringing together people with antagonistic identities such as feminists and conservatives or policemen and Antifa activists, and exposing them to difference.

Methods

The research methods used for this analysis were complementary. Following a thematic description of Boubl's media content (enabled by a walk-through with Boubli) our investigation combined audience data analytics and survey responses, facilitator lived experience and participant reflection, generated through interviews and focus groups.

Boubli surveys its audience as a community via YouTube page but has gone beyond this to establish community interaction on a Discord community server which hosts interactive audio debate programmes with the explicit intention of exposing participants to contrasting points of view; collects lived experiences of audience members; invites audience feedback; invites members to pitch their own ideas for content and in some cases produce content via Discord; involves community members as moderators and offers a pathway to greater involvement in Boubli as volunteers, interns, freelancers, and staff members - who may also receive training upon recruitment.

Audience data analytics at the time of our research indicated over 850,000 Boubli followers on all channels combined and over 9 million engagements on social media. According to an online profiling survey conducted by Boubli in March 2022, 98% of Boubli's subscribers are under 34 and 85% are under 24; 76% are students, 13% are employed, and 11% are unemployed; and 61% are living in working class neighbourhoods. The Discord community had organised over 50 events, with over 25,000 members, 1k daily visitors, a new member retention rate of 40% and an incremental increase in new members, with over 60% joining in the six months prior to this evaluation. Our thematic understanding of Boubli media content was facilitated by a translated walk-through of the YouTube channel, Facebook page, Instragram account and Discord server. The focus group discussion with community members within the Discord server was public and moderated by Boubli's community manager. It was organised as a session of Boubziwed, a live talk show on Discord that aims at being an interactive space for the Boubli community to discuss issues, with a host and some guest and any member of the community able to interact with them. The group was comprised of six participants with equal gender representation and with no ties to Boubli, who had volunteered in response to a call for participants issued on the server. These included three university students (accounting, graphic design, and business), one high school student, one IT developer, and one unemployed young person who had withdrawn from university. The number of listeners fluctuated throughout the session but an average of 32 members were in the audience. Only the six participants were granted microphone connection but the audience was also able to interact and express their opinion via a chat box. Our assessment of the Boubli audience generated data on their demographic and psychographic stratification; their various levels of engagement with Boubli, identifying drivers for textual media engagement - *how do they understand, interpret and engage with Boubli's media as an alternative to mainstream media and a disruptor in the Tunisian media ecosystem?* - and understanding better both the drivers for and the barriers to engaging further through participation in the Boubli community. We used the Discord server itself to explore this capacity building from within the community, with Boubli practitioners co-designing and then facilitating the research in this stage, to avoid 'third party' researcher dynamics and the attendant ethical and data generation risks. Seven interviews were conducted with Boubli team members, two female and five male. These were participants who have either progressed from audience to community to a role in the organisation, or who have worked with Boubli from the outset.

These mixed methods triangulate Boubli's self-identity and impact narrative with richer understanding of the lived experience of participation to generate impact evidence with regard to non-formal education, capacity conversion to capability and civic engagement leading to ecosystem improvements.

Boubli Media

To understand Boubli's impact on the Tunisian media ecosystem as an agent of civic change for young people to organise, the importance of entertainment as the 'engagement pathway' is fundamental. Whilst we can clearly identify in Boubli's content, a range of youth-led alternative media literacy outputs which relate to counter-narratives, community building and civic intentionality, the engaging quality of Boubli media as entertainment, relating to music, arts, popular culture, sports and gamins subcultures is a crucial aspect of Boubli's subsequent success in the ecosystem. This 'hook' is partly created by Boubli partnering with existing Tunisian YouTubers. The channel initially produced live content but now, following audience requests, records and makes content available after broadcast asynchronously.



Figure 1: Interview with young rap artists



Figure 2: Testimony of an anonymous audience member recounting his experience with police corruption

Boubli's YouTube content (https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCvGUAujJBj9D8JMo-JCek9w) speaks to the organisation's status as a site of conflict and change in the following examples. *7add ma raha* represents the lived experience and daily struggles of a young female, dealing with imposed gender roles and family pressures, and was the subject of some resistance and hostility within the engagement cited above. Nahj El Bousta is purposely set in Boubli's physical location, represented in mainstream media as a 'dangerous' neighbourhood, mobilising a counter-narrative and proposing a more participative governance, connecting outside of Boubli to offline activist groups (we see here resonance with the Unesco MIL Cities initiative, see Unesco, 2018). Generation Z*** is one of Boubli's longest-running shows, stimulated by the January 2021 protests, presenting youth as 'the biggest party in Tunisia', with protest as the only option for such an important, large but civically excluded demographic. Fi Thnity L'Bouchoucha shares the experiences of young people arrested and placed in a detention facility. Yekhi berrasmi? combines vox pops with expert opinions and contrasting perspectives on commonly held beliefs and social issues. Whilst this is a popular format with funders, there is some tension around the prescriptive approach (for example, an episode on covid vaccines) which, whilst well-intentioned, are a departure from Boubli's more dialogic modus operandi. Visibility is here in an uneasy relation with outcomes, to which we return later. Boubli's recent development, Freesh, is a new platform providing more serious content, more politically focussed without the blend with entertainment, which has been hitherto Boubli's tone. Young experts, excluded from both mainstream media and the political arena, are given a platform, recently discussing young Tunisians in Ukraine, post-coup politics, drug laws and the agricultural sector. Freesh began as a live show during the January 2021 protests, and in being more 'serious' than most Boubli content, offers another site of potential tension, as with some elements of Yekhi berrasmi?



Figure 3: Had Ma Raha, an animation shows on young women's daily struggles/gender norms



Figure 4: Opening of "Generation Z: The largest party in Tunisia" show, a critique of young people's marginalisation from public affairs

In Boubli's social media spaces, a combination of simply extending reach and fostering different forms of engagement can be observed. Facebook is a more difficult space for Boubli to navigate, with the organisation experiencing more diverse responses, but also more hostile reception, politically and with regard to gender equality. Instagram (<u>https://www.instagram.com/boublinet/?hl=en</u>) is used for discrete short form content, memes for interaction and 'behind the scenes' stories, scheduling announcements and activities to blend the existing Boubli community with the wider public. At the time of this research, Tik Tok was of interest to

Boubli, and cited as important by several of our interview respondents, but largely due to the viral impact of content being uploaded by third parties.

Whilst the Discord server was explored with regard to its community functions, some content is generated by and for Discord, such as *Boubziwed*, a live talk show, which started as a way of connecting Boubli staff with the audience, but has now developed into a more discursive space for the community to discuss issues, and any member can interact with the hosts and guests. This is a significant convergence of content and community.

The quotes we present in the thematic findings sections which follow are from participants who had moved beyond being only audience members but were now engaging directly within Boubli's community, either in Discord, or the Boubli premises or both.

Findings

Community

Here, we summarise the discursive data generated with the Boubli community thematically.

Mainstream media in Tunisia

Every participant reported disengagement, with the exception of occasional radio listening, when a relevant person is being interviewed or as a habit – "*I often listen to the radio in the morning while drinking my coffee, like an old man, just to keep track of the news".* This disengagement was, for one participant, to the extent of setting YouTube to hide Tunisian TV videos from appearing in their feed. Reasons ranged from more typical (of youth) lack of interest in the content to a more overtly political resistance to the media ecosystem and its orientation to powerful groups – "*Mainstream media are too mwajhin"* (translates as "directive" and conveys a sense of deliberate bias and manipulation).

Boubli as an alternative media

There was total consensus on not only content but also mode of interaction, evidenced by these extracts: "The difference is huge. They're incomparable; Boubli is made for young people; Traditional media try to impose their opinion on you and tell you what you should think but Boubli doesn't; Boubli is like us. It's just young people talking with young people. It's the only media that dares to push the boundary because that's free speech; Boubli says things in the same way as people say them in real life, without make-up".

Engagement with Boubli as non-formal education

In response to this theme, there was an emerging shared discourse relating to 'learning from' Boubli videos as a stimulus – "*They prompted me to dig deeper into certain topics*, *By watching Boubli content I learned a lot about the history of the country; I draw a lot of inspiration from the way Boubli is communicating with its audience and giving the community some space to discuss things"*. This was linked to another discourse, which was closely related but differently motivated, around new ways of thinking – "*Boubli also debates the things that matter to me. Even though in these debates people disagree a lot, it's in a respectful way* and *We live in a society dominated by traditions and religion. My thinking has always been against this society, but I'd been doing it alone in my room, in silence. But now Boubli is raising these issues, discussing these*

ideas in a deep and very public way. I get the feeling that Boubli's influence is going to make Tunisia better in the future".

Responses also suggest that participation in Boubli's Discord server has helped young people socialise with other youth with contrasting views across social and political boundaries and thus encounter and engage with new perspectives and ideas - "*Here you can meet people who think like you but you can also listen to people who think differently and change your mind; I find people who think like me and those who think differently, and it happened that I discovered new ideas that I liked and kept thinking about". At the same time, in the majority of responses, there is a sense of Boubli speaking to hitherto suppressed or underrepresented views – "<i>Boubli says everything I would like to express. Everything that I feel deep inside, Boubli says it out loud".* This is different to respecting contrasting views, the causal relation is less overt. The link between Boubli speaking to under-represented views and exposure to contrasting views was, however, very prominent in the discussion about how people came to be involved in Discord, so evidence of this aspect of non-formal education – a more open, tolerant and reflective 'mindset', as opposed to learning skills or knowledge, came through in the detail of how engagement was enacted.

Involvement in the community

Here, a set of critical incidents were cited as having been pivotal in the respondents joining Discord, some shared, some discrete. These included a debate held by Boubli to discuss whether youth should join imminent political protests; a live Discord show featuring a young female influencer, Azza Slimane (cited by a female participant) and the status of a new development, the political discussion show, Freech) as a 'gateway' to Discord. Notable responses about the value of the Discord community to the participants included: "The Discord debates has helped me form an opinion about certain topics and correct my thinking errors when I listened to convincing arguments; Discord let me express an opinion without getting beaten in the street; Here, you can meet people who think like you but you can also listen to people who think very differently. Sometimes these people who think differently are able to change your mind about something". Going further into this shift in mindset, towards more tolerance of conflicting ideas, participants reflected more broadly on Boubli's impact - "The US wasn't an inherently free society. It changed because every now and then there are people who initiate a shock by pushing new boundaries. In Tunisia, Boubli could do that. Push the boundaries of freedom. There are people who need time and need to be listened to". Again, here we can see the interplay of non-formal learning and broader ecosystem change. We also observed how Boubli's methods are preventative with regard to 'hate speech' through mobilising healthy dialogue with negotiation of pluralistic views and perspectives in several platforms, for example: "Boubli lets you see the opposite opinion. It lets you know that there are Tunisians who don't think like you, which is something you might miss if you're just hanging out with your friends. And here on Discord we can meet and debate about anything without disrespect or harassment" - and - "Boubli lets you understand how different people think, how different their thinking is compared to yours. And you aren't obliged to agree and you can calmly discuss these ideas, listen and be listened to". In terms of how this is achieved, in the moment, more easily on Discord, this staff member perspective is indicative:

"It depends on where the discussion is taking place, for example if it's taking place in the comments, it's going to be hard to moderate unless someone is using hate speech or insulting

the other one. We would just ban them and remove their comment. But it's way easier on Discord where people are using their voices. So first of all they will be less aggressive. And second, we also have moderators that are present. So if someone goes beyond the rules that we have already written and explained to everyone, they would just be kicked out or get a ban, depending on the offence they did. But before that also, the moderators certainly plays the major part in this where they try to calm the situation or find a common ground between them. Try to approach both opinions and explain that they are not as contradictory as they seem or that they are contradictory but they can't coexist."

Capability into action

Here, participants shared examples of behaviour change which they attributed themselves to being involved in the Boubli community. Examples included: "*Meeting with friends, opening the Boubli page and start debating the topics after watching the videos. This isn't something we used to do before we found out about Boubli; Because of Boubli' I'm writing again and sharing my poems. I'm very active on Discord and I started writing again because I was encouraged by the presence of a community of artists on this server; Because of Boubli I started to look for information. When Boubli raises a topic that I find interesting, especially when <i>it's about history, I want to dig deeper so after watching the video I do some research on Google".* These examples are all different 'variants' on the theme of taking engagement into action - integrating social life with debating issues; appearing on a live debate and the clear efficacy benefits as well as this 'changing the story' of the participants expectations of the Tunisian media ecosystem; creative capability development, again linked to confidence in the 'safe space' Boubli offers and the community of artists providing connection and then finally the clearer example of the active, experiential value of Boubli as non-formal education, as 'learning to learn' through engaging with Boubli is a catalyst to a more enquiring mindset.

Ecosystem

These findings speak to critical awareness related to the media ecosystem problems Boubli is responding to – "*The problem is that the Facebook algorithm is not suggesting Boubli. The content that's not sponsored is hidden by the algorithm in real life"*, and the more complex challenge of situating Boubli within an environment of hyper-cynical distrust – "*My politicised friends don't follow Boubli either. I have a friend from Ennahdha* (the then-ruling party) *who says* "*Boubli is insulting us so why would I follow them. They're probably funded by another party to smear us"*. On Boubli's status in the media ecosystem, to encourage 'futuring' among the participants in terms of long term change, we heard a combination of 'resources of hope' (Williams, 1958) and resignation at the challenge: "Boubli is what we call an alternative media. *Mainstream media can talk about Boubli as a phenomenon. But these media in Tunisia are smart. Naoufel Ouertani, for example, uses people's hate for him to become more famous. It's difficult for Boubli to compete with that. But Boubli is a pointer to a different direction. Boubli is the alternative. Media are dirty and they won't change"* – this is an endorsement of Boubli's counter-media significance, using the binary of mainstream / alternative to reinforce the importance of the organisation.

"The impact of Boubli is about young people freely expressing themselves and it's also about normalising debate and ways of respectfully disagreeing" – this privileges the role of Boubli in self-representation and ways of being with others, for youth, over changing the media ecosystem directly: "Boubli is now doing an

intellectual revolution. The question is how can it shift from this intellectual revolution to starting a youth-led revival?"(NB: this participant used the word "Nahdha" which refers in this context to the Islamic reformist movement of the late 19th century). "*By youth-led revival I mean a movement that has an impact on people's behaviour*" – This is a celebration of Boubli's revolutionary impact with a challenge posed, which is in keeping with the organisation's more far-reaching objectives and also aligns with our theory of change for capability converting to positive consequences in social action.

"There is no media that's similar to Boubli in terms of interacting the community, creatively conveying information etc. Other media are difficult to change. They're in their comfort zone. they're familiar with how to manipulate and keep their audience captive. They are huge machines with a lot of resources aimed at manipulating the population. Maybe Boubli can impact future media, by inspiring new initiatives, but it cannot change the traditional media. But sometimes I imagine if Watania (NB: State-owned TV) created a new platform for young people like Boubli"— this is a multi-layered and complex response, which begins by re-asserting the binary, then moves to a more optimistic 'peripheral impact' zone, whereby Boubli inspires some change, but within seemingly hegemonic power dynamics, and concludes with a specific hypothesis for how this might be realised. However, whether the inception of a state-TV controlled space for the kind of media Boubli produces would be considered a positive impact or whether the community and non-formal learning aspects of the project could be sustained within such an institutional framing, can only be assessed from within Boubli and the socio-cultural and political contexts in which it operates.

Civic Intentionality

Boubli's social infrastructure is informed by the conviction that media literacy for capability development and positive consequences needs to be "*relational, experiential and practice-oriented; animated by a caring ethic and civic aims; change-oriented; and mindful of the media context (representation, networked structure of the public sphere, power dynamics, dynamics of exclusion and marginalisation), beyond aspects of text and ownership*" (Sayah, 2022). We were looking for insights from participants into the lived experiences of this infrastructure and also interested in the trajectories of community members from audience to direct involvement. In all of the interviews, it was clear that the fusion of Boubli's actions in the media ecosystem and the home it offers as a developmental space for digital creatives (relational, caring and nurturing, practice-orientated by way of experiential learning) was prominent in the narratives:

"In Tunisia generally speaking even if you're incredibly talented, you'll be disregarded if you don't have a degree. Some people working here don't have any degrees. Your talent is sufficient. Jihed who did the animation for Selket, doesn't have a degree but he produced the best animation at Boubli and even in Tunisia. This is what distinguishes Boubli. They see you as a human with potential, not a degree."

"We all learn together. Even when there aren't any challenges, we create them. Even when everything is technically perfect, we take it to another level to challenge ourselves." "Boubli is really special. I worked in other places before Boubli, more corporate companies. It was very hierarchical, very strict, it makes you feel like you're not allowed to give an opinion about something until you've spent at least two years in that company or I don't know how much. So what makes Boubli actually special is that it's based on meritocracy. In Tunisia, we're struggling as young people when we find our first job, people sometimes don't teach you anything at all, they just want to see you struggle for some time or they want to see you if you're going to hold on or you're gonna quit and just go and find something else. So Boubli, for young people, you don't need an academic background, you don't need to know how to do things from A-Z, if you're passionate. If you're willing to learn, if you deserve to be here, then you're going to be in. And this is how things should be."

"There's no hierarchy. This is an amazing thing. I can walk into a room on the third floor where people are meeting to write an episode. My entrance can disrupt the entire concept because I can express my opinion about what they're doing even though I'm not directly involved in that show. They took it up and changed the entire script. The fact that every opinion is listened to and can be beneficial is what makes the greatest achievements possible. This is what you can find here but that's missing in all other media. Every one of us is able to influence any product. There's no limiting hierarchy unlike other media. Because of this, in only one year I accumulate the kind of experience you can have in five years."

"I love being there, I mean, it doesn't pay that well like any media job in in general, in Tunisia, but it's a great start, especially since it's not like any other job. It's like an association, you know, and you feel like you always have a connection to that environment, one way or another, because it's all like young people by young people, for young people."

To triangulate data from Boubli's stated objectives and its 'owned' narrative; the Discord community discussion and the lived experiences of these more embedded participants, we asked about Boubli's (*change-oriented*) actions in the Tunisian media ecosystem and its role as a talent incubator and the inter-relation of these elements. One consistent theme which is very important in the Tunisian context is the way that Boubli responds to inter-generational tensions:

"The media landscape is generally dominated by older people and by institutions where they have been projecting, they have been diffusing or broadcasting the same things over and over and where youth are rarely represented, and even when they are represented, they are represented as a in a very caricatured way, so having new content that challenged dominant narratives and that challenged stereotypical representations of youth is, I think, how Boubli is starting to disrupt the media landscape. The other part of how we try to disrupt norms and conventions is that we have a capacity building team where we train aspiring content creators. We train them in content creation and video making and business development soft skills. And the idea is to give them control of their own narratives, to produce their own content and the things that are technically good will be uploaded on Boubli. One other important point, I think, is that most of our shows are based around the concept of community. So the idea is that we get a lot of our ideas from the community themselves directly through Discord."

In this response, we can see the convergence of three points in Boubli's configuration – the way that 'youth voice' needs to be understood as distinctively suppressed in Tunisia due to inter-generational conflicts that are specific; the way that digital creative development for individuals aligns with counter-script ideology and the unique 'third space' Boubli community (*mindful of the media context beyond text and audience*). These three elements were rarely separated in the interview responses. We also heard repeated examples that loop back to the way that Boubli content is highly entertaining and appealing to its audience, either aside to or as a gateway to subcultural counter-script. To illustrate this point further (the duality of the political and the subcultural), one respondent cited Marshall McLuhan and Walter Benjamin as reference points for Boubli's impact on culture, but then, when prompted to explain how this is manifested in their experience, focussed on environment:

"The headquarters, that the British Council help renovate, that's a great strategic spot, you know, like an oasis of creativity over there and, like, what would you rather work for? Like even the most hip radio channel, or the most hip production company for TV? It's hard to find something that ambitious and that far reaching in a digital platform. It's just making a positive change as a project, as an association and it's kind of just the beginning, you know?"

When we talk about Discord as a 'third space', we are referring to the ways in which non-formal learning appears to be reciprocal, with the funds of knowledge that community members bring to the server being not only of value to Boubli but, often, a starting point for activity in the social infrastructure: "*We use Discord to mingle with the community and to understand their opinions. We often start a conversation on Discord just to understand the public's perspectives on it"*, and in a statement very much in keeping with 'third space' non-formal, or 'not-school' learning: "*We are at the same time neutral and not neutral. We want to help people get to the truth but we don't say what the truth is and we don't judge people's opinions.*"

With regard to the shift to both politics and community, we can situate Boubli as a contemporary development on the trajectory out of youth media, 'not-school' and the Cultural Studies approach to youth and subculture into the more recent field of media literacy for civic engagement but also within a continuum between philanthropic or strategic 'sponsored development' and organic, subcultural activity. Projects can be developed as youth-led, in terms of cultural expression, but be characterised more by 'sponsored empowerment' when capacity to act is motivated towards specific public sphere, 'adult' framing of civic 'engagement'. This tension is not new or specific to current geo-cultural concerns at stake in Boubli but rather, inherent in the relationship between Cultural Studies' interest in subcultural politics as the semiotics of youth 'agency' and the theorising of more fluid and evasive textual practices in the more reciprocal 'unsettling problem spaces' of contemporary media literacies, as we intend to accommodate in our theory of change.

In our supplementary discussions and in following up on 'hotspots' in our respondents' narratives, we heard vignettes and anecdotes which move us towards an important 'threshold' in our theory of change, as capability moves to consequences:

"Let's talk about this neighbourhood. It's sketchy. Some people in this street openly carry machetes. But if they see someone working for Boubli, if they see you enter this space two or three times in a row, you're good. The machetes are lowered and you get respect. Sure, they're down there getting drunk in the car park, but they see us working, hauling equipment and they've come to respect and appreciate what we're doing."

"We never got any censorship, only people threatening us on the Internet and we don't really care about that as much. And the things that we found really funny is that each week we have a different label from some people which further proves that we are not partisan or that our content really represents a lot of people at the same time. It's not just one point of view. So, I think that's interesting in itself. We had some interactions with the police force, but mainly they were quite friendly, like a police officer who would come to check our papers. We would say like "hey, we're Boubli." And they would laugh and say like "go easy on us or try to not make us look as bad as you do." But in a joking manner."

Participants were asked to project to 2030 and tell us what they expected for Boubli and for their own development - "So my vision for 2030 is that when people turn on the TV instead of watching Watania (state-owned TV channel) they watch Boubli", contrasting with "By 2030, Boubli can't become the biggest channel because the general public doesn't like subversion and profanity. But Boubli will shape the media landscape." And with regard to internal values and external drivers "Boubli in eight years? It depends on a lot of variables, including the political situation. If Kais bans foreign funding of civil society organisations) we're screwed. Boubli is both strong and fragile. If we were in a different country, our situation would be different. Our views on YouTube would generate a lot of money. With our figures, if we were in another country, say in America, our views would generate more money than what we currently receive from foreign donors. But because we aren't monetising our content, we need to rely on donors. This can limit us, even kill us. This funding now lets us be independent creatively but in terms of long-term survival the dependence is very strong." This is evidence of the highest levels of critical ecosystem awareness. Similarly ... "The Ministry of Youth and the Ministry of Culture should find a solution so that Boubli isn't the only one doing this. The state needs to take responsibility and emulate this. Boubli is doing this and it's good but this should be done outside Boubli too. In each governorate there should be a Boubli space or an equivalent. A space you go to if you want to experiment or create something. If this happens, it would influence the rest of society."

In these four 'futuring' responses and the vignettes before them we see the inherent tension in the consequences of visibility (Rega & Medrado, 2021) in this threshold moment, when considered from a Global South perspective. By threshold moment we mean the progression from media ecosystem change to broader social and civic action (capability into consequences), but this is both a matter of external impact and to do with shifts in internal dynamics for the community. The Global South perspective is a phrasing we apply

here in the broader sense of the 'geography of oppression' (de Sousa Santos, 2015: 4), rather than the precise location, acknowledging the problematic ethics of Global North researchers 'locating' Boubli in this way.

Visibility is asymmetric and double-edged. Boubli's modus operandi is to promote visibility of Tunisian youth, to one another, and to the media ecosystem and into the civil society. And yet, unlike cases from our previous research in Global South contexts, the anticipated risks of regimes of visibility (of surveillance and control, from the police, from organised criminals or political extremists) do not seem to be evident, as the Boubli 'brand' appears to be welcomed within the ecosystem, albeit at the margins, or at worst tolerated. Therefore, the strategies that digital and media activists / artivists usually need to adopt to overcome the 'critical visibility moment' do not seem to be required.

On the one hand, this might mean that the threshold of capability into consequences, and the consequences of visibility, are much more straightforward, and Boubli can expect to impact on both the media ecosystem, youth efficacy and civic intentionality through media literacy with less challenge. Or it might be that the challenge is different, and hinges on the tensions outlined above, navigating the needs of the community, taking Boubli to the next level of impact and maintaining the support of donors. The alternative would be to see Boubli as a threshold moment towards the opposite, to a withdrawal from visibility, effectively handing over the ecosystem challenge to the young people it has engaged in the space, across the terrain. This would also sidestep the risk of counter-intuitive hegemonic colonisation of 'the voice' of young people.

Conclusions

Using our theory of change for media literacy to assess the impact of Boubli with regard to civic cultures, our summative findings enabled us to draw the following key conclusions to answer our research questions:

RQ1 (Access) – how does Boubli impact on youth identities, self-representation and self-actualised narratives for content creators and for audiences?

Boubli uses entertainment with high production values and connections to existing subcultures and influential media agents as an 'engagement pathway' to media literacy for civic intentionality. This is achieved through a distinctive convergence of content and community, with the impact on youth achieved through an interplay of environment and belonging, non-hierarchical third space values and the textual field itself.

RQ2 (Awareness) - how do digital media engagements generated by Boubli develop media literacies and reflexive / 'meta' awareness of the relative health of the media ecosystem?

The Boubli community demonstrate the highest levels of experiential 'meta' reflexivity with regard to their understanding of the Tunisian media ecosystem. Whilst there was consensus that the Tunisian media ecosystem is unhealthy, there was less agreement over the purpose of treating it, as opposed to operating in resistance to it in the margins or as an alternative environment. Boubli's convergence of content and community 'bakes in' media literacy awareness to its media practices, in the sense that producers and audiences are in constant reciprocal dialogue and content is produced with sensitivity to audience's very high expectations and sophisticated interpretation of both content and values. This dialogue also forms the bridge to capability.

RQ3 (Capability) – how does Boubli convert access and awareness into capability through its function as non-formal education?

Experiential learning in Boubli's third space environment provides creative and technical opportunities in a digital incubation hub for those excluded from media practice in conventional environments, combined with an ethos of peer-learning and learning to learn. People engaging with Boubli across audience and community groups reported an interest in researching further into issues, topics and debates, instead of forming first impressions or taking information and perspectives at face value. This, in turn, boosts resilience to misinformation and has the potential to reduce polarization. Respondents reported a 'mindset shift' with regard to tolerance, understanding of conflicting perspectives and respect for diversity.

RQ4 (Consequences) – how can the capabilities generated by Boubli (for creators and audiences) impact positively on the local media ecosystem in the longer term?

Boubli has impacted on the Tunisian media ecosystem in positive ways. On the one hand, since this impact has been strategically manifested more in providing an alternative media platform, the criteria in our theory of change for improving the health of *the* media ecosystem is more difficult to assess in this more complex situation. But on the other hand, the 'third space' social infrastructure which Boubli has developed, and our respondents valued so highly, does provide compelling evidence of the progression to positive consequences in the integration of agentive media literacy, community and critical thinking about divergent views. Across the visibility threshold (Rega and Medrado, 2021) of capability into consequences, we expect this media literacy intervention to continue to impact on the media ecosystem, on youth efficacy and into civic intentionality. However, our findings raise questions about the risk of hegemonic colonisation of 'the voice' for young people, especially since responses to our questions about the future of Boubli as an alternative platform were the site of the least consensus.

There are specific weaknesses in Boubli's model, in addition to the more nuanced risks, tensions and challenges we have cited. Our audience analytics show that the overall target increase in the female audience set by the British Council's baseline assessment was met but at the same time, exclusion and peripheral engagement are a continuing challenge, and they are intersectional. For example, the hardest to reach group for Boubli are females in rural areas who are not studying or employed. We can observe a sustainable core Boubli community, but this presents some challenges, as it develops further within the same stratification, in terms of diversity, gender equality and the culture change that would be required to address this. Whilst this might seem at odds with Boubli's objectives, it could be reasonably suggested that a pathway to gender equality might be to shift the emphasis to females who are 'less marginalised' in the first instance, to address gender balance, before moving to a targeted approach. Generally, people living in rural areas or contexts included as 'other' are under-represented in the audience data (19% and 15%), which is in contrast with the organisation's stated target audience, being more urban and also raising the question of how marginalisation is related to education.

In presenting Boubli as demonstrative of media literacy's impacts on youth civic culture in Tunisia, we also aim to demonstrate the efficacy of our theory of change in better understanding how media literacy is configured with regard to various forms of engagement in deeply situated contexts. The purpose of adopting a theory of change for media literacy is to move away from 'neutral' deficit models of skills and competences to acknowledge that people have differentiated levels of existing, everyday media literacies that any intervention, with any combination of educational, developmental, youth-led and civic intentionality *for* media literacy. It also obliges recognition that, even when the uses of media literacy can be assessed as having developed into, or as part of, capabilities, for example as manifested in forms of civic engagement, we cannot assume this to be positive. Our theory of change requires evidence that media literate citizens both demonstrate critical understanding of the consequences of their actions in the media ecosystem and the intention to use their capabilities for positive consequences, which we understand to be do with social justice, diversity, trustworthy media and information and democratic civic environments. Clearly, media literacy skills are often used to do harm, ranging from the production and circulation of misinformation to the use of algorithms to harvest data for outcomes which are not in the interests of those whose data is used to the proliferation of marginalised discourse through and related to othering representations in media texts.

The theory of change is non-linear, as media literacy levels vary significantly, and this presents inherent challenges in designing projects and interventions to reach and impact the broad spectrum of capabilities. For example, among people who are more marginalised or hardest to reach, we often find that they may be without safe *Access* to media, for either economic, technological, educational or political reasons. At the other end of the spectrum, some people will already have *Access* and *Awareness*, be demonstrating *Capability* and even have critical awareness of *Consequences*, but for whatever reason are not concerned for these.

Boubli demonstrates a distinctive interplay of media literacy skills developing into capability through 'third space' creative talent incubation, combined with a sustained and clear agenda for both improving the ecosystem through the circulation of counter-representational media and, through community agency, influencing positive consequences in the nature of both youth discourse and attitudinal shifts in responding to difference. Our use of the theory of change in this analysis has both enabled a more granular assessment of Boubli's impact and served as an instrument for the organisation to think about its work in more nuanced and reflexive ways in order to frame its future directions in the media ecosystem and civic contexts in which it operates.

It is clear from our research that the interplay of media literacy, audience and community which Boubli embeds as a values-driven approach and operationalises in and across all of its social practices is, subject to geo-cultural specificity, transferable as a model of both agentive media literacy for civic engagement and social justice *and* the productive unsettling of media literacy itself in the new spaces it brings into being (Lee et al, 2022).

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