

**A Voice of One's Own:
An Investigation of Developing World Agency in Oxfam International's 2009 Climate
Change Campaign**

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Abstract

Climate change is an issue that is increasingly being adopted into various NGO campaigns. Drawing on a theoretical framework that is grounded in post-colonialism and subaltern studies, this thesis investigates representations of agency in the climate change discourse of Oxfam International. The central research question guiding the study is: *To what extent do developing world people and countries have agency in Oxfam International's 2009 climate change campaign?* The methodological approach used to address this question combines content analysis and critical discourse to analyze 105 documents published by Oxfam in the lead up to the 2009 U.N. Climate Change conference in Copenhagen, Denmark. The findings reveal that that developing world subjects tend to possess less speaking space and to be represented with less agency than their developed world counterparts.

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Introduction

There are anticipated increases of 10-40% in precipitation in higher latitudes that will result in wetter conditions and flooding probabilities in coastal regions (2012). The IPCC (2012) cites a high confidence that climactic changes could potentially affect water management systems imminently. Decreases in precipitation in Africa could result in up to a 50% drop in agricultural production (Bosnjakovic 2012). There is a possibility for climate refugees or Island nations such as Tuvalu disappearing completely. These are climate impacts that are anticipated to occur when the atmosphere warms to two degrees above pre-industrial levels. However, there is discordance within scientific and political circles over whether a two degree ceiling is still a feasible goal (Bosnjakovic 2012).

This is of the greatest concern to the nations that will experience these effects most severely. The climate vulnerability index (CVI) suggests that Saharan and Sub-Saharan countries are highly vulnerable followed by the remainder of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Australia (Bosnjakovic 2012). The countries with the most resources to cope are those in North America and Europe, along with Russia (Bosnjakovic 2012). Accordingly, many international non-governmental organizations have taken on the climate cause.

1.1 Global Political Context

Due to the continued failure at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) conferences to ratify a new treaty for climate change mitigation, the pertinence of climate action is pressing. The most recent conference in Doha in 2012 was to prepare for the upcoming conference in 2015 (Hedegaard 2012). A major difference between the conference in Doha and the previous UNFCCC conferences was the dissolving of

separations between developed countries and emerging economies, since, all countries will eventually have legal commitments to reduce emissions.

The political context for this thesis is the lead-up to the 2009 UNFCCC conference in Copenhagen, when expectations were high for a climate change agreement and action to occur. The result of this highly anticipated political event was that the Kyoto Protocol was extended for some of the members (until 2020 is when the prospective new deal will take effect). Not only was the protocol not ratified by all members, it was not designed to limit climate change to 2 degrees Celsius (Jacobs 2012). As a result, the Copenhagen Accord has been described as weak (Nicholson and Chong 2011).

Since many NGOs have started to address climate change as a development issue, the prospect of climate change funding is of great importance. As a result, many organizations had advocacy campaigns relating to the Copenhagen conference. A possible contributing factor to the failure at Copenhagen was the global economic crisis, which was at its lowest point during the 2009 year. Accordingly, Stewart (2009) notes that the recession caused a drop in aid budgets.

1.2 Climate Justice

In the 2007/8 UNDP Human Development Report, Archbishop Desmond Tutu expressed the sentiment of climate justice with great passion:

No community with a sense of justice, compassion or respect for basic human rights should accept the current pattern of adaptation. Leaving the world's poor to sink or swim with their own meager resources in the face of the threat posed by climate change is morally wrong. Unfortunately...this is precisely what is happening. We are drifting into a world of 'adaptation apartheid'. (UNDP 2007, p. 181).

Put simply, the concern here centers upon the disproportionate effects of climate change on some regions. Nicholson and Chong (2011) assert that if the basic necessities of developing world states become threatened by climate change, it is the duty of the global north, based on international human rights, to provide assistance.

One of the original proponents of climate justice, former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson, famously stated: “climate change violates the declaration's [Universal Declaration of Human Rights] affirmation that “everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which [their] rights and freedoms...can be realised” (Robinson 2008, para 9). In making this claim, she also highlighted the opportunity to utilize law, specifically human rights law, to enforce climate infractions.

The full extent of justice for climate change is put into practice when law is used to address climate issues. Nicholson and Chong (2011) explain that human rights law is an effective tool for climate change activism since human rights have become embedded into state practice.¹ They state that as an analytical tool, human rights provides a set of ethical precepts that frames climate change as an issue of justice and “provides moral authority for calls to action” (Nicholson and Chong 2011, p. 126). They go on to argue that human rights law provides better mechanisms for dealing with climate change than environmental law because human rights violations are easily leveraged to politically shame violators.

¹ Nicholson and Chong list four mechanisms by which human rights have become integrated into state politics:

- 1) Human rights are preserved through both international treaties and many national constitutions (and referred to by some judicial systems).
- 2) Human rights are becoming a primary concern for foreign policy.
- 3) There many institutions, particularly NGOs, which monitor and report human rights violations with the UN and also state actors.
- 4) The increasing number of NGOs has resulted in greater accountability for violations through “naming and shaming” (p. 125).

1.3 NGOs and Climate Change, Communication

Many development agencies have become politically engaged with climate change given that it is an issue that links together human suffering and environmental degradation. Additionally, this issue offers global relatedness, since it affects everyone.

Oxfam International is one such development agency that has become an advocate for climate change issues. At the time that this research was started, the lead-up to the 2009 UNFCCC Copenhagen meeting, Oxfam was a key international NGO involved in this domain. Indeed, a huge climate change campaign dominated much of its work that year. Today, climate change is one of fifteen issues that Oxfam focuses on. Oxfam's 2009 climate change campaign advocated for the financial and political support of developing world people on the issue of climate change.

In recent years Oxfam, and other NGOs, have begun to change their roles and increasingly focus on advocacy campaigns. A problem that arises here is the issue of representation. The process of representation is a problematic one, which is addressed by the post colonial and subaltern literatures that form the theoretical frame for this thesis.

1.4 Theoretical Frame

Post colonial literatures emphasize the continued legacy of colonialism and is centered around the concept of agency. These literatures are critical of power relationships between the formerly colonized and colonizer, utilizing the themes of metanarratives, orientalism, Northern/Southern hemisphere divide and history. From a postcolonial perspective, history presents a view of the world in which there is a division between the North and South hemispheres that is both apparent and permanent. Amin (1989; 1993) argues that expansion

of capitalism that accompanied colonialism is the root cause of the division of the world into industrialized and non-industrialized countries. He, and other post colonial theorists, propose to re-imagine the world as “radically heterogeneous” once again (Chakrabarty 1992, p. 1515). This line of argumentation points to the need to challenge the essentializing metanarratives of history that portrays all colonized subjects as being homogenous.

Another criticism coming out of postcolonial theory is that the idea of history itself is problematic concept since it is frequently constructed as a metatnarrative centered around a story of Europe as an unfolding story of progress (Chakrabarty 1992). By emphasizing the singularity of history, a single narrative acts as an account of colonized people that infrequently creates room for the subjects to speak for themselves. This, in turn, is seen as fostering a cultural dichotomy that presents the colonizer and the colonized as binary opposites. Following this, Nandy (1987) claims that sometimes the very idea of history victimizes the peripheries of the world.

Subaltern studies, is a sub-field of postcolonial research that stresses that developing world people comprise a diversity of cultures and cannot be reduced to a single perspective (Iverson 1997). It is centered upon the idea that the “agency, subjectivity, and modes of sociality” of colonized people have been suppressed by opposed by the beliefs legitimized by colonial institutions (Iverson 1997, p. 2025). By tackling the manner in which a varied group of people (whose narratives may not have historical values) can be represented and represent themselves, subaltern studies seeks to embrace “radical heterogeneity” (Chakrabarty 1992, p. 1515)

The primary theme of is subaltern studies representation. As such, this theoretical avenue addresses the challenges developing world people and cultures may have in speaking

and representing themselves. Spivak (1996) contends that the subaltern subject needs a clear space to resist their subalternity and speak. In her view, this process is not just about telling the stories of marginalized people. What is required, according to Spivak, is to learn how to better represent subaltern voices and to work to help subaltern voices be heard.

1.5 Central Research Question

In order to investigate representations of developing world agency in climate change discourses, this thesis is guided by the following central research question: *To what extent do developing countries and people have agency in Oxfam International's climate change campaign?*

In addition to the central research question, two sub-research questions further guide this study:

- 1) *How are power relations between NGOs and developing world countries framed in Oxfam International's climate change discourse?*
- 2) *Is Oxfam International's climate change campaign creating space for subaltern voices to speak?*

The methodology employed for this study consisted of a combined content and discourse analysis of a sampling of 105 of Oxfam International's climate campaign documents from the 2009-year including 76 Press releases, 26 Web Pages and 3 reports.

1.6 Structure

This thesis is divided into six chapters. This introductory chapter has provided the political context and background, as well as introduced the theoretical themes that guided this thesis. The next chapter examines the development, agency, post colonial and subaltern study literatures that make up the theoretical basis of this thesis. It reveals the foundational

concepts of representation, orientalism, metanarratives, space for subalterns to speak and the historical inequality in the representation of developing world people. This framework provides the theoretical constructs by which agency is investigated in this thesis. The third chapter offers an overview of the NGO literature, highlighting how NGOs have evolved over time and how they use different communication strategies to engage their audience(s). The third chapter also reveals the methodology that was utilized, which combined content analysis and critical discourse analysis to examine inequalities in the representation of developing world subject in relation to the developed world through six concepts (representation of the subject, agency through verbs, space or voice, the division of north and south, testimony and metanarratives).

In the fourth chapter, the quantitative findings from the content analysis are divulged. The content analysis uncovered some inequalities in the way developing and developed world subjects were represented in the Oxfam documents, as the developing world was shown to be more passive and was granted less space in the campaign compared to the developed world. This demonstrated some inequalities in the treatment of these two subjects and a minimizing of developing world agency. In the following chapter, the critical discourse analyses of the selected documents are discussed. These findings illustrate themes of testimony use for the developing world and themes of economics, responsibility and climate justice for the developed world. The fifth chapter expounds upon the findings of the previous chapter, speaking to the theoretical framework and discussing the major themes of the subjects including testimony and economics. This chapter identified metanarratives of economics and climate justice. Overall this chapter demonstrated a tendency for the developed world to be shown as responsible for contributing to economic solutions while the

developing world was often shown as victimized. The final chapter reexamines the research questions investigated by this thesis with regards to the findings of the content and critical discourse analyses. In doing so the final chapter concludes that the agency of developing world people was minimized in Oxfam's 2009 climate change campaign, as well as acknowledging the limitations of this thesis and potential for future research.

Chapter 2: On one's own behalf: Agency and the Subaltern

The purpose of this chapter is to set the foundation for investigating the agency of people in the developing world as manifest through the actions of prominent international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) with regard to the issue of climate change. The discussion begins by outlining the relationship between three principal development paradigms and the issue of agency. It continues with a review of contending conceptions of agency and sets out the definition of agency adopted for this thesis. After examining the ways in which agency is understood in postcolonial and subaltern studies literatures, the chapter concludes with the presentation of the central research question guiding this thesis.

2.1 Development Paradigms

Historically, the notion of development has been equated with economic growth and industrialization, with gross national product (GNP)² and gross national income (GNI)³ being seen as the principal metrics for assessing success. This reflects, in part, the long dominance of the so-called modernization view of development. According to the tenets of this perspective, economic success embodies the height of civilization, with consumerism and a rise in the income per capita being the primary signifiers of a mature or developed economy (Rostow 1990). This view often is critiqued for privileging the location of central power in major urban centers and for adhering to a top-down model of development that embraces the adage of *the west knows best*.⁴ Furthermore, it is seen to propagate an economically oriented

² Gross National Product (GNP) is the total value of all the goods and services produced in an economy, plus the value of the goods and services imported, less the value of the goods and services exported.

³ Gross National Income (GNI) is the total value of all the goods and services produced in an economy, along with the total income received from other countries, less the payments made to other countries.

⁴ During the last quarter century, the modernization paradigm has taken the form of a neoliberal development model that emphasizes the benefits to be accrued from the privatization and liberalization of markets (Barbara, 2008).

view of development that seemingly adheres to the maxim that the ends justify the means, regardless of the cultural, environmental, psychological, political or social consequences thereof.

These elements manifest themselves clearly in the works of the founders of modernization theory, such as Lerner (1958), Rostow (1960) and Schramm (1964), who proclaimed western culture's democracy and capitalist economies as the height of progress.⁵ Lerner's (1958) contribution to the modernization perspective, rests in his argument that urbanization and exposure to new information are the two most important factors that facilitate modernization. In line with this view, he developed a communication model that sought to prime traditional societies to better receive development by disseminating information through the mass media. Rostow (1960) focused his attention on the economics of development. He maintained that development was an evolutionary process consisting of five stages, beginning with a traditional society (which Rostow describes as a tribal society with no media) and ending with a high-consumption based, capitalist society as the highest stage of progress. According to the tenets of his model, other lesser-developed countries could achieve economic growth and, hence, development by replicating the American experience. Schramm (1964) emphasized the pivotal importance of communication for development arguing that the more advanced an economy is, the faster messages need to be received. He also stressed that communication could improve the quality of life for people in the developing world by augmenting the resources of schools and encouraging people to seek education.

⁵ We note here that the term 'progress' is in itself problematic especially when used to critique another culture using one's own (culture's) values.

An early critique of modernization theory arose from scholars located principally in Latin America in the form of the *Dependencia* or dependency perspective. According to this school of thought, the exploitation of developing countries via colonialism and the expansion of capitalist markets created their underdevelopment (Frank 1967; Hendelman 2003).

According to Frank (1967), underdevelopment encompasses:

1. economic underdevelopment – i.e., unequal income distribution, poor infrastructure and low per-capita income.
2. social underdevelopment – i.e., public policies that do not enable access to health or education
3. political underdevelopment – i.e., weaknesses in the structure and the efficacy of the government institutions that carry out essential tasks such as maintaining security, collecting taxes, contributing to economics

Underdevelopment can also be understood as a state of living in which individuals have a poor quality of life that is characterized by absolute poverty and restrictions on the options available to sustain one's own needs. This manner of being is positively correlated with one or more of the following: high death rates, high birth rates, economies that are stagnant and dependent on foreign investment, low income per capita, poor health services, and limited or no access to education (ReliefWeb, 2010). From this perspective, development and underdevelopment are inseparable socio-economic processes that take the form of a zero-sum game in which the development of the West was, and is, achieved at the expense of others (Servaes 2004).

Proponents of the dependency perspective advocate for developing countries to reclaim their sovereignty by pursuing an independent route to their development, including detaching themselves from the international economy (Servaes 2004). However, development strategies grounded in this approach have been widely critiqued as infeasible given the high levels of international debts owed by the developing countries and the weaknesses of their economies (Servaes, 2004). This has led some observers to suggest that

the dependency perspective actually limits the possibility of cultivating economic power internally because it emphasizes power from external factors without offering internal solutions (Hendelman 2003).⁶

The latest development paradigm is the capabilities approach, and is based on the work of Amartya Sen. It seeks to foster social change by advancing a conceptual and policy framework for evaluating and tackling power inequalities at domestic and international levels. Sen argues that a strong economy does not guarantee a high quality of life, and correspondingly, poor economic factors do not guarantee a low quality of life. He demonstrates that development cannot be minimized to economic factors such as GNI as there are many other important factors that contribute to a person's overall well being and life experience (e.g. access to adequate education, health care, civil rights). According to Sen (1999), a comprehensive view of development entails the augmenting of human freedoms, and "requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom" including poverty and insecurity (p. 3). These sources of unfreedom are, in his view, reflective of human rights violations in specific and broad terms.⁷

In advancing his claims, Sen focuses on what he refers to as instrumental freedoms, which include: political freedoms (such as free speech), economic facilities (such as opportunity to participate in trade), social opportunities (for example education), transparency guarantees (meaning that dealings between persons and organizations have

⁶ Recent advancements in the practical implementation of dependency-based national development strategies appear to have addressed this matter by advocating the notion of 'nationalist capitalist economy', whereby a country participates in the global economy while still retaining a level of independence and maintaining strong internal economics (Kohli, 2009). Evidence of such an approach can be seen in the development strategies pursued by the former president of Brazil, Fernando Cardoso.

⁷ For example, Sen (1999) identifies political tyranny as a source of unfreedom that contradicts the universal right to a fair government chosen by the people.

open disclosure) and protective security (which refers to a social safety net benefits). In his view, freedom enhances the capabilities of the people to “lead the kind of lives they value” (p. 18) and it is this premise that underpins his claim that expanding freedom is both a means *and* end of development.

Sen proclaims that freedom is essential to development for two reasons. Firstly, the expansion of people’s freedom is a marker of development progress because it directly influences one’s ability to lead the kind of life one values and has reason to value. Secondly, attaining development is contingent on “the free agency of the people” (1999, p. 4). Realizing and/or achieving development, he maintains, entails using a “support-led process” (Sen 1999, p. 46) that helps to sustain relevant social arrangements. This strategy, in turn, is hypothesized to increase quality of life much faster and for a greater number of persons than development models that give primacy to economic growth.

In addition to the efficacy of a development model, it also is important to consider its sustainability since humans and the environment interact to generate mutual well-being. Each of the three development paradigms discussed thus far act as theoretical footings upon which development praxis stands. These foundations have evolved over time, as have their respective conceptions of agency. Since the modernization approach to development champions western ideals and methods, it may be argued that constrains the agency of people by limiting their decision-making power. By contrast, the dependency paradigm places developing world people at the center of development by seeking to remove outside influences altogether. The capabilities approach emphasizes the importance of developing world people deciding the terms upon which they develop as well as the outcomes of that development.

In the next section, varying perspectives on agency are examined and the operational definition of agency adopted for this thesis is set out.

2.2 The Concept of Agency

The issue of inequality is central to this thesis. As such, the concept of agency serves as a crucial analytical tool. In general terms, agency refers to the ability of an individual to act in accordance with his or her own free will, autonomous of outside affects. A recurring point of contention with regard to agency is the extent to which an individual's agency is affected or limited by societal arrangements or structures. This debate pits those who view social structures as determining human behavior against those who maintain that human behavior is determined by human agency.

There is, however, a third position that seeks to balance these contending perspectives. For instance, through his theory of structuration, Giddens (1995) argues that while an individual's knowledge and actions are influenced by social structures, humans are knowledgeable actors whose actions have created (and continue to influence) social structures. In essence, Giddens points to the mutual constitution of structure and agent, or what often is called the duality of structure. Elaborating on this notion he suggests that:

All social action consists of social practices, situated in time-space, and organized in a skilled and knowledgeable fashion by human agents. But such knowledgeability is always 'bounded' by unacknowledged conditions of action on the one side, and unintended consequences of action on the other (Giddens 1995, p. 19).

Here, Giddens is pointing out that although humans are the creators of structure, things we cannot predict and factors we cannot know, limit our awareness of structure. Thus, we are neither fully free from the influence of structure nor completely bounded by it.

He also raises another important point in noting that “power is rooted in the nature of human agency, and thus, in the ‘freedom to act otherwise’” (Giddens 1995, p. 4). By connecting notions of power with the “freedom to act otherwise”, Giddens appears to be speaking of resistance (p. 4). When we exercise our agency against something, we resist it. We can choose, of our free will, to exercise our personal power by making choices in opposition to the influence of structure, and perhaps even change the structure we resist.

Both Ahearn (2001) and Morris (2001) note that it is important to distinguish agency from free will insofar as agency requires cognizance or intention. Ahearn (2001) avers that when agency is expressed as being synonymous with free will, a person or group’s ability to be critical of power relations, conflict or social change is limited. If agency is just another means of expressing free will, then the freedom to act is in the freedom to choose, and choice is available to everyone. Ergo, if everyone has the ability to act as their free will appoints, then we are all solely responsible for our quality of life based on our choices. Conversely, if the freedom to act is equivalent to the freedom to choose, then the idea of social stratification bears little meaning. Following this line of reasoning, if agency is the same as free will, then social inequality is reduced to a comparison of life choices, with no consideration for differing life experiences or opportunities.

Like Giddens, Foucault acknowledges the effect of structure on human agency but states, that “power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society” (1980, p. 93). Foucault’s premise about power is that it exists everywhere, because it comes from everywhere. In his view, power is dynamic and changing and does not

originate from one central point.⁸ In his conception of social relations, power is inescapable and incapable of being held. It is present in our relations of power, which is when we choose to act or resist (Foucault 1980). Additionally, one's resistance can become greater, or even revolutionary when the points of resistance in a power relations network come together with a strategy.

While he emphasizes the power of historical and cultural contexts, Foucault also truly believed in human freedom (Foucault 1984). Human freedom, as he perceives it, is expressed in the choices that individuals make or the ways in which they resist in their everyday lives. Therefore, for Foucault, human freedom, and the ways in which individuals choose to enact it, becomes human agency.

According to Archer (2000), the greatest weakness of the agency arguments is the disconnect between the “parts and the people” (p. 2). She claims that human beings “are realists naturistically” insofar as individuals dynamically navigate between societal structures, their identities and their choices on a daily basis (2000, p. 2). This “continuous sense of self” is, in her view, created and reinforced in society with human beings and human society mutually shaping one another (Archer 2000, p. 3). Thus, if humans create and change society, and society influences human behavior and helps to create individual identities, it is erroneous, in her view, to separate humans and society into two distinct categories.

Another aspect of the concept of agency is the issue of whose agency is being referred to. Morris et al. (2001) note that the idea of agency belonging to an individual is primarily a North American concept. This individualistic perspective of agency has been

⁸ In the *History of Sexuality* Foucault speaks about resistance always existing alongside power but never being outside of it.

critiqued as exclusionary, given that in many other parts of the world agency is viewed as belonging to an institution or a group comprised of several individuals (Shaw 2001). Since this thesis looks at messages produced internationally, concerning a variety of individuals and groups from different cultural backgrounds, it is important to utilize a broader definition of agency that applies to a multitude of subjects and backgrounds. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, agency is defined as the power to act and speak for oneself or on one's own behalf (or as a group).

2.3 Postcolonial Theory and Agency

Colonial legacies are the epitome of unequal power relations since the power and agency of colonized peoples was discursively and literally repressed by colonial cultures and actions CITE. Postcolonial theory provides a framework for combating the discursive harms and social inequalities arising from colonial legacies. Proponents of this perspective maintain that agency is a central theme within postcolonial literatures and, as such, interrogate the power relations coming out of colonialism through the more specific themes of metanarratives, orientalism, Northern/Southern hemisphere divide and history. For example, Fox (2008) explains that it is precisely the context of social inequality that is at the core of postcolonial theory because “without the context of economic exploitation or social marginalization, without understanding the ways of thinking and feeling interpreted through the stories of particular participants, the analysis of colonialism is suspended outside reality” (p. 336).

The phenomenon of decolonization is ongoing and is evidenced in the colonial mentalities that continue to this day,⁹ as well as the persisting inequalities it sustains (Brydon

⁹ Some examples of lingering colonial mentalities include the idea that there is a clear division between the developed and developing worlds, the idea that there is one distinct world history (and that it was produced

2000). Verges (2002), raises the following question about this issue: “If colonialism is about settling a territory to capitalize on its resources, to train and educate the natives so that they can become active members in the global project of ‘progress’, are we not witnessing a new era of colonialism?” (p. 352). She further explicates that the actions of many corporations and some NGOs embody the colonial model in contemporary times. Seen in this light, colonialism can be understood as an example of what Galtung (1996) calls structural violence, or the harm incurred due to inequalities that are built into societal structures.¹⁰ Violence in this context is claimed to manifest itself through systemic inequalities in addition to the more commonly held understanding of violence as something that results directly from one individual’s actions upon another.¹¹

In line with this view, Parry (2002) cites colonialism as an economically and politically integral project of expansionist Western capitalism in which culture serves as a means for exacting power. In other words, colonization influenced culture with an ideology based on inequality between the colonizer and the colonized. To this end, she appears to be suggesting that an oppressive culture impinges upon agency of some people or groups more than others. In her view, remnants of colonialist relations in Western culture can be a means for continuing Western dominance. In effect, she sees culture itself as a vehicle through which colonialist ideals are continually reinforced by advocating the superiority and control of Western cultures.

by Europe), the imposition of feminine characteristics on developing world cultures and the cultivation and prizing of masculine characteristics in developed cultures.

¹⁰ Galtung (1996) describes the colonial process as an “original input of mega-violence which was used to build the structure known as colonialism, still to a large extent operational after decolonialization” (p. 8)

¹¹ Although the term ‘structural violence’ is central to much postcolonial research, it garners much opposition. Fuchs (1992), for instance, claims that the idea of structural violence delegitimizes leadership and its representatives, thereby vindicating resistance against leadership. Boulding (1977) likewise is critical of the notion of structural violence, suggesting this term is merely a synonym for inequality.

In terms of agency, this implies that culture can negatively affect human agency if its values are based on inequality and/or oppression. In other words, removing the symptoms of oppression is not the same as solving the problem of inequality because “an oppressive social system” can be maintained by deflecting forms of reflexivity¹² and autonomy as emasculating an undesirable (Nandy 1987, p. 1756). Elaborating on this notion, Nandy (1987) uses the example of the subordination of women to advance the claim that improving the political position of women does not address the deeper cultural inequalities of femininity. He goes on to argue that it is important to acknowledge that the perceived differences between developed and developing cultures are merely an interpretive phenomenon. According to this line of argumentation, it follows, that the idea that the developed and the developing worlds exist separate from one another, and/or as distinct opposites, is a social construction.

Postcolonial theory as a framework of analysis challenges the validity of meta-narratives,¹³ on the grounds that universalized interpretations are reminiscent of the ethnocentrism experienced during the colonialism period and, thus, do not support the expression of a diversity of modes of being (Iverson 1997). For example, from the perspective of postcolonial theory the idea of history itself is claimed to be problematic given that history constitutes a metanarrative that all too frequently features solely an account of Europe as an unfolding story of progress (Chakrabarty 1992). At issue here, is that this version of history

¹² The term reflexivity refers to a self-awareness of causes and effects in society, thus producing a more objective view of culture and ideology. See, (Swartz, D. 1997)

¹³ Stephens and McCallum (1998, p. 6) define metanarrative as “a global or totalizing cultural narrative schema which orders and explains knowledge and experience.”

was and continues to be widely promoted as truth, without acknowledging that this version of truth is something that was created by the colonizers.¹⁴

According to Nandy (1987), sometimes it is the very idea of history that victimizes the peripheries of the world. Emphasizing the singularity of history fosters a single narrative that provides an account of colonized people while rarely allowing them to speak for themselves. This, in turn, is seen as fostering a cultural dichotomy that presents the colonizer and the colonized as binary opposites. For example, Amin (1989) argues that the manner in which Europe has constructed the history of itself is Orientalist¹⁵ on two fronts. First, European writers have sought to differentiate Europe from the Oriental cultures by portraying Europe as possessing masculine characteristics and the Orient as possessing stereotypically feminine characteristics. Evidence of this, it is claimed, may be seen in the propensity for the colonizer to be portrayed as “tough, courageous, openly aggressive, hyper-masculine rulers” and the colonized as “sly, cowardly, passive-aggressive, womanly subject[s]” (Nandy 1987, p. 1761). This dichotomy, it is argued, has a polarizing effect on opposing cultures and has created an inherent hyper-masculinity in the colonizing cultures (Said 1978).

The second facet of Orientalism is the apparent racism with which European history is executed. According to Amin (1989), the history of Europe is grounded in two myths: that of Greek ancestry and that of overarching European Christianity.¹⁶ He argues that discourses

¹⁴ This situation is illustrative of Foucault’s (1980) assertion that, “Truth is not by nature free but imbued with relations of power” (p. 60).

¹⁵ The term Orientalist is defined as a perspective that views the world as divided into those belonging to the Occident (West) and those belonging to the Orient, and which proclaims the values of the Occident as superior to those of the Orient.

¹⁶ He notes that the Ancient Greeks identified themselves as belonging to the cultural area of the Orient and, in fact, adopted much knowledge from the Egyptians and Phoenicians, with half of their language being

associated with these myths proclaim Greece as the cultural foundation of Europe and as solely European. It is in this manner, he avers, that Europe roots its culture in the rationality of ancient Greece and lays claim to inherent Occidental rationality (as opposed to Oriental irrationality). From a postcolonial perspective, the (mis)construction of history also asserts that there is a permanent, obvious, and geographically distinct division between the North and South. This conceptual cleavage is seen to foster a form of racism based on geography that Amin (1989) labels “geographic determinism” (p. 1678). The division of the world into industrialized and non-industrialized countries, he maintains, was actualized by the expansion of capitalism that accompanied and sometimes fueled colonialism, and the subsequent absorption of non-industrialized countries into an economic system that polarized peripheries against capitalist centers in Europe (Amin 1989; Amin 1993). The overall result, in his view, is that the West conceives of itself as “promethean par *excellence*” in contrast with other civilizations (Amin 1989, p. 1680).

According to Chakrabarty (1992), the solution to tackling what he perceives as the insidious nature of history rests in the provincialization of Europe. To this end, he suggests that history needs to be reframed to distinguish European history as belonging to one specific area as opposed to comprising world history. He also posits that it is important to acknowledge within these histories how Europeans as well as developing world nationalisms equated the idea of modernity with European culture.¹⁷ This process proposes to re-imagine the world as “radically heterogeneous” once again (Chakrabarty 1992, p. 1515). This line of

borrowed from these cultures. In terms of Christianity, he points out that this religion was born in the Orient and took some time to be adopted by the West.

¹⁷ In this instance, the use of the word nationalisms by Chakrabarty (2000) refers to the persons from the developing world that conformed to the modern colonial culture in hopes of gaining citizenship in the colonizing nation state.

argumentation points to the need to challenge homogenous and/or homogenizing metanarratives of history that portray all colonized subjects as being essentially the same.

Postcolonial theory further asserts that particular uses of language are also important to decoding colonial interpretations of history insofar as certain linguistic forms are indicative of colonial ideologies. For instance, in his analysis of the relationship between the use of language around defendants in colonial courts of law and the sentencing process,¹⁸ Amin (1987) identified a positive correlation between the form of narration (e.g. first person, second person) and the court's perceptions of a defendant's culpability. Commenting on this study, Das (1989) asserted that what was particularly noteworthy in this regard was the identification of a relationship between first person forms in a guilty plea and likelihood of being pardoned. She also defined tense as being a definitive factor in the judgment of defendants, since statements formed in the present tense were taken as representing truths, while those formed in the past tense were seen to be indicative of actions being questioned. Put simply, defendants that implicated themselves directly (e.g. I did...) and who provided sufficient prehistories about the Chauri Chaura riots that implicated other people were pardoned.

In addition to being a means of investigating postcolonial themes, variance in language use can be seen in the way in which location is portrayed in relation to culture. Fox (2008) explains that postcolonial theory and research is *necessarily* tied to specific locations because without a sense of place postcolonial research cannot be meaningfully conducted. To

¹⁸ Amin's research in this instance consisted of a textual analysis of the trial proceedings of a colonial case called Chauri Chaura Thana. This case concerns the historic legal proceedings of a series of riots in the Chauri Chaura area of India, under colonial rule of the British in 1922. The perpetrators were demonstrating for a combination of reasons, including Gandhian ideals and nationalism. Of particular interest to Amin was the lack of record of the views or testimony of the rioters, with the exception of the approver.

this end, postcolonial perspectives seek to advance the importance of valuing the local and the particular over the global and general¹⁹ as a counteraction of the effects of global capitalism (Iverson 1997).

2.3.1 Limits of Postcolonial Theory

There are a number of limitations with postcolonial theory that affect its efficacy as a framework for critical scholarship and social change. Among the key shortcomings of this framework is the propensity of postcolonial perspectives to fall into the trap of cultural relativity that fails to acknowledge and/or investigate oppressive gender, social and other practices that manifest themselves in local and traditional cultures.²⁰ Instead, primacy is given to defending existing local traditions and cultures.

Critics of cultural relativism argue that adherence to radical forms of relativism impedes the ability to stand in opposition to human rights abuses, since cultural relativity immobilizes people from taking action. For example, cultural relativism maintains that rape as a form of punishment against women for perceived misdeeds in certain contexts is perfectly legitimate *precisely because* it is a local practice and, as such, should not be judged by any standard other than 'local' standards. Indeed, from the position of cultural relativism the desire to apply universal gender rights, however noble, can be seen as consisting of colonial undertones because it is premised on the assumption that a Western moral interpretation is infallible and globally applicable.

¹⁹ It should be noted that valuing the local and specific over the global and general can be problematic and fall into the realm of cultural relativism, where anything local, on the premise that it is local, is sanctioned even if a local practice creates other inequalities or oppression. This issue is discussed in more detail below in section 2.3.1.

²⁰ Cultural relativism asserts that values are culturally based (different in each culture), thus we cannot judge the moral correctness of another culture (Donnelly, 1984).

A second area of concern pertains to the emphasis that postcolonial research places on analyzing the messages produced by the colonizer. Brydon (2000), for example, posits that focusing on colonial texts risks adversely affecting the creation of new cultural products in previously colonized environments, and that “deconstructing imperialism keeps us within imperialisms’ orbit” (p. 8). She suggests that in order to achieve greater equality between developing world scholarship and scholarship produced by colonizing cultures, it is important to spend more time analyzing (and thus bringing attention to) the work of developing world scholars. Put simply, the focus should be on that which we wish to support.

Postcolonial scholarship also has been critiqued on the grounds that many of its key proponents are literary scholars who have no jurisdiction to speak on subjects following outside of the realm of their disciplinary training (Moore Gilbert 1997). At issue here, is the fact that academics trained in literature are speaking with perceived authority on issues of social inequality. Some have even gone so far as to attack the legitimacy of post colonialism due to its resistance to referencing predecessors to its work (i.e. the Western literature that was published on these topics previously)(Moore Gilbert 1997). However, the premise that a discipline’s legitimacy is established by referencing notable European works is in direct opposition with the postcolonial principle of supporting solely developing world scholarship (which is still in the process of being produced).

Another critique levied against the postcolonial framework is that many of its key proponents have moved to the Western academy where they publish and pursue their postcolonial analyses. This, it is claimed, places these migrant intelligentsia outside of the colonial context both geographically and academically (Moore Gilbert 1997). The charge raised here is that the activity of these scholars from a privileged position that is severed

from developing world struggles replicates the international division of labour (Moore Gilbert 1997).

A fourth limitation relates to what Goldberg and Quayson (2002) describe as the propensity of postcolonial theory to be located everywhere and nowhere, absorbing any material that serves its purpose to attend its cause.

In spite of the above limitations postcolonial theory is nonetheless successful in bringing to light some of the ways in which colonial modalities can adversely affect agency by limiting the opportunities of an individual or group to speak or act for themselves, of their own free will. The field of Subaltern studies expands upon these themes. Its contribution to understanding the relationship between representation and agency is discussed in the next section.

2.4 Subalternity

Subaltern studies, is a field of study closely related to postcolonial research that focuses on the “agency, subjectivity, and modes of sociality” that have been suppressed by colonial institutions and opposed by the beliefs legitimized by colonial institutions, while emphasizing that developing world people comprise a diversity of cultures and cannot be reduced to a single perspective (Iverson 1997, p. 2025). Ultimately, subaltern studies seeks to embrace “radical heterogeneity” by addressing the ways in which a varied group of people

whose stories may or may not have historical value, can be represented,²¹ and how they represent themselves (Chakrabarty 1992, p. 1515).²²

The central issue of interest in this context relates to the perceived difficulty of developing world persons and/or cultures to speak for or represent themselves. Das (1989), for instance, notes that most of the recorded history of colonial subjects centers around being in conflict with western institutions such as police, bureaucracy or courts of law. This, she claims, results in colonial subjects or subalterns being seen as active individuals in a moment of resisting the domination of the oppressor on the one hand, while simultaneously being depicted in a moment of defeat (given that they are accounted in bureaucratic reports or courts of law) on the other hand. As a result, the actual discourses produced about the subaltern may capture their voice but only as it has “been appropriated by superior forms of authority” (Das 1989, p. 1482).

This theme has been readily explored by one of the founders of the subaltern field of study, Ranajit Guha. In one of his foundational pieces, *Chandra's Death*, Guha (1997) thoroughly examines the legal case of a woman who died by ingesting medication administered by her sister. In this case, the legal documents contort the order of the testimony of Chandra's sister “to conform to the logic of a legal intervention which made the death into a murder, a caring sister into murderess, all the actants in this tragedy into defendants” (Guha, 1997, pp. 140-141). He explains that the document of Chandra's death is

²¹ Spivak (1987) argues that if postcolonial writers renounce their history, they refuse to acknowledge that their thinking has been formed as colonial subjects. On the other hand, she makes it apparent that “the consciousness of ourselves as colonial subjects is itself modified by our own experience and by the relation we establish to our intellectual traditions” (Das, 1989, p. 1478)

²² Chakrabarty (1992) proposes that a true mode of self-representation lies in Homi Bhabba's notion of ‘mimetic’ whereby a western behavior or norm is interpreted and modified by developing and transitioning countries to better fit local cultures.

missing context, which is invaluable in understanding historical accounts, most especially narratives. Historiography, according to Guha, ignores the finer details of social life in which the subaltern subject exists. Thus, it is the job of the subaltern scholar to reclaim these details and stories through a critical historiography (Guha, 1997).

The principal issue here is best summarized by the title of a groundbreaking article published in 1988 by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: *Can the subaltern speak?* In posing this question, she is asking if a subaltern has a voice within discourse, whether represented, spoken for or overlooked. She answers that history is evidence that the subaltern cannot, in fact, speak, noting that the lack of voice is further compounded for the subaltern woman. To this end, she stresses that the experience of subaltern women is of special interest/concern since “in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern female is even more deeply in shadow” (Spivak, 1988, p. 83). By this she is referring to the fact that colonized women are twice marginalized: first by their gender, and second by their position as a colonial subject.²³

For Spivak, what is required to give voice to the subaltern subject is a clear space for her/him to speak and to work against their subalternity. This process, in her view, is not simply a matter of relating stories of marginalized people. Instead, what is required is to learn how to better represent subaltern voices and to work to help subaltern voices be heard. Critical to this learning process is the need to recognize that when the stories of marginalized people are retold by dominant voices, more commonly than not, the subjects are re-subordinated and othered, and construed as victims of their cultures (Fox 2008).

²³ In an interview that took place some eight years after the publication of her article, Spivak elaborated on what she meant by her claim that the ‘subaltern cannot speak’ by pointing out that, “even when the subaltern makes an effort to the death to speak, she is not able to be heard, and speaking and hearing complete the speech act. That’s what it had meant and anguish marked the spot” (1996, p.292).

A common way of representing the subaltern is by using narratives. However, this brings its own challenges. Efforts to operationalize the approach outlined above can be seen in Razack's (1998) discussion of the use of storytelling. Razack explains that storytelling (or the use of narrative) is an important tool for social change because it helps us to break down the barriers of difference and to resist inequality. However, she contends that when using stories we must be careful to address the difference between the person telling the story and the listener. She provides an example of the use of storytelling in a volume of collected stories of Canadian immigrant women that was created to celebrate and support their voices. Razack points out that this volume was produced in search of the personal stories of female subjects and poses a number of questions about the use of this collection of narratives:

To what uses will these stories be put? Will someone take and theorize them? [...] Who will control how they are used? Will immigrant women tell a particular kind of story in a forum they do not control? Such dilemmas are evident wherever storytelling is used (Razack 1998, p. 38).

These questions underscore how problematic representing marginalized persons can be, and implies the vulnerability in situations where subjects lack control over how their stories are presented. Razack maintains that it is vitally important to be reflexive of even the best methods of representation, since representation is as challenging as it is necessary. In other words, she perceives a need for vigilance in efforts to listen to marginalized voices and to represent them in the most accurate way possible.

Consequently, from the perspective of subaltern studies, in undertaking narrative research it is better to create space for the subaltern voices and to acknowledge that doing so is problematic, than to deny the possibility of creating such a space so as to avoid the inherent challenges (Spivak 1990). Put simply, the act of being heard is more important than the telling of a story (Spivak 1990). Echoing this view, Fox (2008) maintains that the best

way to address issues of representation through the use of narratives is to “disrupt the gaze of the dominant researcher and reader” by cultivating an awareness of the various lenses (e.g. psychological, cultural, economic, and political) through which researchers operate (p. 345-6). This calls into question the appropriate role of academics and researchers in representing the subaltern.

Spivak (1988) maintains that the intellectual²⁴ has a role in recounting the stories of the subaltern, provided that in doing so s/he does not analyze or contribute their own perspective on the story. In taking this position, she appears to be building on Foucault’s (1984) assertion that the principal role of the intellectual in society is not to inform people of how they should act or to speak on the behalf of others, but to constantly provide a critical voice for everything we take for granted. This is to be achieved by “disturb[ing] people’s mental habits” through the questioning of oneself, societal institutions, societal rules and the ways in which one acts and thinks (Foucault 1984, p.265). Spivak (1988) also notes that, while speaking on others’ behalf is a heady task it is possible for the intellectual to aid in the “consolidation of the international division of labour” (p. 69). Essentially, she appears to be calling for intellectuals to use their position and their research (i.e., providing useful critiques, analyses, etc.) to raise awareness, with the aim of minimizing the disparity between the developing and developed worlds.

Speaking directly on the subject of agency, Spivak (1996) notes that “the idea of agency comes from the principle of accountable reason, that one acts with responsibility, that one has to assume the possibility of intention, one has to assume even the freedom of

²⁴ Spivak does not directly define the intellectual but does set out what the intellectual is not: the oppressed or the subject of desire. The reader is left to assume that the intellectual is, perhaps, a person who is University educated (in the least) and holds a position in which they have a platform to represent others with their authority.

subjectivity in order to be responsible” (p. 294). This suggests that one must first have the ability to act within the structure and, subsequently, one’s intentions hold one accountable. This interpretation emphasizes structure over choice in relation to agency expressed at an individual level, because in order to be responsible for one’s actions one must first be acting as a free subject.

Since agency revolves around the ability to speak or act on one’s own behalf, the issue of subaltern voice, or the subaltern’s ability to speak, is directly connected to the agency of subalterns. If a subaltern group or person is unable to speak or act on their own behalf, and must be represented by others, their agency is affected. In this way, the idea of representation, the central theme of subalternity, corresponds to agency.

2.5 Summary and Research Question

This chapter opened with a review of the evolution of the three dominant development paradigms. While development continues to be equated with industrialization and economic growth in many policy arenas, alternative models have given more weight to human rights and augmenting the capabilities of communities. The latter directly challenge the notion of striving for a Western notion of cultural progress. From there, the discussion examined the concept of agency, which serves as the construct by which inequality is examined in this thesis.

The agency of colonized people is a central concern for postcolonialism. This theoretical framework challenges the concepts of history and progress as Western ideas that are presented as universally applicable. Since climate change is a global issue, it is difficult to discuss its relationship to development without involving both the developing and the developed world subjects. This thesis examines how Oxfam International navigates this

discursive space, guided by the central research question: *To what extent do developing world people and countries have agency in Oxfam International's 2009 climate change campaign?*

The discussion in the next chapter examines the role of non-government organizations (NGOs) in representing the agency of developing world people in climate change in the Western world and the methodology used to obtain the empirical evidence in this thesis is presented.

Chapter 3: For Whom do NGOs speak?

The theme of agency is central to this thesis. In Chapter 2, the discussion focused on the ways in which it has been addressed in postcolonial theory and the importance subaltern studies places on expression and representation. The discussion in the first part of this chapter builds upon the themes and concepts outlined in Chapter 2 by examining the role of non-government organizations (NGOs) in representing the agency of developing world people in the Western world. In the second part of the chapter, our attention turns to examining critical discourse analysis as a means for investigating relationships of power and inequality. This is followed by a presentation of the methodological approach used to obtain data for this thesis.

3.1 NGOs and the Evolving Business of Representing Others

NGOs are by definition entities free from direct influence of government (municipal, state/province, federal) who operate at local, regional, and international levels. Willets (2006) defines the NGO as “an independent voluntary association of people acting together on a continuous basis, for some common purpose, other than achieving government office, making money or illegal activities” (para 6).

The formation of the United Nations (U.N.) and its related organizations in 1945 marked a significant moment in the organization of development on an international scale (Berger and Weber 2007). The 1960s was declared the ‘decade of development’ by the U.N., with much of its energy directed at ‘freedom from hunger’ campaigns (Manji and O’Coill 2005, p. 17). These activities spurred the “basic needs-integrated rural development” era of development that lasted until the early 1980s (Ebrahim 2001, p. 85). The focus of development efforts in the 1980s shifted to tackling third world debt (Manji and O’Coill 2005). Throughout this period many NGOs embraced the philosophy of developmentalism,

as described by Vaux (2001) as: “the ‘teach a man to fish’ as opposed to ‘give a man a fish’ school of thought” (p. 46).

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw a growing professionalization of NGOs. During this period, much development policy centered on economic liberalization (i.e. opening developing countries up to global markets) and democratization (i.e. encouraging good governance and democratic politics) and coincided with a shift in the provision of social services (e.g. education, healthcare, sanitation) away from governments to NGOs (Ebrahim 2001). Indeed, the early-to-mid-1990s represented the height of the ‘NGO as welfare provider’ approach, with these organizations being widely perceived as the most effective entities to address a host of development issues (UN-Habitat 2003).

Coinciding with these events, the private sector, combined with consistency in the enforcement of laws and rights, was increasingly promoted as the key to overall economic development (Ebrahim 2001). According to Vestergaard (2008), these changes contributed to NGOs coming to increasingly play an “important role in monitoring global governance and bringing principles and values to the attention of policy makers” (p. 47). However, by the late 1990s, faith in the supremacy of NGOs as a vehicle for reducing poverty waned; a phenomenon that continues to this day.

Despite the reduction in their stature, today NGOs continue to be seen as having three broad roles in the context of developing and transitioning economies (Fulk 2007):

1. Supporting underrepresented or excluded groups.
2. Interceding to assist in overcoming gaps in government services and to provide other humanitarian activities as necessary (e.g. advocacy for AIDS testing).
3. Collecting information and reporting human rights abuses, particularly in crisis and/or conflict areas.

Nonetheless, some observers remain critical of NGOs asserting that they essentially correct one problem by creating others. For instance, Manji & O’Coill (2005) decry an apparent connection between capital and charitable work in the developing world dating back to the climax of free trade in the British Empire. They explain that in the period spanning from the 1840s to the 1920s charitable organizations made conscious efforts to stifle local resistance while doing their good works and that charities were instituted just as much to protect the rich, as they were to help the poor. Citing more recent, yet related phenomenon, Verges (2002) expounds upon an example of an NGO purchasing land in Madagascar in order to protect endangered flora and fauna which he avers infringed upon the agency of the local people from whom it was sold. One of the implications of this transaction, he argues, is a supposition that local people were themselves unable to protect the endangered species residing in the territory.

Nelson (2000) offers another critique of NGOs, asserting that they sometimes guarantee their own involvement, for example in policy making processes, without ensuring the inclusion of the people they are meant to represent. He refers to the difficulty NGOs have dealing with the World Bank as they bounce between critiquing the World Bank’s structural adjustment programs and recommendations, and its lack of accountability, while needing to simultaneously collaborate with it in order to ensure their continued funding. He cites Christian Aid’s 2004 *Who Runs the World* campaign as successful at garnering support for developing countries economic issues, subsequently directing negative attention toward the World Bank, and thus internationalizing national policy issues. Nelson claims that campaigns of this nature can potentially “reduce the significance of local participation by eroding the policy-setting power of borrowing governments” (p. 482).

In sum, the dominant view of Western NGOs suggests that they are simultaneously capable of helping and hindering development initiatives. They have the capacity to provide services that other organizations cannot, while potentially reinforcing western power structures through their work.

3.1.1 NGO Discourses

In pursuing their objectives, regardless of their specific domains of focus, “NGOs acquire, process, frame and communicate information in support of their causes...[to] motivate people to take action” (Fulk 2007, p. 12). As a result, in their campaigning and research communication processes, NGOs that focus on development employ a unique kind of discourse about their work.²⁵ Given that discourse itself has the ability to influence people’s ideas and perception, access to influential discourse (such as one with a potentially global audience) constitutes a form of power (Van Dijk 2001). Stohl & Stohl (2005), for instance, note that the organizational dynamic between NGOs and the contexts within which they operate constructs “an institutional and rhetorical space in which NGOs can either compete and undermine sovereignty and weaken the nation state...or strengthen them” (p. 446).

The challenge of ensuring that NGO discourses positively influence the states in which they work necessitates the use of careful message *framing*. Frames can be described as socially constructed contextual tools that are used to aid individuals in interpreting information from the world, and to guide them about how to act on it (Fulk 2007).²⁶ They are

²⁵ Discourse, in this case, refers to the ways in which NGOs communicate, describe, practice and even think about development (Ebrahim, 2003).

²⁶ Fulk and Stephens (2007) set out four main modes in which framing can be enacted:

1. Bridging: This occurs when two units with comparable frames that have been separate are discursively connected.
2. Amplification: Amplification framing refers to the process by which the importance and immediacy of a current interpretive frame’s is increased.

utilized by NGOs to “inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization” (Benford and Snow 2000, p. 614). This is done by “conceptually linking individual interpretations with organizational [social movement] interpretations, and, in so doing creating congruent interests, values and ideology” (Fulk 2007, p. 11).

In recent years, compassion fatigue,²⁷ combined with a realization that the success of development projects is inhibited by a need for structural changes, has caused Northern NGOs to increasingly shift their organizational strategy toward campaigning and policy work (Leipold 2000). Consequently, some Northern NGOs have worked toward re-branding themselves with the aim of cultivating new modes of legitimacy and new ways of educating donor/participant engagement that are not compassion based (Vestergaard 2008). Evidence of this can be seen, for instance, in an Amnesty International’s (AI) 2004 European commercial *See what you can do*, which replaced themes of compassion with fear (Vestergaard 2008). This advertisement, supported by a web campaign, featured a series of nine vignettes of Western subjects depicted in everyday scenarios that were turned into metaphors for human rights work via sound effects and narration.²⁸ Applying a human rights approach to campaigns requires new modes of representation and new ways of relating to the

3. Extension: This type of framing involves an increase in the coverage of a current frame to include particular concerns for prospective participants, thus adding new ideas to the current frame.

4. Transformation: Transformation framing can be understood as redefining an event, activity or cause previously ascribed to a particular meaning. It seeks to enable messages to be perceived by the receiver in a new way.

²⁷ Compassion fatigue refers to the inability of NGOs to elicit public participation in their causes due to the oversaturation of similar calls to action. See, Moeller, (1999).

²⁸ For example, in one of the scenes, a man disarms an electronic alarm while the words “they release the innocent” are narrated (p. 479). Vestergaard explains that by portraying western subjects in western settings this commercial places the viewer in the scene visually thereby rendering the message more relatable. She also notes that instead of showing images of suffering, AI depicts a sense of danger thus replacing the theme of compassion with fear. By removing compassion as the primary appeal of humanitarian discourse, AI attempts to sidestep the issue of compassion fatigue, and works to re-brand its organization as “action and agency based” (p. 486).

intended audience. In the decade following the events of September 11th 2001, human rights has become the dominant frame for much development work (McLagan 2007a). This has coincided with a rise in the use of testimony²⁹ by development agencies in an effort to unite a transnational public around human suffering (McLagan 2007a).

For example, the Indonesian NGO that advocates for women's rights through the media, Women's Journal Foundation, produced a documentary about sex-trafficking in Indonesia that focused on the testimonies of four female prostitutes, aged 14, 16, 17 and 30 (Lindquist 2010). The film, entitled *Buying and Selling Women and Children* has been extensively shown at countertrafficking conferences in Indonesia and surrounding countries as well as being granted airtime by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and the Oprah Winfrey Show (Lindquist 2010). Operating under the mantra: 'See it. Film it. Change it', Witness is another international NGO, based in New York City, that utilizes testimony by empowering active citizens to record any human rights abuses they observe or experience (Gregory 2008; Witness n.d.). Subsequently, Witness facilitates dialogue with media, policy makers and the public, so that important footage can be seen by large audiences and used to advocate for social change (Witness n.d.).³⁰

McLagan (2007a) argues that testimony is efficacious because it uses pain to bridge the distance between cultures, creating a mimesis.³¹ The end result, she claims, places the

²⁹ Testimony refers to "a first-person narrative in which an individual's account of bodily suffering at the hands of oppressive governments or other agents comes to stand for the oppression of a group" (McLagan, 2007, p. 304).

³⁰ See, www.witness.org

³¹ A mimesis connotes a testimony that can "produce emotion in the spectator in and through conventionalized imagery of struggle. Through an indexical identification with the characters on-screen, then, spectators are 'poised to intervene'" (McLagan 2007a, p. 311).

audience in an empowered position as “potential ethic actors” by giving them the opportunity to intercede in the dilemma presented (McLagan 2007a, p. 315).

Despite the intent for testimony to evoke positive change, it can portray its subjects as victims given that it focuses on the painful experience of the oppressed and, thereby, reinforces a dichotomy of power with vulnerable developing world informants describing their suffering to an empowered western investigator/audience. In the words of Avni (2006) who writes about testimonial representations of the Israeli-Palestine conflict: “in the victimizer-victimized paradigm so often adapted by both activist and mainstream media (even if they differ as to who is the true victim and victimized) both parties are dehumanized as agents incapable of change” (p. 208). That said, testimony could provide oppressed people with an opportunity to tell their own stories. If narratives are not utilized as metanarratives intended to represent entire cultures, countries or hemispheres, testimony as a discursive form speaks to Spivak’s notion of clearing space for subalterns to speak. It seems plausible that developing world people could appear as active agents in development testimony if they were given the opportunity to speak about something other than their suffering, such as what potential solutions they believe would contribute best to alleviating their suffering.

The utilization of digital information and communications technologies has been an important tool in facilitating NGO-based cyber-activism, online organizing, as well as inter- and intra-country supporter mobilization (Fulk 2007). In a recent study of the online public relations efforts of transnational NGOs, Seo, Kim and Yang (2009) found that 75 percent of 230 NGO respondents reported that their organizations’ media strategies had become less dependent upon traditional mass media channels in the light of an increasing uptake of new media technologies. In addition, their findings suggest that transnational NGOs perceive their websites to be the most important new media tool they use.

Globalization and mass media have created a scenario wherein the global community can gather around specific issues, especially if they appear to affect humanity as a whole. Climate change represents such an issue. It affects the entire planet, albeit to varying degrees, and requires the participation of humanity to be resolved. In addition, it is attributed with causing many of the disasters and famines that many NGOs work to address.

In 2009 the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC), the largest global humanitarian organization, began to give increased prominence to climate change matters on its website by providing updates on the UN Climate Change Conference 2009 (COP15), and references to its climate change campaigns (International Federation of the Red Cross, 2009).³² Action Aid, another global NGO that works to tackle global poverty and injustice also used its homepage as a venue for providing updates about COP15 and documentary videos about climate change. Christian Aid UK, used a range of strategies to generate attention for the COP15 meeting including a ‘visual trespass’ initiative that entailed projecting individuals’ climate-messages on the Custom House of British parliament,³³ and online letter-actions³⁴ aimed at U.S. President Barack Obama and the former U.K. Prime Minister Gordon Brown.

Oxfam International, a transnational NGO originating in the UK, also created a major campaign on climate change. In the light of COP15, it supplemented its Climate Change

³² These campaigns linked climate change to disasters and food security. Since 2009, the IFRC has been listing climate change under its disaster response work, as an aggravating factor. The IFRC website has a couple of webpage’s dedicated to climate change information, including the prospective effects of climate change and information about adaptation. See <http://www.ifrc.org/what/disasters/about/factors/climate.asp>; <http://www.ifrc.org/what/disasters/climate-change/index.asp>.

³³ Customs House is where the U.K. government’s environmental office is located.

³⁴ A Letter-action is a political letter addressed to the appropriate official, requesting affirmative action (e.g. the release of a prisoner of conscience). NGOs frequently distribute letter-actions that are pre-written where an activist needs only sign and add their contact information to participate in a cause. Letter-actions generate momentum for a cause and have been used most notably by Amnesty International.

campaign with a multi-pronged approach involving the use of various strategies aimed at persuading world leaders to ratify a ‘Fair Ambitious and legally Binding’ (FAB) agreement at the 2009 conference. Their tactics included a global petition that was presented to Yvo de Boer (the Executive Secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in 2009 (UNFCCC)), an online climate quiz with seven questions about the COP15 meeting and the posting of up-to-date press releases on its homepage. Some additional additions to the 2009 Oxfam web site included a photo-gallery of climate-affected areas in Peru shot by model/photographer Helena Christensen, a climate quiz, and a climate facts page.

The ability of NGOs to facilitate public and global discourses enables them to potentially influence messages about climate change. If one defines agency as the power to act and speak for oneself or on one’s own behalf (or as a group), concerns arise over the opportunity for developing countries and people to speak about climate change. The central issue for this thesis is the extent to which Oxfam International’s climate change campaign reflects power structures between developed and developing economies in the development process. As such, the central research question posed is: *To what extent do developing world people and countries have agency in Oxfam International’s 2009 climate change campaign?*

In seeking to address this question, there are two sub-questions that also need to be answered:

1. *How are power relations between NGOs and developing world countries framed in Oxfam International’s climate justice discourse?*
2. *To what extent does Oxfam International’s climate change campaign create space for subaltern voices to speak?*

The methodology employed to obtain the requisite data for answering these questions is set out in the next section.

3.2 Methodology

The discussion in Chapter two outlined the foundations for the hypothesis advanced by postcolonial theory that the colonial past connects to the agency (or lack thereof) of developing world people in the contemporary age. The objective of this thesis is to assess whether this hypothesis stands up to empirical scrutiny by examining the extent to which the climate change discourse expounded by Oxfam International's Climate Change Campaign creates spaces for the voices of developing world countries and people to speak. In order to achieve this goal, critical discourse and content analyses of the climate change related messages published by Oxfam International were conducted to investigate how the relationships between developing world people, industrialized nations and NGOs are framed.

3.2.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis (CA) is a technique for examining the embedded content and characteristics of messages (Frey, Botan et al. 2007). Berg (2007) describes it as “a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns” (p. 247). This tool has been used to study both the manifest and latent aspects of messages and lends itself to both inductive,³⁵ and deductive reasoning (Berg 2007).

Krippendorff (2013) states that CA has three distinguishing characteristics. Firstly, “it is an empirically grounded method, exploratory in process and predictive or inferential in intent” (p. 1). Secondly, it surpasses traditional conceptions of communication, since the concept of communication has developed a self-awareness of the different aspects that affect it (sender, channel, etc.). Lastly, it has necessarily developed its own methodology that enables researchers to critically examine communication regardless of the outcome. Leites

³⁵ Manifest content refers to “elements that are physically present and countable” (Berg, 2007, p.252). Latent content refers to the “deep structural meaning” of a text, that which is interpreted from the symbolism of a text (Berg, 2007, p. 252).

and de Sola Pool (2008) claim four major functions of content analysis. First, it can provide evidence to embellish the validity/invalidity of previously utilized hypotheses. Secondly, content analysis may be used to “correct ‘optical illusions’ which may be shared by specialists” (p. 155). It may also be used to mitigate disputes among researchers about the validity of important propositions. Lastly, CA has been employed as a research tool to examine symbols where other tools are less effective.

As a research tool, CA combines both qualitative and quantitative elements. It can be applied to various kinds of messages including texts, audio recordings and even video, and has become one of the most prevalent methods to research mass media (Frey, Botan et al. 2007).

Pudrovska and Marx Ferre (2004) used CA as a basis for examining how various international women’s organizations “understand and do feminism” (p. 344). The using of this technique enabled them to identify resistance to the use of the word *feminism* on some of the 30 sites in their sample, and differential networking capacities between similar organizations. Barber (2011) used CA to analyze responses to racism from three pastors of three black neo-Pentecostal mega-churches in Maryland. She observed a spectrum of interpretations of racism ranging from individual to collective resistance. She attributed the difference in racism interpretations to the economic or class differences between the three churches.

Krippendorff (2013) identifies four advantages to CA for analyzing communication: it is unobtrusive, it is applicable to unstructured material (not limited to the confines of a survey, etc.), it analyzes data within context and it can easily be applied to large amounts of data (Frey, Botan et al. 2007). Berg (2007) reaffirms these claims and furthers that it is cost-effective and can be utilized longitudinally and non-reactively (when it is not applied to live

subjects, etc.). He notes, however, that CA is ineffective for determining causal relationships. For this thesis, CA is used as a means for gathering evidence to contextualize the critical analysis employed by quantifying the elements examined (thereby demonstrating their relevancy).

3.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a research technique that operates on the premise that discourse is a microcosmic representation of larger power structures and relationships between social groups. Wodak (CITE) defines it as:

[F]undamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse) (p. 2)

This research technique is grounded in the notion that, those groups who control the most influential forms of discourse have the greatest chance of exerting power over others.

Put simply, CDA links power inequalities to the use of language. Wodak (2001) further explains:

Language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term. (p. 11)

This suggests that language can be both a medium for enacting and for resisting power.

According to Van Dijk (1993), in employing a CDA one must operate in accordance to some basic assumptions about power. He makes it clear that CDA is a tool for investigating the nature of social power and dominance, and thus focuses on power acted out on a social level. According to this view, social power, when enacted, may be seen as taking

the form of control exerted by one social group over another, which then creates social inequality (e.g. dominance). To this end, Van Dijk (1993, p. 255) also maintains that “power and dominance are usually organized and institutionalized” either on an ideological level or even as condoned by courts of law, additionally implying a “hierarchy of power”.

CDA is widely employed as a means for investigating how dominance, inequality, and social abuses of power are actualized through social/political language whether oral or written. Aulette-Root (2010), for example, used this technique to identify the underlying metanarrative of the “hegemonic biomedical discourse” in an HIV/AIDS education campaign carried out by the South African government in 2005 to increase AIDS awareness and knowledge. According to this author, a central characteristic of the campaign was an over-arching westernized tone within the campaign materials, including the construction of a binary distinction between the “South African patient, Western Doctor” (2010, p. 188).

In his CDA of articles relating to Vietnamese gang violence in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph* Teo (2000) found evidence of systematic othering and stereotyping of the Vietnamese minority by the Caucasian majority. He also found a discursive imbalance in the power structure between the “(ethnic) law breakers and the (white) law enforcers” (Teo 2000, p. 7). These findings led him to conclude that the discourses in both newspapers are illustrative of the subordination of Asian immigrants in Australian society. In an analysis of policy texts produced in 2000 by the Queensland provincial government in Australia regarding its Education Queensland’s 2010 strategy, Taylor (2004) identified a discursive shift in the policy rhetoric that was exemplified by a marginalization of social democratic discourses. She concluded that CDA proved “a valuable tool for researching policy and change” and, as such, could play an important role in social democratic processes (2004, p. 16).

That said, it is nonetheless important to note that CDA has been critiqued on a number of grounds spanning from its broad context of interpretation, to the vast array of literature from which it draws its theoretical base, to the fact that CDA researchers tend to adapt *a priori* a normative stance against social inequality and discrimination. Widdowson (2004) acknowledges the need for CDA to assume a particular position (against inequality), but asserts that CDA is guilty of a functional fallacy. This fallacy is the lack of an established CDA framework, which, in turn, can lead to researchers selecting excerpts of text that fit their arguments (i.e., cherry picking). Fairclough (1992b) addresses this concern by countering that analysis cannot be separated from interpretation, and thus researchers must "be sensitive to their own interpretative tendencies and social reasons for them" (p. 12).

The theoretical framework for this thesis is based on post colonialism and subaltern studies, which are critical of inequalities resulting from colonialism. CDA provides the practical tools to apply this framework to the chosen documents to identify the underlying messages and representations of agency within the text. The use of CA limits the potential subjectivity that can arise from the application of CDA (and from the post colonial and subaltern studies). CA grounds this study by quantifying all of the themes and elements found in the analysis, thereby showing their relevance and frequency. These two methods complement each other by balancing the contextual and interpretive strengths of CDA with the numerical evidence of CA. Combining these two methods into a methodological strategy aims for a well-rounded analysis of the documents.

This was done by firstly critically examining the texts in the open coding stage to solidify coding categories. The subjects were then identified by coding all subject identifiers into exhaustive categories using CA. Next, a CA was employed for the verb usage associated with each subject. This was followed by a critical analysis of the documents (based on the

theoretical framework) that identified the important themes and categories and analyzed the content of these messages. This analysis included (but is not limited to): the space accorded to each subject, the use of testimony, economic themes and climate justice discourses. The findings of the critical analysis were then quantified (CA) to determine the strength of these themes within the documents.

3.2.3 Sampling Strategy

December 2009 marked the holding of the 15th Conference of the Parties (henceforth COP15) meeting of the UNFCCC. Despite much excitement and anticipation, no legally binding agreement to constrain environmental degradation and climate change emerged. Rather, a three page non-legally binding document, *Copenhagen Accord*, was drafted in the final 24 hours of the conference (Stavins and Stowe 2010).³⁶

Throughout 2009, international climate justice was a prominent matter in global politics, and Oxfam International played an important role in mobilizing awareness around the issues at stake. Given that its web-based materials represent an important facet of this organization's public face, the online materials along with 79 additional climate change related documents Oxfam published in that year serve as the textual sample base for the analysis that follows. Due to the length of the reports, a sampling strategy was necessary. Of the 26 reports three were selected for analysis.³⁷ In total, some 105 climate change documents ranging in length from one to ninety-six pages were analyzed.

³⁶ The final tally of support for this accord is 109 out of 192 countries, which includes the support of the top 12 countries whose combined emissions account for over 70 percent of greenhouse gas emissions globally (Stavins and Stowe 2010).

³⁷ Of the climate change reports, any reports that were written in collaboration with other organizations were eliminated, as they would represent messages that were not solely produced by Oxfam International (out of a possible 26 reports, 16 were produced solely by Oxfam International). The remaining sixteen reports were sub-categorized, and the three reports from the most relevant category were selected (the category of climate challenges, which was most focused on the primary subjects).

Table 3.1: Sums per Category of Sampled Oxfam International Documents

Documents per Category		
Press Releases	Reports	WebPages
76	3	26

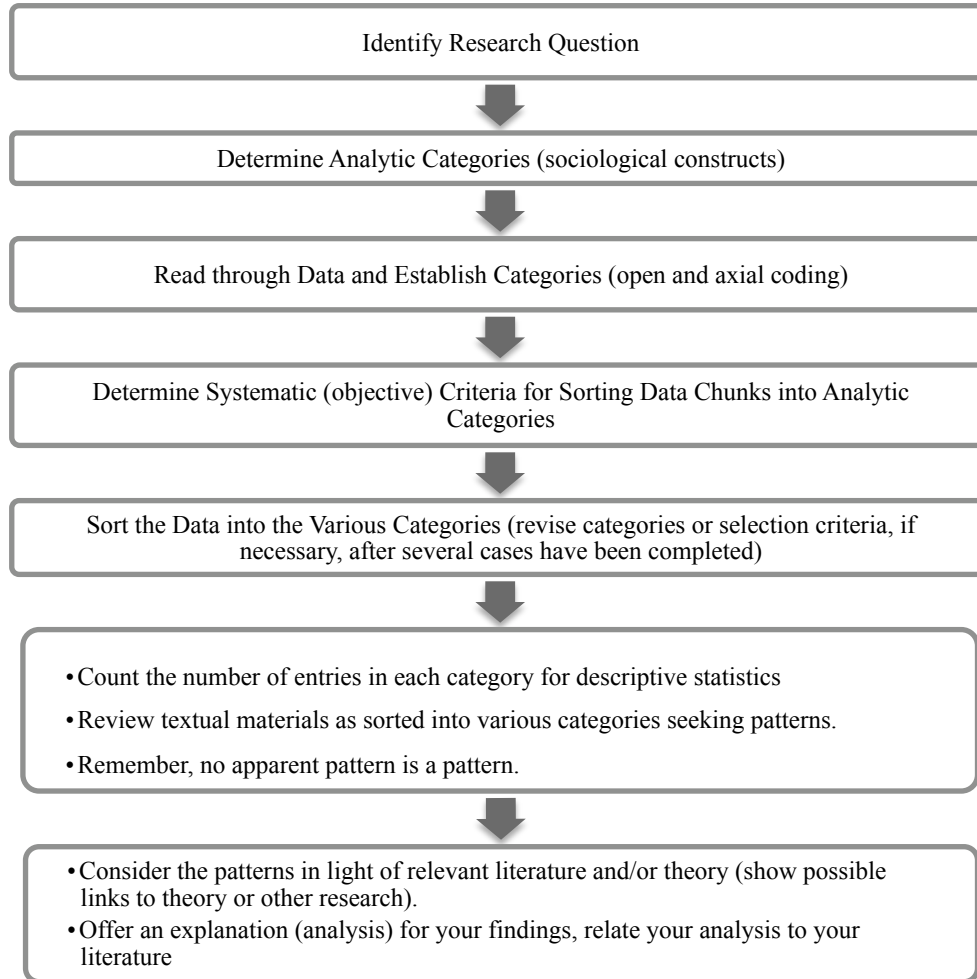
The sample of climate change documents is divided into three categories: press releases, climate change reports, and WebPages (see Table 3.1). Each of these categories represents a different venue of discourse and intended audience. Press releases are written to a political and journalist audience that is interested in happenings in the development sphere. The climate change reports are detailed documents focusing on humanitarian disasters and development issues that are likely to be of most interest to researchers, policy-makers, development enthusiasts and larger governing bodies such as the United Nations. The WebPages that Oxfam International posts on its site represent a key component of its public face.

The documents were analyzed using NVIVO software. As Weitzman and Miles (2008) point out: “software intended for qualitative research allows researchers the versatility of not only storing materials but also storing ideas” (p. 274).

3.2.4 CDA Process and Coding Strategy

Several methodological models guided the research process of this thesis. The overall process of coding and analysis was guided by the following model (Berg 2007):

Figure 3.1: Content Analysis Coding Process



The CDA portion of the research was guided by Fairclough's (2001) framework of analysis that consists of ten questions focusing on vocabulary, grammar and textual structure. They are (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 110-111)³⁸:

Vocabulary

1. What *experiential* values do words have?
2. What *relational* values do words have?
3. What *expressive* values do words have?
4. What metaphors are used?

Grammar

³⁸ For a detailed overview of Fairclough's ten questions and their corresponding sub-questions, please refer to Appendix A.

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?
6. What relational values do grammatical features have?
7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?
8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?

C. Textual structures

9. What larger-scale structures does the text have?
10. What interactional conventions are used?

These questions provide a basis for identifying the textual features in a discourse, thus assisting in the identification of relationships of power within the analyzed text(s).

The critical methodology utilized by this thesis was supported by the content analysis of the elements identified. Leites and de Sola Pool (2008) remind researchers to clearly define their coding categories, and to be mindful of symbols that have multiple meanings or different meanings in different contexts (e.g. sarcasm). Lasswell (2008) contributes that a researcher should focus their coding on the manifest content. Krippendorff (2013) specifies six questions that should be asked of every content analysis:

- *Which data are analysed?*
- *How are they defined?*
- *What is the population from which they are drawn?*
- *What is the context relative to which the data are analysed?*
- *What are the boundaries of the analysis?*
- *What is the target of the inferences?*

Krippendorff's guide serves to better direct the analysis of the data found in the content analysis, by providing specific queries to ask of the data.

The elements coded in the analysis included the following categories: representation of the subject, agency (verbs), space created for subaltern voices, testimony, North/South divide (Orientalist dichotomy) and metanarratives. Each of these elements is further explicated in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2: Agency Elements

Agency Elements	
Representation of the subject (agency, role)	What signifiers are used to represent the subjects? Who is telling this story? For whom? To what end? How are people represented and do they speak for themselves? Who is the prospective audience of the text?
Agency (verbs)	What verbs are connected to the subject? What actions are attributed to the subjects? What roles are attributed to the subjects (vis-à-vis climate change)?
Subaltern Voice	Is space allocated to subaltern voices? How does this compare to dominant voices?
Testimony	Is testimony used by NGO communications? In what context? To what discursive effect?
Orientalism (North/South Divide)	Are the subjects of the text portrayed as belonging to one side or the other of a North/South dichotomy? Are the subjects portrayed in an orientalist light? Is the developed world portrayed as superior to the developing world?
Metanarratives	How many perspectives are presented about climate change? Are issues presented with a singular broad interpretation of situations/events?

This thesis has identified representation as a primary theme of agency. Since the first representation of a subject is the name by which they are referred, this thesis identified and coded the signifiers used for the developing and developed world subjects, looking for patterns in the labels applied to each subject. The two subjects of primary interest for this thesis are: (i) the developing world, and (ii) the developed world. In order to ensure that this research undertaking did not contribute to the discursive division of these two subjects, they were given arbitrary names: Subject A for the developing world, and Subject B for the developed world. Within the documents, there were subjects that belonged neither to the Subject A nor the Subject B category. Therefore, a third category, subject neutral, was used for those subjects that were not from one of the primary subjects' categories.

An open-coding approach was used to first identify different labels employed to identify the three subjects and, subsequently, to identify appropriate sub-categories for Subjects A and B. Using inductive reasoning, the identifiers for these subjects were categorized into seven sub-categories (see Tables 3.3 and 3.4).

Table 3.3: Identifier Sub-Categories for Subjects A and B

Category	Subcategory	Description
Subject A	Cultural group	A local subject that is identified by their cultural group (e.g. Tribe, religion, etc.)
	Geographic group	A local subject that is identified by their geographic area (e.g. Country, Region, etc.)
	Local individual	A local individual that is identified by their personal name (e.g. Mona Julien)
	Local official	A local individual that is identified by their title, or is known publically by their title (e.g. Hon. Jesca Eriyo, Minister of State for the Environment, Uganda)
	Local organization	A local subject identified by an organization (e.g. NREGA)
	Local social group	A local subject identified by their social group (e.g. family, community, etc.)
	Socioeconomic group	A local subject identified by their socioeconomic class (e.g. developing world, “poor people”, etc.)

Table 3.4: Identifier Sub-Categories for Subjects A and B

Category	Subcategory	Description
Subject B	Cultural group	A global subject that is identified by their cultural group (e.g. Tribe, religion, etc.)
	Geographic group	A global subject that is identified by their geographic area (e.g. Country, Region, etc.)
	Global individual	A global individual that is identified by their personal name (e.g. Kate Sargeant)
	Global official	A global individual that is identified by their title, or is known publically by their title (e.g. Jeremy Hobbs, Executive Director of Oxfam International)
	Global organization	A global subject identified by an organization’s name (e.g. Oxfam)

	Global social group	A global subject identified by their social group (e.g. community, etc.)
	Socioeconomic group	A global subject identified by their socioeconomic class (e.g. developed world, “rich countries”, etc.)

If one considers agency as representing the ability to act (or speak), it follows that verbs: action words, become a relevant linguistic form to examine. Keeping in mind that the English language generally follows the order of subject-verb-object (SVO), I sought to examine the verbs following the subject ‘developing world’ or ‘developing world people.’ Equally important for the purposes of this thesis, was the need to also look for instances wherein developing world people occupy the position of object within the structure of a sentence.³⁹ The identification of the subjects in the previous step allowed for greater consistency in the coding of the verbs (as the subject connected to the verb was already recognized). For the documents examined, verbs were categorized as: active, passive or neutral, making these grammatical units signifiers for agency. The verbs most frequently identified in the sample are presented in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Agency Related Verbs (active/passive/neutral voice)

Active	Neutral	Passive
Said/Say (N= 180)		Need/Needed (N= 78)
Change (N= 164)		Cope (N= 41)
Help (N= 127)	Live/Living (N= 38)	Die/Died (N= 32)
Adapt/Adaption (N= 123)	Have/Has (N= 32)	(to be) Hit (N= 29)
Provide (N= 47)	Propose/d (N= 20)	Affected (N= 27)
Support (N= 46)	See/Saw (N= 14)	Face/d/Facing (N= 26)
Deliver (N= 36)		Force/d (N= 25)
Cut (emissions) (N= 31)		Lose/Lost (N= 12)

³⁹ The categorization of verbs may vary when the developing world is in the position of ‘object’ rather than ‘subject’. An example of this is the verb ‘batter’, which is considered active verb for agency when it is following the subject, e.g. ‘she batters the competition’. The word ‘batter’ reflects passive agency when it precedes an ‘object’, e.g. ‘hurricane Katrina battered the people of New Orleans’. Other verbs, such as ‘suffer’ reflect passive agency if the developing world is in either position.

The subaltern concept of space was investigated in quite literal terms. The documents were analyzed for representations of voice by way of direct quotes or paraphrased text. This voiced-text was coded for the two primary subjects so the speaking space of the subjects could be compared. The amount of space allocated to each subject within the documents was quantified (by word count and by number of voiced-text items) and analyzed, in an application of the subaltern studies notion of allocating space for subaltern voices.

The voiced-text was also investigated for instances of the use of testimony by Oxfam International within the sample documents. This included the use of inductive reasoning to examine the major themes of the testimony used as well as the context within which they are employed. In order to better understand the ways in which both primary subjects are portrayed in the documents, instances of testimony and voiced text from both primary subjects was investigated. The patterns revealed in this analysis of testimony were also examined for its discursive effect on the use of testimony by Oxfam has on perceptions of the two subjects (i.e. how does the testimony use for the subjects frame their agency?). The major themes found in the voiced-text instances were markedly different for the two subjects, which is discussed in detail in chapter five.

If we recall the themes of postcolonial theory, dichotomies are prevalent in colonialist discourses. According to Said (1985), the division between the Occident and Orient can be evidenced in opposing characteristics such as rational/emotional. The agency element of North/South divide was investigated as an overarching theme in the documents and themes arising from the analysis of other elements (such as subject identifiers). In order to identify the presence of such dichotomies, potential discursive division between

East/West, North/South, were examined in accordance with the binaries presented in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: The Hierarchical System of Colonialist Binaries

West	Non-West
Active	Passive
Center	Margin/periphery
Civilized	Primitive/savage
Colonizer	Colonized
Developed	Backward/underdeveloped/developing
Fullness/plentitude/completeness	Lack/inadequacy/incompleteness
Historical (people with history)	Ahistorical (people without history)
The liberated	The savable
Masculine	Feminine/effeminate
Modern	Archaic
Nation	Tribe
Occidental	Oriental
Scientific	Superstitious
Secular	Non-secular
Subject	Object
Superior	Inferior
The vanguard	The led
White	Black/brown/yellow

Source: Adapted from Prasad (1997b, p. 291; 2006)

Postcolonial theorists also speak of how metanarratives deny the heterogeneity of issues and people. Similarly, arguments that appeared to generalize large issues with a single narrative were analyzed as potential instances of metanarratives within the Oxfam documents. This thesis identified the presence of the metanarrative of climate justice, or the notion that those who contributed the least to carbon emissions, namely the developing world, are experiencing the effects of climate change with the greatest intensity. There were 59 instances of climate justice found in the documents.

3.3 Conclusion

The beginning of this chapter reviewed the evolution of the NGO, illustrating how NGOs and NGO discourse have the potential for great influence, which can be actualized for the benefit or detriment of the people they serve. For example, NGOs have proven one of the most effective avenues for monitoring human rights abuses, while also sometimes acting foremost to protect their organizational interests.

Subsequently, the methodology of this thesis and the framework for the coding and analysis processes were detailed. The next chapter details the quantitative findings from the content analysis, as well as provides discussion on these findings.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Introduction

The discussion in this chapter is divided into four parts and sets out the quantitative findings obtained from the content analysis of the sampled documents from Oxfam International. In the first part, the representation of the subjects is examined and the findings regarding climate justice discourses are revealed. In part two, the agency of developing world people in the sampled documents is addressed by analyzing verb usage. In the third part, the ways in which space is created for developing world voices within Oxfam's climate change campaign is tackled. The chapter wraps up with an investigation of the use of testimony by NGOs and the themes identified within testimonies for the developing and developed world subjects.

4.2 Identity and Representation

As was noted in Chapter 2, post-colonial theory specifies that a metanarrative is a large singular story used to describe or account for an entire group, or sometimes for all subaltern subjects, and which diminishes the heterogeneity of a subject or topic (Said 1985; Spivak 1988; Stephens 1998). The implication here with regard to representation is twofold. First, "the speaking positions of dominant voices so often re-creates the othering and 'inferiorizing' of people of colour" (2008, p. 339). Second, an orientalist dichotomy is claimed to exist within colonial literatures pitting a Western subject, who is described in terms of masculine qualities (e.g., rational, strong, openly aggressive/assertive, courageous, dominant and intellectual), against a non-Western subject who is portrayed as feminine (e.g., impassioned, superstitious, passive/victim, sly, cowardly and physical) (Amin 1989).

Within the sampled documents analyzed for this thesis, one particular metanarrative was found to predominate: discourses of climate justice, which served as the lens through which the climate change issue is presented. Climate justice is a perspective that posits the presence of injustice in the way in which climate change is created and experienced. In total, 59 examples of climate justice discourse that was constrained to one or two sentences were identified (see Table 4.1). The bulk of these (N=42) were found in the 59 press releases in the sample.

Table 4.1: Frequency of Climate Justice Discourse by Document Type (N =59)

Document Type	Frequency
Press Release	42
Reports	10
Web Page	7

The climate justice argument is characterized by the presentation of climate change as a problem created by Subject B and largely experienced by Subject A.⁴⁰ Proponents of climate justice maintain that: “Poor countries did not cause climate change, but they are the most affected by it, with the least resources to tackle its effects” (Oxfam International 2009r, para 8). This statement uses declarative language to define the climate justice ‘truth’. In this ‘truth’ the developing world “did not cause climate change”, a statement that leaves no room for alternate realities and implicitly places responsibility for its creation on someone/something else, namely Subject B. It also showcases a lack of justice insofar as Subject A is most affected by climate change and possesses the least resources to mitigate climate change.

⁴⁰ If we recall from Chapter 3, for the purposes of this thesis Subject A refers to the developing world and Subject B refers to the developed world.

In the pages that follow, the data obtained from the content analysis of the sampled Oxfam International climate change documents is presented. The discussion is structured in accordance with the postcolonial and subaltern themes – (representation of the subject, metanarratives, space for subalterns to speak and orientalism) – examined earlier in the thesis, as well as the intertwining of climate justice discourses.

4.2.1 Representation of the Subject

The first part of the content analysis conducted for this thesis sought to identify and classify who the subjects were within the texts and the labels used to refer to them.

A total of three subject categories were identified (see Table 4.2 following).

Table 4.2: Categories of Subjects

Subject Category	Identifier	Frequency of Appearance
Subject A	e.g. developing world	N=1452
Subject B	e.g. developed world	N=2011
Subject Neutral	e.g. people	N=794

The two main subjects of interest of this thesis were Subject A and Subject B. A third category, Subject Neutral, was created to allow for non-binary subjects. However, it accounted for only 16.7 percent of the total subject references identified. The content analysis found 1542 references to Subject A and 2011 to Subject B. The subcategories of identifiers used to refer to the primary subjects, varied according to differential document types within the sample (see Table 4.3). The greatest difference between Subjects A and B in terms of frequency of appearance was found in the 76 Press Releases analyzed. Among these documents, 655 references to Subject A and 1261 references to Subject B were identified.

Across the twenty-six Web pages examined the number of references to Subject A (N=163) exceeded that for Subject B (N=119). Within the three climate change reports, 723 references to Subject A, and 636 references to Subject B were identified.

Table 4.3: Sub-Category Distributions for Subject A and Subject B

Subcategory	Subject A (N=1542)	Subject B (N=2011)
Socioeconomic Identifiers	37.6% (N=579)	18.8% (N=380)
Geographic Identifiers	31.7% (N=486)	12.4% (N=262)
Individual Identifiers	9.4% (N=150)	0.4% (N=7)
Organizational Identifiers	8.9% (N=137)	42.3% (N=829)
Social Group Identifiers	7.4% (N=113)	1.2% (N=24)
Official Identifiers	4.0% (N=59)	24.9% (N=536)
Cultural Identifiers	1.0% (N=16)	0.0% (N=0)

Subject A appeared to be presented in a somewhat more homogenized manner than Subject B insofar as some 69.3 percent of the identifiers used to refer to Subject A fell into two of the sub-categories (e.g., socio-economic and geographical) listed in Table 4.3. By contrast approximately 98.4 percent of the identifiers used to refer to Subject B fell into four of the sub-categories (e.g., socio-economic, geographical, organization, formal) listed.

Subject A was frequently referenced by a socioeconomic label such as ‘poor countries’ (N=580), or a geographic label such as ‘Haiti’ (N=488). Indeed, slightly more than two-thirds of the total observed references to Subject A fell into these two sub-categories. The most recurrent identifiers of Subject A in the socioeconomic sub-category were the adjectives “poor/est” (N=327) and “developing” (N=186), which were always followed with “nations”, “countries” or “people” (see Table 4.3).

Organizational identifiers were found to be the most frequently used means of referring to Subject B. These particular identifiers often referred to specific global organizations (N=851) or global official (N=500).⁴¹ The most common terms for the global official category was “Jeremy Hobbs” (N=52) and for global organizations was “Oxfam/International) (N=261). The third most frequently occurring labels for Subject B were socioeconomic (N=378). Terms found in this category included: “rich country/countries” (N=226); “donor country/countries” (N= 53); industrialized country/countries (N=25); and “developed country/countries” (N=19). These socioeconomic labels were most frequently used in a manner that cast a positive light on Subject B by suggesting resource abundance.

These findings point to the presence of broad differences in the ways in which Subjects A and B are represented within the sample documents analyzed. Specifically, the greater use of geographic identifiers for Subject A ties this subject to a specific location or place, and suggests that it is more frequently framed in relation to a specific location than Subject B.

In terms of the representation of the subjects, Subject A did not represent itself but was instead represented by Oxfam International. The quantitative analysis found fewer references, overall, to Subject A than to Subject B (of which Oxfam is a member), thus granting lesser presence to the subject on which the campaign is meant to benefit.

⁴¹ The global organization that was most frequently referred to in the sample documents was “Oxfam” (N=261), followed by the general term “international humanitarian agencies/organizations” (N=97). In terms of international officials, the two most commonly named individuals were Jeremy Hobbs, executive director of Oxfam International (N=52), and Antonio Hill, senior climate advisor for Oxfam International (N=90).

There was also a discrepancy in the application of labels pertaining to authority. Only 11.4 percent of Subject A’s identifiers were labels of authority, compared to 67.2 percent of Subject B’s identifiers. It seems plausible to conclude that the more frequent presentation of Subject B in association with labels of authority serves to enhance the representation of its authority vis-à-vis Subject A.

The discussion now turns to the depictions of agency associated with Subjects A and B within the materials examined.

4.2.2 Agency in Action Words: Verbs

Speaking and acting are essential elements of exercising one’s agency. Hence, verbs are relevant to the micro-level analysis of agency within the sample texts because they embody action. In order to identify patterns in the usage of verbs for each subject (and to be able to quantify these patterns) the verbs identified in the sampled Oxfam International documents were categorized in terms of: active, passive and neutral (see Appendix B).

For the purposes of this thesis, speech acts (e.g. “She said”, “Oxfam argued”) and verbs that suggest conscious actions (e.g., “provide”) were categorized as active. This was the category of verbs most frequently identified. Verbs suggestive of receiving the actions of others (e.g. being acted upon: “...hit Haiti”) or of minimal effort (e.g. “sitting”) were categorized as passive. A third category, neutral, was used for verbs that neither conveyed assertive acts nor inactive states of receiving (e.g. “have”).⁴² A breakdown of the verbs identified in each of the three categories of agency is provided in Appendix B. Table 4.4 shows the results for the analysis of verb usage, broken down by verb-type and subject.

⁴² This means that some verbs that captured neither the essence of action nor passivity were classified as neutral.

Table 4.4: Frequency of Verb Categories by Subject

Verb Category	Subject A	Subject B	Subject neutral
Active (N=2456)	558	1569	329
Neutral (N=482)	192	214	76
Passive (N=940)	740	113	297

Distinct patterns were identified in the usage of verbs with regard to Subjects A and B. The verbs most frequently employed in relation to Subject A were passive (49.7 percent). Of the passive verbs identified, the three most commonly used in relation to Subject A were: need/ed (n=59), cope (n=35) and hit (n=22). The passive verbs identified portray Subject A needing some form of assistance. Active verbs comprised 37.5 percent of verbs associated with Subject A. The most common of these were: adapt (n=89) and change/d (n=71). Live (n=11) and have (n=10) were the two neutral verbs most often associated with Subject A.

The association of active verbs with Subject B was prominent within the sample documentation, accounting for some 82.7 percent of the total verb usage for this Subject. The active verbs found to be most often associated with Subject B were: said/say (n=159), help (n=113) and provide (n=47). Only 113 instances of passive verbs being used in relation to Subject B were identified. The passive verbs used the most often in conjunction with Subject B were: agree (n=7) and back[down] (n=4). The remaining 102 instances of passive verb use with Subject B were spread across more than thirty-six verb forms. Some of the more frequent of these were cope, face, deal, need and remain (N=3 for each). The neutral verbs, with the greatest frequency for Subject B were propose/d (n=13), have/has (n=10) and prepare/d (n=9).

A disparity in the distribution of verb usage for Subject A and B across document types also was identified. Within the WebPages, only 37.4 percent of Subject A’s verbs were active (n=558). Within the reports, the use of passive and active verbs in relation to Subject A was balanced, with 265 active verbs and 261 passive verbs. Across all of the documents in the sample, active verbs were predominantly used in relation to Subject B. An exaggerated distribution of verbs was identified within the Press Releases, with 987 active verb references being found within the sample for Subject B versus 232 for Subject A. Conversely, 385 passive verb references were linked to Subject A as compared to 96 for Subject B. A complete breakdown of the verb usage by subject and document type is illustrated in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Verb Usage by Subject and Document Type

Verb Category	Press Releases	Reports	WebPages
Subject A Active	232	265	61
Subject A Neutral	53	84	55
Subject A Passive	385	261	94
Subject B Active	987	485	97
Subject B Neutral	131	61	22
Subject B Passive	71	37	5

Overall, Subject A was linked foremost with passive verbs and Subject B with active verbs. A quintessential example of this pattern, taken from a Press Release preceding the international climate talks in Bonn is as follows:

Rich countries have largely *created* the climate crisis but it is poor countries that are *being hit* first and hardest, and who are least able to cope (Oxfam International 2009i, para 6).

Within this sentence structure, “rich countries” is the primary subject performing the active verb “created” (the climate crisis) and “poor countries” is the secondary subject that is being acted upon in a passive verb context of “being hit.” Poor countries are further described as “least able to cope”. In the following section, active verb usage for Subject A is further explored.

Some of the active verb usage for Subject A that reflects positively on agency was identified within the context of receiving help from Subject B. These instances, referred to as *contingent-agency*, occur when the ability for Subject A to execute a high-agency action (e.g. “*adapt* to a changing climate”) is presented as being contingent upon the contribution of Subject B (e.g. “*help* poor countries”). An example that is reflective of this phenomenon is provided in the quote below which is taken from a press release from March 2009:

Oxfam estimates that at least €40 billion a year is *needed to help* poor countries *adapt* to the impact of global warming (Oxfam International 2009e, para 4).

The appearance of the clause “needed to help” prior to the high-agency verb “adapt” removes much of the assertiveness from Subject A in this sentence insofar as the action (i.e., *adapt*) is contingent on the contribution of the subject preceding it (i.e., “€40 billion a year) which is implicitly understood as to be provided by Subject B.

There were 86 instances of contingent-agency identified within the Oxfam documents analyzed, with the vast majority (80 out of 86) occurring in the press releases. Five instances of contingent agency were identified in the reports examined. No examples were found in Oxfam’s climate change Web Pages. Since the need for help is situated within a difficult problem (i.e. climate change), it seems plausible that as a discursive form contingent agency

may contribute to fostering a sense of dependency of Subject A on Subject B and in so doing, potentially reinforce orientalist stereotypes about the primary subjects.

The overall use of verbs within the sampled documents appeared to cast Subject A as passive, and Subject B as assertive and capable. They portray a power dynamic in which Subject A tends to be depicted as a victim or in need of assistance while Subject B is presented as being empowered to take direct action and/or to provide help to others. While these findings are not a direct parallel to the orientalist dichotomy they are nonetheless suggestive of its presence, whereby the colonized (or developing world) is passive and the colonizer (developed world) is assertive/aggressive. Moreover, a portion of the active verb usage for Subject A was conditional on the contributions of Subject B. If we consider that active verb usage for Subject A was already comparably low to that of Subject B, the representations of Subject A agency within the Oxfam climate change campaign appear even more passive.

Another facet of agency is the ability to speak on one's own behalf. It is to this issue that our attention now turns by examining the space to speak that is accorded to the primary subjects within the sample of texts analyzed.

4.2.3 Space vis-à-vis voiced-text

In order to investigate how representation is connected to agency through speaking or voicing (i.e., voiced-text), the sample documents were also analyzed with regard to the frequency with which quotes and paraphrasing were employed for Subjects A and B (see Table 4.6). Direct quotations from an individual or group are not infallible, but they do provide a means for allowing them to speak for themselves. By contrast, when an individual

or group’s narrative is paraphrased, their voice is compromised to some extent, through interpretation, as they are not speaking directly but being spoken *for*.

The data obtained from tallying the number of quotes and paraphrases in the documents per subject show that Subject B has a more favorable ratio of quotes to paraphrasing than Subject A. Subject B was quoted in 90.1 percent of cases, whereas Subject A was quoted in 76.1 percent of cases (See Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Number of Instances of ‘Voiced text’ Identified by Subject

“Voiced” text	Subject A	Subject B
Quotes	181	410
Paraphrasing	57	45
Total	238	455

There was some variance in terms of the manifestation of voiced-text over the document types. Within the reports, there was overall more voiced text for Subject A than B. In terms of the attribution of quotations within the climate change reports, the frequency Subject A quotations (N=89) surpassed the Subject B quotations (N=24). In terms of the attribution of quotations within the Web pages, the frequency of Subject A quotations (N=74) also surpassed Subject B quotations (N=39). In terms of the attribution of quotations within the Press Releases, the frequency of Subject A quotations (N=16) fell well below that which was identified for Subject B quotations (N=345).

Since the act of paraphrasing compromises the voice of the subject through interpretation it is less favourable than direct quotation in terms of agency. Equally noteworthy, is the observation that the total frequency of identified voiced text for Subject B

is slightly more than double that of Subject A. Taken together, these findings suggest that the ‘voice’ of Subject A does not carry the same weight as that of Subject B within the sample of texts examined.

We can extrapolate that the intended purpose of a climate change campaign by Oxfam is to garner support and assistance for Subject A. Yet in a campaign about and for Subject A, their voice was represented less than Subject B’s and was more likely to be interpreted than Subject B (i.e. paraphrased). In subaltern studies terms, the findings suggest that within the sampled documents, less space is created for Subject A to speak than for Subject B and, as such, the agency of Subject A is minimized.

4.2.4 NGO Communication Strategies: Testimony and major themes

As discussed in Chapter 3, NGOs have typically utilized compassion-based communication strategies to engage their support base. This is best exemplified by the use of testimony to showcase human elements that the audience relates to and then supports, and which most often takes the form of victim testimony that unites viewer and testifier on the universal principle of pain (McLagan 2007a).

Such communication strategies have discursive implications in terms of the ways in which NGOs frame their communications regarding Subject A. Within the sample of Oxfam documentation examined, testimonies were in the form of quotations or video clips, in which individuals from the developing world spoke about their situation in relation to climate

change.⁴³ The information presented in Table 4.7 sets out quantitatively the major themes of Subject A testimony identified.

Table 4.7 Instances of Subject A Testimony by type and distribution within Oxfam documents

Type of Testimony	Press Releases	Web Pages	Report 1 ⁴⁴	Report 9 ⁴⁵	Report 13 ⁴⁶	Total
Victim	5	21	11	8	2	47
Gratitude	0	2	4	0	0	5
Reflexive	5	9	1	4	5	24
Solutions	0	6	2	1	4	13

Two of the four categories of testimony, *victim* and *gratitude*, may be seen as constituting an expression of passive agency insofar as they are limited to reacting to actions outside of themselves, be they positive or negative (e.g. gratitude about an Oxfam project, testimony about suffering from climate change, etc.). The two other categories, *reflexive* and *solutions* can be considered to be expressions of active agency insofar as these forms of testimony exist independent of other subjects and require the unique and purposeful contributions of the speaker. As demonstrated above, testimonies communicated by Subject A were more likely to be of a passive nature (since 55 of the 92 testimony examples were in passive categories) and most likely to be in the category of victim testimony.

⁴³Oxfam International had several video clips imbedded on its WebPages, these were transcribed to text and the content analyzed accordingly.

⁴⁴ The full name of report 1 is *The Right to Survive: The humanitarian challenge of the twenty-first century*.

⁴⁵ The full name of report 9 is *Beyond Aid: Ensuring adaptation to climate change works for the poor*.

⁴⁶ The full name of report 13 is *People-Centered Resilience: Working with vulnerable farmers towards climate adaptation and food security*.

The active testimonies by Subject A were found to be almost twice as likely to be reflexive as opposed to solutions-orientated. While both of these testimony-types are agency affirming, it should be noted that solutions-based testimony reflects greater agency than reflexive testimony. The presence of either of these testimony types works against orientalist stereotypes of the developing world lacking rationality or assertiveness. That said, within the sample this testimony form was less likely to occur.

In an attempt to side step the danger of compassion fatigue, Oxfam has employed communication strategies emphasizing themes of economics and responsibility. The use of economic themes took four main forms: (i) using economic language or reasoning to induce support (N=147); (ii) diverting the allocation of climate monies from existing aid budgets (N=71); (iii) presenting economic solutions to mitigating climate change (N=74); and (iv) speaking out against the global financial crisis as an aggregating factor against funding climate adaptation (N=35). The themes were often couched within broader discussions on climate funding (N=163) and the binding climate deal (N=69) at the (then upcoming) UNFCCC conference in Copenhagen. The information presented in Table 4.8 shows the distribution and totals of the three testimony types for Subject B.

Table 4.8: Major Themes by Document Type

THEME	PRESS	R1	R9	R13	WEB	TOTAL
ECONOMIC	457	42	61	49	22	631
RESPONSIBILITY	48	10	6	2	6	145
LEGAL	47	18	0	1	4	70

The major themes associated with Subject B reveal a strong presence of economic orientation within the sampled documents. Other notable themes include responsibility and

legal themes. The common thread here is that these themes are not compassion based as NGO campaigns typically are, and thus relate to an alternate communications strategy.

4.2.5 Reflections of the audience: Finding disparities among document types

The subcategories by which the primary subjects were referred to and the proportions of their references were found to vary in accordance with the document types within the sample. The twenty-six WebPages examined contained the least inequality in representations of the agency of Subjects A and B as well as showcasing the greatest amount of space for the developing world subject. In the WebPages, the number of subject references for each subject was similar (for Subject A, N=163; for Subject B, N=117). Perhaps the greatest reflection of Subject A agency within the Oxfam WebPages was the greater allocation of page space as seen in number of references in terms of voiced-text. Subject A had 74 quotations within the WebPages (highest of any category), while Subject B had 39. The proportion of quotes to paraphrased voiced-text was also very favorable as Subject A was nearly three times more likely to be quoted than paraphrased. The use of high agency testimonies for Subject A reflected positively on the WebPages, with nine instances of reflexive testimony and six instances of solution providing testimony (the highest of any document for these categories).

Within the climate change reports, the number of references to each subject was comparable. For example, in report nine, *Beyond Aid: Ensuring adaptation works for the poor*, Subject A had 139 references and Subject B had 157. Overall, the reports were found to contain less voiced text and, therefore, were deemed to be less effective at representing the voice of Subject A. However, the ratio of paraphrased text to quoted text was more

favorable, with 18 paraphrased items and 49 quoted items for all three reports combined (for all documents paraphrased items amounted to 57 and quoted to 115). It should be noted that the patterns in the data of these reports were fairly consistent across the three reports.

Changes in the tone and subject matter of the three reports suggest that the authorship of these documents varied, evidenced by inconsistencies in the authors credited to writing for Oxfam (all reports list Oxfam as the author but some acknowledge the contribution of numerous authors).

Of the three document types that comprised the sample of Oxfam's public discourse, the greatest degree of inequality between the two primary subjects was found to be manifest within the 76 Press Releases. Subject B (N=1261) was identified as having nearly double the subject references of Subject A (N=655). Additionally, the subject references tended to be predominantly rooted in socioeconomic and geographic identifiers for Subject A in the press releases (geographic references made up 26.6 percent of subject references and socioeconomic 61.5 percent; all other categories held less than 10 percent). Contrastingly, Subject B's identifiers in the Press Releases were primarily in the sub-categories denoting authority (global official held 36.7 percent of references, global organization held 31.5 percent). There was also a less favorable ratio of 'voiced text' for Subject A in the Press Releases; Subject B was identified as being quoted 345 times whereas Subject A was quoted in only 16 instances. Of this quoted text, the Press Releases contained only five reflexive testimonies and zero solution testimonies. Low-agency forms connected to Subject A and high-agency forms linked to Subject B were trends both present to an inflated degree. This was also the document type that held the most climate justice references (42 out of 59) and contingent agency references (80 out of 86).

Disparities in the findings among the document types should reflect upon the document types. The concentration of low-agency findings within the press releases should not be taken as an outlier of the results, especially since the press releases held the bulk of the textual content of the sample (the press releases held 65.6 percent of the total content, measured as a percentage of total word count).

Public communications tend to be written with the audience in mind. If we think back to chapter three, the potential audience of WebPages is the general public, while the audience of NGO reports are enthusiasts and those in development work (including supranationals such as the UN). The prospective audience of press releases is likely journalists and politicians that are connected to development work. Within the sample of documents, the findings of the WebPages convey a high amount of agency for developing world subjects. Contrastingly, the findings in the sample of the Press Releases focus on developed world subjects and portray the developing world with a lesser agency. It is possible that these messages were intentionally written in this manner to suit their respective audiences. Given that the probable purpose of a press release by an NGO is to incite support from its political audience, the latter finding does hold a certain logic. Portraying the developing world as requiring help, and the developed world as responsible and capable of help, satisfies a persuasive strategy of identifying a problem and then suggesting your product/service is the solution. In this hypothetical case, Oxfam would be identifying itself as the solution, or rather, its development projects as the needed service.

4.3 Summary

The discussion in this chapter began with a brief overview of climate justice and its role as a metanarrative. The findings presented in this chapter revealed that Subject B was found to be

frequently given a label that evokes authority (such as a global organization) and its labels were greater in number. Subject B was also found to be associated with the use of active verbs and economic themes. By contrast, Subject A was found to be most likely to be identified with geographic or socioeconomic labels and to be portrayed with a passive verb. When Subject A was linked to active verbs, it tended to convey contingent agency, whereby an active verb such as ‘adapt’ was conditional on the support of Subject B.

Overall, the findings of the content analysis suggest a compromising of Subject A’s voice and a minimizing of its agency. The discussion in the next chapter presents the results of the critical discourse analysis portion of this thesis.

Chapter 5: Critical Discourse Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the qualitative findings from the critical discourse analysis of the sampled Oxfam documents. It is divided into three parts. In part one, testimony for Subject A is analyzed. The major themes identified include victimization, gratitude, reflexivity and solution-provision. This is followed by an analysis of materials pertaining to Subject B. The major themes that emerge here center on economics and responsibility. In the concluding portion of the chapter, the theme of climate justice is analyzed as a metanarrative that reveals a concentration of low-agency trends for Subject A.

5.2 Subject A Major Themes

As was discussed in Chapter 4, within the sampled Oxfam documents, Subject A was predominantly framed as passive and victimized. This framing largely took the form of direct quotes emphasizing suffering, powerlessness and sometimes gratitude to Oxfam for helping. Testimony functions on the premise that pain is universal, and therefore allows the audience to connect to people who are culturally/geographically/politically distant (McLagan 2007a). In this way, the use of Subject A testimony about climate change makes the effects of climate change more tangible to a western audience.

In the victim testimonials (N=47), individuals from the Subject A group were presented in a state of suffering, describing all the hardships they have or continue to face. Below is an excerpt from a climate tribunal video titled *Testimonies from Nepal show heavy impacts of climate change* that appears on an Oxfam web page. It is exemplary of the testimony used by Oxfam International to evoke compassion in the audience:

Life is hard here. We don't have enough food to eat. It takes two to three hours to collect water. There is nothing here. (Oxfam International 2009d)

The unidentified Nepalese woman quoted in the above passage is presented in a moment of adversity that is expressed, quite literally, in the phrases “life is hard here” or “there is nothing here”. These two phrases also show a theme of location by repeating the word “here”, thereby emphasizing place, and an identity tied to a geographic location. Suffering is tied to an inability to meet one’s own basic needs (i.e., food and water) and is relatable to everyone since all humans have felt hunger and thirst. This type of suffering can also potentially evoke empathy from the audience for what it would feel like to be unable to meet one’s own basic needs. The information presented in Table 5.1 sets out five other examples of victim testimony taken from each of the document types.

Table 5.1: Examples of Victim Testimony (N=47)

Passage	Source	Title
It was dark when the water came. The wave was higher than the house. People clung to the highest trees to survive, while our village was swallowed up. So many people died – I lost my son, he was nearly four. My only brother and both of my sisters are gone. Our homes are gone too, and everything in them, even our clothes.	Report	<i>The Right to Survive</i>
‘I am getting old. I can no longer dig to make money,’ she says. ‘The future is very frightening.’	Report	<i>Beyond Aid</i>
Suddenly we heard a noise...the embankment was breached and the water flooded towards our houses. We just managed to save our lives, but not the household contents or our domestic animals...the water washed them all away. For two days we lived in complete fear...all the time the break in the embankment was slowly increasing as the river took it away.	Web Pages	<i>Right to Survive case studies</i>
We were very tired after the long journey. We had to sleep in the open and became sick.	WebPages	<i>Tanzania: Supporting the livelihood of Maasai pastoralists</i>
For about last five years, everything seems to have changed. It is too hot and there is a severe	Press Releases	<i>\$200bn – the price of success in Copenhagen</i>

<p>scarcity of rain. There are less fish in the river and skin diseases, headache and diarrhoea have become regular phenomena. I have heard in a village gathering these are manmade disasters. I want to live. I want justice to my life and livelihoods; to my children lives and livelihoods.</p>		
<p>I came all the way from a displaced persons camp on the flooded coast of Bangladesh to see justice done for the 45,000 people made homeless by cyclone Aila. How do I tell them their misery has fallen on deaf ears?</p>	<p>Press Releases</p>	<p><i>Historic moment, historic gathering, historic COP out</i></p>

Although compassion is typically evoked by showcasing suffering, it can be stimulated through other means. The following passage taken from the WebPages is illustrative of the six gratitude-oriented testimonials identified (see Table 5.2). In it, a woman named Hawa from Darfur praises an Oxfam project that brought improved sanitation to a refugee camp in Chad:

Things are better now. We have water and...the Oxfam latrine has made our lives easier. Before we [women] had to walk very far to hide from men...thank you for the water. Thank you for the latrines. We thank you for everything you have given us. We thank you for anything you can help us with. (Oxfam International 2009n, para 13)

This quote provides a sense of success for a job well done, and gratitude for it. However, it may also be seen as framing Subject A as the perpetual victim insofar as the subject only describes how she suffered and was saved by an outside organization. She exhibits only passive behaviors: suffering and receiving. It is her perceptions about why she was in this position and what can be done about it that is lacking. The overall effect, it may be argued, is the portrayal of a victim who is not fully capable of finding her own solution(s) or of acting on her own behalf.

In terms of communication strategy, the use of gratitude testimony creates perhaps the most desirable subject: one who is a victim in need of help, and grateful for the help they

receive. Table 5.2 showcases the remaining five examples of gratitude testimony (the sixth is quoted in the previous paragraph)

Table 5.2: Examples of the Gratitude Testimony (N=6)

Passage	Source	Title
‘We were very happy because everyone knew what was to happen.’ Sri Haryani, who received cash as part of a programme implemented by Oxfam and its partner Bina Swagiri	Report	The Right to Survive
[The community] say, ‘This is like aid from the angels’ – it’s untouched...there’s no corruption... There are no suspicions on any level or concerns that there will be corruption over the cash, and the community hope that programmes from the government will also be like this.	Report	<i>The Right to Survive</i>
Before there was no one to listen to us. With encouragement [from SEED, one of Oxfam’s partners] we went to town by bus to visit the Kachcheri [local government agent]he was really shocked. We told him we had no transport for emergencies and he gave us a trishaw, which we still use. We asked [him] for a hut for shade and he gave it to us. The shopkeepers always give us less dry rations than they’re supposed to. We asked the government agent for a set of scales so we can check the weights.	Report	<i>The Right to Survive</i>
To me, the method Oxfam used was good. Oxfam gave responsibility to community leaders.	Report	<i>The Right to Survive</i>
Yenny Noza says: ‘We couldn't imagine what it would be like. When we saw it for the first time we became more and more curious. We wanted to know how it worked and when we saw how it worked we saw it was very good. And because it was developed by our ancestors we felt proud because we were recovering something old. It's very nice to be involved in this.’	WebPages	<i>“Bolivia: Reviving ancient indigenous knowledge”</i>

Not all of the Subject A testimonies identified in the sample were passive. Twenty-four instances of Subject A engaging in *reflexive* testimony or displaying awareness about what was wrong with their situation, and what needed to be changed were identified in the sampled documents. Approximately half of these (N=13) passages depicted Subject A as

providing solutions for their issues, or having successfully implemented solutions of the like.

The following quote from Muriel Saragoussi, former Environment Minister for Brazil, which was taken from a video on one of the WebPages, is an example of reflexive testimony:

Climate change causes more catastrophes, higher temperatures, more intense storms, more frequent rain, or drought. By destroying ecosystems and our cultural diversity, we are undermining our resilience, and our capacity to absorb changes to Nature, as well as to human society. (Oxfam International 2009p)

This account conveys the observations of climate change’s effects by a knowledgeable actor who has witnessed, first hand, changes in her environment over time. The use of “we are undermining...” in the second sentence in the above quote, demonstrates a strong reflexive quality because it implies a sense of responsibility in this situation. It is unclear who ‘we’ is. Perhaps it represents the people of this community, or the developing world, or maybe all of humanity. Either way, there appears to be a sense of ownership in what has ensued and of the broader consequences of those actions.

Reflexive testimony comprised 26.7% of the testimonies for Subject A within the sample. Some examples of the reflexive testimonies identified across the different document types are provided in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Examples of the use of Reflexive Testimony (N=24)

Passage	Source	Title
<p>“I know the UNDP and the World Bank have funds – yes they are there, but they add their own conditionality on top of those of the funds. I don’t know how well they understand climate change issues, but they don’t seem to have the priority or the urgency.”</p>	<p>Report</p>	<p><i>Beyond Aid</i></p>
<p>‘This area used to be thick forest, now it’s been cleared. Almost every piece of land has been settled on and people have cut trees wantonly. The river used to be wet all year round because trees surrounded it. People have cut them, the soil is being eroded, and we can’t grow crops in the dry season because we can’t get water from the river.’</p>	<p>Report</p>	<p><i>People Centered Resilience</i></p>

Women in my village used to accept disasters as a way of life. But disasters have always harmed us and ever since I was a child, I have wanted to do something. Now, with my experience in the Disaster committee I tell women that we don't need to suffer. We can be prepared. There are ten disaster committees in this area and the women elected me to become leader of ours.	WebPages	<i>Sisters on the Planet: Women fighting against climate change</i>
“We know that we are not alone in this fight on climate change. I met people from Caribas, I met people from Touvanu and the Marshall Islands who are also experiencing rising sea levels. Despite the fact that people are building sea walls they cannot stop the erosion from eating away at the shorelines.”	WebPages	<i>Sisters on the Planet: Women fighting against climate change</i>
There may be some green shoots in the rich world, but the pain in the poorest countries is getting worse by the day. This economic crisis in poor countries is a matter of life and death.	Press Releases	<i>Oxfam response to G8 on climate change, aid and trade</i>
“The Asian People’s Climate Court is an experiment to show that there is a legal basis for developing countries to sue industrialized nations and demand reparation for damages resulting from climate change”	Press Releases	<i>G8 must help poor countries cope with climate change, set up adaptation fund</i>

Solutions testimony shows the same cognitive sense as the reflexive testimony but extends beyond identifying issues and problems, to suggesting potential solutions. It is the most agency-oriented of all the testimony forms for Subject A and is evident in the testimony of Santosh Matthew, a local official in Bihar, India taken from the Oxfam report *People-Centered Resistance*:

We need forestry to restore the sponge effect to the land. That will help keep the streams alive,’ explains Santosh Matthew, a local official in Bihar, India. ‘We also need a number of surface water-harvesting structures. In addition to the right kind of forestry, we need horticulture to help fill the gaps. (Oxfam International 2009m, p. 9)

In this quote, the speaker conveys both the challenges that his community is facing and tangible solutions without referring to suffering. He reflects on the relationship between forestry and water sources and shows expertise about land-management by specifying that the “right kind of forestry” should be implemented. In Table 4.9 other examples of solutions

testimony identified across the document types is presented. It should be noted there were no examples of solutions testimony were found in the Press Releases of this campaign.

Table 5.4: Examples of Solutions Testimony (N=13)

Passage	Source	Title
We used to take it for granted that the floods would happen, and we did nothing about it? We thought it was just something from God and we had to live with it. Now we have the [emergency preparedness] team and we're more prepared to cope, we've built embankments and planted bamboos to strengthen the riverbanks, and we've identified locations in case we have to evacuate. We're doing a lot more things to prepare and cope with floods than we used to.	Report	<i>The Right to Survive</i>
We need water pipes, we need to learn how to look after the land and adapt to the drier conditions; we need to grow more drought-tolerant crops and vegetables; we need to learn more about climate change; and we need training in how we can speak up on these issues.	Report	<i>People Centered Resilience</i>
There is no irrigation here, and there was none in our old village. Plants need regular rainfall to grow. Irregular rainfall means we are growing fewer crops. To increase production, we need water, irrigation and technical support, like soil testing.	WebPages	<i>Climate hearings and tribunals: Giving people a voice</i>
When I hear the news on the radio I go straight to the mosque and make an announcement over the microphone. Everyone can hear at the same time and can put the agreed preparedness plan into action	WebPages	<i>Bangladesh: Preparing for flood disaster</i>

Victim testimony represents the traditional sense of testimony. It capitalizes on the universality of pain, appealing to the compassion of potential supporters. Gratitude testimony conveys a powerful message about people in need who are also gracious about receiving help, making them potentially more attractive to support. With reflexive testimony, the subject demonstrates cognizance of the issue at hand and is illustrative of an agency-

supporting form of testimony. The strongest form of agency-supporting testimony is solutions testimonies. It depicts subjects that are aware of their situation(s), articulate about their situations and able to contribute ideas towards solutions. Put simply, it shows the capacity of the subject to help themselves.

5.3 Subject B Major Themes

In the application of a communication strategy emphasizing economics Oxfam advanced various estimates on the necessary finance for climate adaptation, as well as using economic language and reasoning (N=147). In table 5.5, a break down of the thematic elements comprising this orientation is presented.

Table 5.5: Comprehensive list of Economic Themes (N=631)

THEME	PRESS	R1	R9	R13	WEB	TOTAL
Climate Funding	142	2	14	3	2	163
Economic Logic/Language	63	26	15	33	10	147
Economic Solutions to Climate Change	48	5	9	7	5	74
Aid Money Diverted	56	2	11	2	0	71
Climate Deal	65	0	1	1	2	69
Economic Crisis	30	2	1	2	0	35
Money “owed”	20	3	1	1	2	27
Inflation	12	2	7	0	1	22
Tax (Havens)	13	0	0	0	0	13
Development gains lost	8	0	2	0	0	10

In the above table, two of the dominant economic themes are climate funding; holding 25.8% and a climate deal at 10.9%. As mentioned in Chapter four, it should be noted that themes of climate funding and a climate deal served as the larger economic discourse that the other economic themes were framed within.

The theme with the second greatest frequency was economic language with 23.2%.

The statement below taken from an Oxfam Press release is illustrative:

The buck stops here. The failure of the G8 to deliver the \$50 billion in aid promised to poor countries is a crisis of credibility, which will cost 3 million lives. (Oxfam international 2009l, para 5)

By using the phrase “the buck stops here”, Oxfam creates rhetorical interest and makes a pun, since the ‘buck’ that should be stopping is the responsibility for the loss of lives. This would be achieved by the ‘bucks’ the G8 was said to have previously promised. The economic perspective is further extended by the use of the word ‘cost’ to reference the loss of lives that can be avoided by the provision of \$50 billion. This excerpt seemingly implies that climate change is a business deal in which there is a cost for not fulfilling one’s promises. It is as though Oxfam simultaneously wishes to better reach the G8 money holders by communicating to them in a relatable manner, while also ribbing them for not keeping their promises.

The theme of climate justice was sometimes found in conjunction with economic excerpts that also exhibit financial reasoning and/or language. The following passage which is taken from the *Beyond Aid* report (for other examples see Table 5.5), is exemplary of the economic reasoning used in a climate justice argument:

[D]eveloping countries are being hit hardest by climate change, but are least responsible and have the least resources with which to adapt. They rightly see financing adaptation as an obligation of rich countries – those that created the problem and became rich doing so. (Oxfam International 2009b, p. 22)

The financial logic in this quote specifies that rich countries became rich from the pollution they created and thus owe poor countries reparation for the effects of climate change they are disproportionately experiencing. In Table 5.5, further examples of economic reasoning identified in the sampled documents are presented.

Table 5.6: Examples of the use of Economic Language / Reasoning (N=147)

Passage	Source	Title
But current commitments to finance adaptation are orders of magnitude short of what is required, and favoured donor aid channels are not fit for purpose. The result is high transaction costs for developing countries; low transparency and donor accountability; no national ownership; and a woefully inadequate level of funding reaching projects on the ground.	Report	<i>Beyond Aid</i>
Invest more and more wisely in agriculture to accomplish multiple goals. New public investments in agriculture emphasising agro-ecological approaches are essential to improving food security; helping vulnerable farmers adapt to climate change; and mitigating climate change.	Report	<i>People Centered Resilience</i>
But the price tag is steep, and no one has agreed to fund it.	WebPages	<i>Along the coast of El Salvador, families cope with climate change</i>
Li's family farms 7 mu (1.152 acres) of land which does not bring in enough income, so they receive a monthly allowance of 30 Yuan from the government.	WebPages	<i>'I want more rain': the human cost of climate change in China</i>
These talks will fail unless rich countries deliver the money they promised two years ago to help poor countries reduce their emissions and adapt to a changing climate. Poor countries are ready to deliver on their side of the bargain – rich countries must show they are willing to do the same	Press Releases	<i>Last chance to prevent failure in Copenhagen</i>
This adaptation funding is needed now, and it should not be used as a bargaining chip in negotiations for a global climate agreement	Press Releases	<i>Finance Ministers must find funds to secure climate deal</i>

Another common occurrence within the economic theme was concern about the allocation of climate financing from existing aid budgets. Seventy-seven such instances were identified within the sampled documents. The following is a particularly argumentative example that is taken from the *Beyond Aid* report:

Oxfam has previously estimated that current adaptation costs in developing countries are at least \$50bn per year. ... So cannibalising \$50bn per year of aid commitments to pay for the new and additional costs of adaptation could mean something of the order of 8.6 million fewer people receiving treatment for HIV and AIDS, 4.5 million extra deaths

among children, and 75 million fewer children in school in 2010 than could otherwise have been the case (Oxfam International 2009m, p. 3).

The use of the word “cannibalising” conjures associations of aggression and violence against other humans. In the context of the quote, a cause and effect scenario is fostered wherein the potential diversion of aid budgets towards climate financing is linked to reductions in available AIDS treatments, a decrease in education, and an increase in child mortality rates. By using an example of diverting aid to climate funding that would cause a substantial negative effect (aka, the death of children), the importance of new aid is emphasized. Within this context, the goal appears to be one of ensuring funding for climate adaptation in accordance with certain criterion (additions to existing aid funding levels, established within a legally binding agreement, etc.). In Table 5.6, additional examples of discussions pertaining to quotes that talk about climate financing being diverted from other aid money are presented; no examples were found in the WebPages.

Table 5.7: Examples of Climate Financing being Diverted from Existing Aid Budgets (N=77)

Passage	Source	Title
Without continued progress towards the 0.7 per cent ODA commitment and adequate, new, and additional funding for adaptation	Report	<i>Beyond Aid</i>
Commit to providing \$150 bn in mitigation and adaptation funding across sectors above and beyond the 0.7 per cent of their budgets.	Report	<i>People Centered Resilience</i>
This money must be in addition to existing overseas development aid, not ‘raided’ from existing aid commitments as proposed by some countries.	Press Releases	<i>Encouraging words but more substance needed at climate summit</i>
There are no assurances that the \$100bn will be additional to existing aid commitments. This means aid for education and health care could be diverted to pay for flood defenses.	Press Releases	<i>Historic moment, historic gathering, historic COP out</i>

The discussion of climate funding was a predominant theme within the Oxfam documents, the mention of which occurred 163 times (as shown in Table 5.5). The

reparations suggested by Oxfam within the climate justice statements connect a monetary value to an issue of justice by focusing foremost on financial solutions as opposed to better environmental practices. Some 74 instances of economic solutions being presented as a means of mitigating climate change were identified. The following passage taken from a November 2, 2009 press release quoting senior climate advisor for Oxfam International, Antonio Hill is illustrative of this phenomenon:

Rich countries must act now and provide at least \$150 billion in new money to help poor nations tackle the climate crisis they created. The fate of the climate deal and millions of poor people around the world depends on it. (Oxfam International 2009f, para 8)

The idea that ‘rich countries’ should provide \$150 billion dollars puts a price tag on the multifaceted problem of climate change, while the notion of responsibility emphasized by the last sentence assures the reader that ‘poor people around the world’ depend on the actions of ‘rich countries’. Clearly, there is a financial element to solving climate change but resolving this complex problem cannot be reduced to a singular task as this passage implies. Not only is this reductive, it removes the human element from the discussion of solutions including developing world voices. Additional examples of economic solutions seemingly being prioritized for climate change are provided in Table 5.7.

Table 5.8: Examples of Economic Solutions to Climate Change (N=74)

Passage	Source	Title
Oxfam estimates that poor countries need at least \$50 billion a year of additional funding to meet the costs of adapting to unavoidable climate change.	Report	<i>The Right to Survive</i>
The moral case for financing adaptation is clear: it is precisely those least responsible for creating climate change who are suffering the most. Rich countries, which became wealthy by burning fossil fuels, have a responsibility to assist and the capability to do so.	Report	<i>Beyond Aid</i>
[An aim for the Copenhagen meeting is] for rich nations to contribute to a fund for	WebPages	<i>Seven questions on Climate Change &</i>

technologies and infrastructure to help the high emitting developing countries decrease their emissions and implement low carbon options.		<i>Copenhagen</i>
Oxfam is calling on rich country governments to give money to an adaptation fund for developing countries like El Salvador to deal with the impact of climate change.	WebPages	<i>Along the coast of El Salvador, families cope with climate change</i>
Oxfam is calling for rich countries to provide at least \$200bn a year in new money to help poor countries adapt to a changing climate and reduce their emissions.	Press releases	<i>Rich countries coalesce around \$100 billion figure</i>
Finance is recognized as the make-or-break part of the deal for developing countries. The EU must put concrete figures and commitments on the table to help developing countries adapt to climate change and pursue low-carbon development – and this is the time to do it.	Press Releases	<i>The EU risks heading for another climate mistake, warn NGOs</i>

The theme of investment was prevalent in the instances of economic solutions suggested for mitigating climate change. The quote below illustrates one of these analogies as the selling of climate insurance policies:

For a tiny premium of 0.1 per cent of the GDP of industrialised countries, new and additional investment in adaptation today can insure against these future development losses and ensure a more stable, secure, and prosperous tomorrow. This is a small price to pay. (Oxfam International 2009b, p. 2)

Here, minimal investment in climate adaptation is emphasized as worth preventing of an uncertain future. Presenting the “tiny premium” as a percentage highlights the limited amount of money required when compared to a country’s GDP. Although the reader is ensured that this is a solid investment, s/he is not told exactly what that money will buy. In another quote taken from a WebPage, Oxfam frames the need for action temporally, specifying that: “Without immediate action 50 years of development gains in poor countries will be permanently lost” (Oxfam International 2009e; Oxfam International 2009f). This also presents “poor countries” as an investment that could be lost or grown, thereby tapping into the concept of progress critiqued by postcolonial scholars.

The final form of economic-logic identified in the sample of documents analyzed was a seeming attempt to speak against the global financial crisis (N=35), which is an important aspect of the 2009 political context. In these instances, Oxfam the massive amounts of funding used to bailout several struggling banks and corporations to the provision of climate adaptation/mitigation funds. In other instances, arguments about how the developing world was also being negatively affected by the financial crisis, in terms of food prices, available aid, etc (See Table 5.8) were advanced.

The following passage taken from a climate change report entitled *People Centered Resilience* that details the importance of addressing agriculture for climate change adaptation and mitigation is illustrative of the types of financial crisis-related comparisons identified:

Oxfam calculates that \$150bn per year is needed to address critical adaptation and mitigation needs for developing countries. Yet, nations continue to squabble in international climate change negotiations, and a positive outcome is far from certain. Compare this with the speed with which rich governments recently found massive funds for bank bailouts, such as the \$170bn the US government gave to the stricken insurance giant AIG in late 2008. Clearly, where there's a will, there's a way. (Oxfam International 2009m, p. 31)

This particular passage appears to be intended to induce outrage among Oxfam supporters and guilt in developed world governments, given that AIG received one of the biggest bailouts in history and then famously awarded hundreds of millions of dollars in bonuses to its financial executives (Pleven 2009). In this instance, Oxfam is pointing out that there are endless alternative organizations in which to invest money that would be a better choice than AIG, and they place themselves (and the climate cause) as the best alternative. By closing the passage with the maxim "where there's a will there's a way" Oxfam is implying that the choice to support a failing AIG is reflective of a contorted sense of values. In other words if climate change (and development) were a priority, rich countries would find the money. In

Table 5.8 further examples of excerpts about the financial crisis that are linked to responsibility themes are provided, it should be noted that there were no examples found in the Web Pages.

Table 5.9: Examples Criticism of Global Financial Crisis (N=35)

Passage	Source	Title
And it will cost a tiny fraction of what rich countries spent on the global financial crisis since 2008 to provide decent humanitarian assistance to all	Report	<i>The right to Survive</i>
Since the financial crisis began, governments have mobilised an estimated \$18 trillion in finance to rescue failing banks.	Report	<i>Beyond Aid</i>
We must seize the opportunity to build on synergies between actions to combat climate change and economic recovery initiatives, and encourage growth and sustainable development worldwide.	Report	<i>People Centered Resilience</i>
The economic crisis arrived as poor countries were already struggling to cope high food prices and floods, droughts and food shortages linked to climate change.	Press Releases	<i>100 people every minute pushed into poverty by economic crisis</i>
At a moment where many look for ways to tackle the global economic crisis, the World Social Forum has set a clear message: “the weight of the crisis cannot fall on the shoulders of the poorest.”	Press Releases	<i>EU climate approach puts world’s poorest people at peril</i>

The above table has several examples of the financial crisis. We should note an overlap of themes of responsibility linked with the many economic examples. In Table 5.10, a complete listing of responsibility themes within the documents is illustrated, broken down by document type. As seen below, 58 of the responsibility references were framed economically.

Table 5.10: Comprehensive list of Responsibility Themes (N=145)

THEME	PRESS	R1	R9	R13	WEB	TOTAL
Economically Framed	35	7	6	6	4	58
Moral Obligation	12	8	2	8	2	32
Responsible for Causing & Mitigating Climate Change	13	5	2	5	2	27
Sign a Climate Deal	11	0	0	0	2	13
Responsible for Causing Climate Change	7	0	1	0	1	9
Other (for emissions, etc.)	4	1	1	1	0	6

The theme of responsibility was identified in 145 instances. Of these instances, 24 associated responsibility with Subject B causing and mitigating climate change (See Table 5.9), and 24 with Subject B having a moral obligation toward Subject A (See Table 5.10), and 10 tied responsibility with legal imperatives (See Table 4.1). This manifestation of Subject B's responsibility for causing and mitigating climate change can be observed in the following passage taken from the Oxfam report *Beyond Aid: Ensuring adaptation to climate change works for the poor*:

Rich countries, which became wealthy by burning fossil fuels, have a responsibility to assist and the capability to do so (Oxfam International 2009b, p. 9).

The claim here is that only rich countries have gained wealth from burning fossil fuels and are thus, primarily responsible/capable for contributing to its solution. This version of climate justice discourse is also a pointed anti-capitalist critique that explains that rich countries or industrial countries benefitted from their carbon emissions, alluding to the importance of the industrial revolution to modern developed economies. In all of these discourses, Subject A is quite literally absent from the discourse insofar as it is not even addressed as a party in this climate justice quote. Additionally, Subject A is absent from the

context of modern era industrialization. Further examples of Subject B be depicted as both causing and mitigating climate change are listed in Table 5.9.

Table 5.11: Examples of Responsibility Linked to Causing and Mitigating Climate Change (N=27)

Passage	Source	Title
They rightly see financing adaptation as an obligation of rich countries – those that created the problem and became rich doing so.	Report	<i>Beyond Aid</i>
In line with their responsibility (for causing climate change) and their capability (to pay), rich country governments must lead in cutting global emissions so that global warming stays as far below a 2°C global average temperature increase as possible, and provide at least \$50bn per year to help poor countries adapt to climate change.	Report	<i>Right to survive</i>
G8 countries created the climate crisis and they have the financial resources to tackle it.	Web Pages	<i>G8: Action needed on Climate Change</i>
Rich countries created the climate crisis but they have failed to commit their fair share of the new money that is needed to help poor countries adapt to a changing climate and cut emissions.	Web Pages	<i>Decisive climate talks kick off in Barcelona: Oxfam Big Heads photo gallery</i>
Oxfam is calling on rich nations, who are responsible for climate change to cut carbon emissions by 40% below 1990 levels by 2020, as well as deliver \$150 billion a year to help poor countries cut carbon emissions and adapt to climate change.	Press Releases	<i>Encouraging words but more substance needed at climate summit</i>
The report calls for rich countries, who produce three quarters of the world’s greenhouse gas emissions that are instrumental in causing dangerous climate change, to slash their emissions and also provide funds to help poor countries like Malawi, who are not responsible for the changes the climate is forcing on their environment, to adapt.	Press Releases	<i>Climate change is pushing Malawi further into poverty: women are hit worst</i>

The theme of responsibility linked to moral obligation can be seen in the quote below, which is taken from an Oxfam press release announcing a new report on the effects of climate change in Haiti:

Rich countries, who are responsible for causing climate change, must take responsibility and commit to reducing emissions and finance adaptations for developing countries. (Oxfam Interntional 2009h, para 9)

Here responsibility translates into an expectation that the rich countries will act on the proposed solutions. The onus explicit in the word ‘must’ speaks to the justice aspect of climate justice discourses and implies that rich countries are under a moral obligation to reduce emissions and finance adaptations for developing countries. The simple article “for” connotes that developing countries are not an active participant in the solution but rather passive recipients. It also suggests that if Subject B were to reduce its emissions and finance climate adaptations Subject A would benefit exclusively. To put this in perspective, the meaning of the above passage would change completely if the article ‘for’ was replaced with ‘in’, or ‘with’. Table 5.10 lists other identified examples within the sampled documents of linking responsibility to moral obligation.

Table 5.12: Examples of Responsibility Linked to Moral Obligation (N=32)

Passage	Source	Title
The moral case for financing adaptation is clear: it is precisely those least responsible for creating climate change who are suffering the most. Rich countries, which became wealthy by burning fossil fuels, have a responsibility to assist and the capability to do so.	Report	<i>Beyond Aid</i>
International humanitarian organisations have a vital role to play, both in supporting governments to fulfil their responsibilities and in supporting civil society to demand that they do so. International humanitarian organisations must provide impartial, accountable, and effective assistance in order to save lives.	Report	<i>Right to Survive</i>
Those of us who have created the problem have not only a moral obligation but also a practical obligation, for our own interests to address. That’s obviously what Copenhagen will be about.	Web Pages	<i>Climate hearings and tribunals: Giving people a voice</i>
Climate change is affecting every issue linked to poverty today. From death to hunger, disasters to displacement, the cost of delay is criminal,” said Jeremy Hobbs, Executive Director of Oxfam International. “We’ve been waiting two	Press Releases	<i>Millions face climate related hunger as seasons shift and change</i>

years for this critical deal. With just four days to go, it's time for governments to stop sidestepping their responsibilities and do the deal that's needed for all of us.		
First and foremost though, developed countries have a responsibility to make much deeper cuts in emissions. We also need a global climate regime that delivers more than \$150bn per year in public finance – over and above existing aid commitments -- to help developing countries cope with floods, droughts, storms and disasters, and cut their future emissions growth,” he said.	Press Releases	<i>G8 must help poor countries cope with climate change, set up adaptation fund</i>

The linking of responsibility with moral obligation in the context of Subject B being responsible *for* Subject A, risks perpetuating paternalism.

In ten instances, the argument that the developed world benefitted from its carbon emissions was found to be tied to responsibility via a legal imperative. In the quote below, which is taken from the Oxfam report entitled *The Right to Survive: The humanitarian challenges for the twenty-first century*, the discourse of human rights is used to incite the authority of law into the climate justice discourse:

Responsibility for this global violation of human rights lies with the industrialized countries that became rich by burning fossil fuels over the last century, raising atmospheric CO2 to current levels (Oxfam International 2009s, p. 49)

Referring to “human rights” in this context, Oxfam roots its argument in the authority of law and hints at potential legal ramifications for the actions of the industrialized world. Since a legal context precludes that a subject cannot play both the role of plaintiff and defendant, the identification of guilty subjects and victims in the legal framing of climate justice severs the participation of other Subjects or alternate representations of those Subjects. The defendant is the developed countries and the plaintiff is the developing countries. Thus, Subject B is solely responsible for the damages and Subject A is the primary victim of climate offenses. Additionally, other subjects who are not strictly Subject A or B are excluded, such as neutral

subjects (people in general). By assigning guilt and proclaiming solutions, Oxfam situates itself as the judge in this case.

Unique to climate-specific justice, is the notion that Subject B is both the perpetrator of the climate crime, and a potential savior. The perpetrator (Subject B) is thus the guilty but powerful, while the victim (Subject A) becomes the innocent but disempowered. Further examples of the legal imperatives in Oxfam’s campaign are listed in Table 5.11.

Table 5.13: Examples of Legal Imperatives (N=70)

Passage	Source	Title
Climate change, through its impacts on risk and vulnerability, is undermining millions of people’s fundamental human rights: rights to life, security, food, water, health and shelter, for example.	Report	<i>Right to Survive</i>
<i>Responsibility</i> for this global violation of human rights lies with the industrialised countries that became rich by burning fossil fuels over the last century, raising atmospheric CO ₂ to current levels. Their greater wealth also means that it is these same countries that have the <i>capability</i> to respond.	Report	<i>Right to Survive</i>
What makes the Copenhagen talks different to other international negotiations, such as the G8 or the G20, is that the final agreement will be legally binding – making it more difficult for countries to shirk their responsibilities at a later date.	Web Pages	<i>Seven questions on Climate Change & Copenhagen</i>
That's why we're working with others to support people's Tribunals on climate change. The tribunals will explore the possibilities at the national level for using national laws to hold governments and private sector actors accountable for the impacts of the changing climate on vulnerable communities.	Web Pages	<i>Climate hearings and tribunals: Giving people a voice</i>
The testimonies by affected witnesses whose lives and livelihoods depend on effective action to tackle climate change as well as measures to adapt to unavoidable impacts had given the court and about 150 people in the audience a clear sense that emissions from industrialized countries over the past 200 years clearly show the culpability of G8 countries for global warming and hardships inflicted on Asia	Press Releases	<i>G8 must help poor countries cope with climate change, set up adaptation fund</i>

The verdict outlined that there is a legal basis for reparation claims on the basis of existing international legal standards and conventions – to make good for damage in developing countries resulting from climate impacts which are triggered by historic emissions from industrialized countries	Press Releases	<i>G8 must help poor countries cope with climate change, set up adaptation fund</i>
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The combination of compassion, logic and ethical (responsibility) themes found within the sampled documents create a trifecta of discourses to potentially persuade audiences to support Oxfam’s activities. However, the evidence presented above suggests a certain level of deprecating Subject A also is present in this communication strategy. Focusing on the economic contributions of Subject B as a solution to climate change oversimplifies the issue and reinforces the disparity of resources between the two subjects.

5.4 Metanarratives: Climate Justice discourses

As discussed previously, climate justice discourses hold Subject B responsible for creating climate change, while claiming that Subject A experiences climate change’s effects to a greatest degree. The climate justice discourses within the sampled Oxfam documents demonstrate a tendency to undermine developing world agency as exemplified by the fact that these examples emphasize Subject B as the cause of climate change and having the sole responsibility and capability for solving climate change. This is illustrated in the following example from the Press releases: “Rich countries got us into this mess and they have the money and the technology to get us out of it” (Oxfam International 2009k).

The preceding quote is one of several examples in which Subject A is excluded from any participation in climate change discussions or solutions. If we consider that the purpose of this campaign is to represent developing world voices on the issue of climate change, it is

counter-productive for this subject not to be present in the climate justice discourses. The exclusion of Subject A from participating in climate change solutions is shown again in the following climate justice quote from the report *Right to Survive*:

Responsibility for this global violation of human rights lies with the industrialized countries that became rich by burning fossil fuels over the last century, raising atmospheric CO2 to current levels. Their greater wealth also means that it is these same countries that have the capability to respond. (Oxfam International 2009s, p. 49)

This thesis identified 57 specific climate justice quotes. These examples had a tendency to cultivate many of the low-agency forms for Subject A, and high agency forms for Subject B. If we recall from Chapter four, low-agency forms are those that minimize the subject's ability to speak and be active in a discourse, for example passive verb usage and lesser amounts of 'voiced' text. High-agency forms are those that empower the subject to speak and act, for example active verb usage, greater amounts of page space and identifiers with authority. Following is a typical climate justice quote from the Press Releases, to make the analysis more clear the subjects are shown in boldface and the verbs are shown in italics.

Rich countries *are responsible* for three quarters of green house gas emissions currently in the atmosphere but it is the **world's poorest people** who are *being hit* first and hardest by the changing climate. (Oxfam International 2009g, para 6)

As is seen above, both Subject A and Subject B are identified by socioeconomic identifiers, which lend a kinder light to Subject B who is identified by its access to resources (i.e. "rich countries"). In this example, Subject B is performing the high-agency verb combination "be responsible", while Subject A is "being hit", thus emphasizing the empowerment of Subject B and the passivity of Subject A.

To better demonstrate the inequality between Subjects A and B within Oxfam’s climate justice examples, the charts below compare the two. Table 5.14 shows the low-agency forms commonly found within the climate justice examples and their frequencies for each subject. Table 5.15 shows the high-agency forms for each subject within the climate justice examples.

Table 5.14: Low-Agency Forms

Low Agency Forms	Example	Subject A	Subject B
<i>Passive verb usage</i>	To receive, to be hit by	N=22	N=3
<i>Lesser presence of a Subject</i>	Comparably lesser number of subject references	N=49	N=58
<i>Contingent Agency instances</i>	Instances of contingent agency	N=14	N=0

Table 5.15: High-Agency forms

High Agency Forms	Example	Subject A	Subject B
<i>High-authority subject identifiers</i>	Organization or official	N=0	N=10
<i>Predominantly Active verb usage</i>	To help, to provide	N=17	N=64
<i>Greater Subject presence</i>	Comparably higher number of subject references	N=49	N=58
<i>Subject shown as responsible</i>	Subject connected to themes of responsibility	N=0	N=28

As can be seen in the above tables, Oxfam’s climate justice examples cultivate low-agency forms for Subject A and high-agency forms for Subject B, showing an exaggeration of the inequality between the two subjects that is found overall in this campaign.

The most problematic aspect of the discourses of climate justice is that they are one of the metanarratives that framed the entire Oxfam International climate change campaign. This means that the overall argument of this campaign was Oxfam’s version of climate justice, which explains that the developed world created climate change and they are

responsible and capable to fix it. It should be noted that other forms of the climate justice discourse (outside of Oxfam's campaign) also argue about the inequity of the contributions and effects of climate change, but they are framed within a context of legal justice. For example, solutions to climate change could be discussed that are not economic in nature and that include the contributions of Subject A. Concluding, the combination of multiple low-agency aspects for Subject A and high-agency forms for Subject B make the climate justice examples and metanarrative utilized by Oxfam the most agency-endangering aspect of their entire campaign.

5.5 Summary

This chapter provided the critical analysis of the major themes for the primary subjects. The analysis found a theme of testimony use for Subject A, the greater part of which was passive in nature (falling into the categories of victim and gratitude testimony). The use of passive testimony aligns with traditional compassion-driven NGO campaigns. However, a number of the Subject testimonies were of a different nature (in the categories of reflexive and solutions testimony), demonstrating that this campaign was not entirely compassion-based and contained some testimonies for Subject A that reflected high-agency.

Discourses of economics and responsibility were the major themes found for Subject B, with economics holding the greatest frequency of any other finding (N=631). Economic language and reasoning was frequently used to frame Oxfam's arguments, and economic solutions were often suggested as a means for solving the issue of climate change. The focus on economics emphasized the contributions of Subject B, who was described as capable of providing these economic solutions, both figuratively and literally (since Subject B is often referred to as "rich countries", and also described as having the capacity to pay).

Comparatively, Subject A is not included in these solutions, and is implicitly incapable of contributing. In terms of responsibility, Subject B is explained as being responsible for helping Subject A mitigate and adapt to climate change, since Subject B is also responsible for causing climate change. The responsibility strategy appealed to the ethical imperative of Subject B helping and compensating for the damages it has caused Subject A. This argument again focuses on eliciting positive behavior from Subject B to Subject A, with Subject A passively receiving or altogether missing from the conversation. The themes for Subjects A and B combine elements of compassion, ethics and logic to form a multifaceted strategy that is prospectively persuasive to a greater audience than approaches that utilize only one of these elements (such as the traditional compassion-based models).

The climate justice discourse dispensed by Oxfam International served as the primary metanarrative for this campaign, arguing that the developed world caused climate change and is responsible for solving it. This discourse is particularly problematic because it contains many low-agency forms for Subject A, and because it guides the campaign overall. In the subsequent chapter, the concluding discussion for this thesis is laid out.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis has examined inequality in Oxfam's climate justice discourse by analyzing representations of developing world agency in a sample of this organization's climate change documents. The study began by outlining the theoretical base of this thesis and examining contemporary perspectives regarding NGO communication strategies. The methodology used for the assessment presented in this thesis combined content and discourse analysis. The findings that emerged were presented in chapters four and five, and suggest that the agency of developing world people was represented unequally compared to the developed world within Oxfam International's 2009 Climate Change campaign, and further, that this campaign was couched in a metanarrative juxtaposing economics and climate justice. The discussion in this final chapter is divided into three sections. In the first, the central research question guiding this study is addressed in the light of the research findings. In the second section, limitations of the thesis are considered. The chapter concludes by reflecting upon avenues of possible further research that flow from the findings of the thesis.

6.1 Re-examination of the Research Questions

The central research question that this thesis sought to address was:

To what extent do developing world people and countries have agency in Oxfam International's 2009 climate change campaign?

In seeking to address this question, two sub-research questions were posed:

- 1) *How are power relations between NGOs and developing world countries framed in Oxfam International's climate change discourse?*
- 2) *Is Oxfam International's climate change campaign creating space for subaltern voices to speak?*

The discussion below offers detailed responses to each of the sub-questions, and then moves to answering the central research question.

6.1.1 Framing of Power Relations

Themes of orientalism, as well as discrepancies in representations of agency for the two subjects, framed the power relations between the developing and developed worlds. While Oxfam International's campaign would not accurately be described as orientalist, there was evidence of orientalist themes found in the documents. The representations of the developed and developing worlds within Oxfam's campaign reinforce a separation between the two, both geographically and discursively, reminiscent of Said's (1985) concept of imaginative geography or Amin's (1989) geographic determinism. Orientalist stereotypes were seen in the discrepancies in the subject identifiers, shown in the opposing nature of the socioeconomic labels used for the subjects: the developing world was frequently referred to as "poor countries" and the developed as "rich countries". Additionally, the developing world was predominantly referred to by geography or socioeconomic class and was much less likely to hold a label of authority. These tendencies in the subject identifiers connect with the orientalist dichotomy in that the oriental is characterized as physical, local and lacking in resources.

Another pattern within the documents that feeds into the orientalist dichotomy is the depiction of the developing world as passive. This was demonstrated most effectively by the verb usage, which for Subject A was mostly passive (49.7%) and for Subject B was predominantly active (82.7%). The trends in verb usage were made worse by the instances of contingent agency, where active verb usage for the developing world was negated by the fact that it was conditional on the support of the developed world.

The findings demonstrated that this campaign frequently leaned on economic language and logic to bolster its calls-to-action. A prime example of this is the arguments that present climate finance as a better investment than other western venues, as it would prevent the loss of current development gains. Within these economic themes, the developed world was the active agent, investing in climate finance or contributing to economic solutions to climate change, while the developing world was being invested in or helped.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the developed world was framed as being responsible for both causing and solving climate change, and also having a moral obligation to help the developing world. The portrayal of the developing world subject as lacking in authority and instances of the developed world shown as responsible *for* the developing world, depict the developing world as dependant on the help of the developed world, and thus not fully capable of helping themselves. What is interesting is that these responsibility-based arguments were colored by economic reasoning in many of the cases, since the solution the developed world was responsible for was often the provision of climate funding.

Oxfam's version of climate justice discourse served as the guiding force for this campaign, whereby the developed world contributed the most to climate change, experiences the effects of climate change the least, and is the most capable of contributing to its solutions. Additionally, the analysis revealed that discourses of climate justice cultivated all of the other low-agency forms, to an exaggerated degree. This made the climate justice discourses the most disparaging discursive form to developing world agency.

6.1.2 Space for subaltern voices?

As Spivak discusses, the role of the intellectual is to create space for the subaltern to speak for themselves, like facilitators. Said (1985) echoes this ideal concerning the role of the intellectual, to comment on inequality as well as work actively to change it. Thinking back to the research sub-questions, this thesis inquired about the appropriation of voiced-text, or space for the developing world (aka subaltern voices), which was found to be unequal to the developed world.

Overall, the developing world held a little more than half of the voiced-text within this campaign. This is especially troublesome if we consider that this campaign was most likely created to advocate for the lack of justice and representation of the developing world in the climate change issue.

The developing world was also somewhat more likely to be paraphrased than the developed world. Speaking to paraphrasing, it is important that the developing world has control over their own stories. In Chapter four, it was noted that while not fool proof, it is better to provide direct quotes when representing a person or group, since quoted words are not appropriated by another. That said, the nature of the quoted material is also important. The quoted text for the developing world took the form of testimony, of which, more than half were passive testimonies and thus disparaging to agency. Passivity and victimization themes for the developing world were evident in the use of victim testimonials (which outweighed the other forms of testimony). If this subject is primarily shown as a victim, they will be discursively disempowered and denied the opportunity to speak. Additionally, if they

are primarily depicted as victims, the developing world is not given the space to be heterogeneous complex subjects.

The best example of space created for the developing world was in the active agency testimonies (reflexive and solutions testimony). In the reflexive testimonies, the developing world persons were depicted as speaking conscientiously about climate change and their experiences. The solutions testimony went a step further, showing developing world subjects making astute observations about their situation and contributing ideas for possible solutions. This is lamentable only because these agency-empowering testimonies made up the lesser portion of the quoted material.

6.1.3 Agency in Oxfam International's 2009 climate change campaign

As Maggie Black once said to the Oxfam assembly, NGOs are not very good at creating waves but that they are great at riding them (Black 1992). Nevertheless, one might ask: will the climate change bandwagon take Oxfam where it wants to go? While the motivation is transparent, the execution of the climate change campaign is not. To speak directly to the central research question: *To what extent do developing world people and countries have agency in Oxfam International's 2009 climate change campaign?* The agency of developing world people was minimized in this campaign, being that developing world people's ability to speak and act were limited, especially when compared to the developed world. This was most evident in the climate justice discourses and the Press Releases.

The findings presented in Chapter four suggest that the agency of developing world people was represented as somewhat limited within the sampled Oxfam International 2009 climate change documents, especially when compared to the representations of developed

world agency. The evidence to support this claim was supported through a number of complementary observations. Firstly, Oxfam's climate change campaign tended to portray the developing world as a victimized subject and the developed world as the empowered party bearing responsibility for the plight of its counterpart. In some instances, the representations resembled the orientalist dichotomy of colonized/colonizer. This was evident is in the agency expressed by verb usage. Specifically, the developing world was more frequently associated with the use of passive verbs than active verbs.

Oxfam also tailored messages to its different audience types, which was seen in the differences in tone among the three document types. This thesis posited that the audience of the Oxfam Press Releases is likely policy makers. This brings in to question why this document type contained the greatest amount of low-agency forms for Subject A and, contrastingly, the greatest amount of space for Subject B. One consideration is that the Press Releases are more political in nature and so they are focused on influencing climate change policy. In this case, it is possible that Oxfam showcased the inequality between the two subjects as leverage: the developing world was highlighted as a victim in need of help to inspire policy makers to become involved. It is also possible that Oxfam (consciously or not) created discourses that emphasized inequality between the developing and developed world subjects so that it would be more relatable to its audience. If the latter is the case, it is clear that much work is needed to rectify the imbalanced dynamic between these two subjects in discourse and in practice.

An economic-oriented metanarrative framing the climate change issue was characteristic of the Oxfam documentation examined. A primary theme within these examples was the claim that there are economic solutions to climate change, sometimes even

suggesting that the only solution to climate change is a financial one. To be clear, the majority of the time these arguments are speaking about finances supplied by developed world countries to the developing world.⁴⁷ This reasoning underscores the developed world as responsible for providing the solution to climate change, in the form of money (and since the developing world is perceived as lacking in these resources they become the incapable victim). Emphasizing a solution to climate change that is solely monetary severs it from humanity and especially any contributions from the developing world. It also is incredibly reductive. Undoubtedly, finance is needed for climate adaptation/mitigation, but this issue would never be resolved by funds alone, nor the contributions of only the developed world. Overall, the predominance of economic themes in this campaign emphasized the developing world's lack of resources and capability to contribute, thereby infringing upon their agency.

Climate justice discourse served as the guiding force for this campaign. In Oxfam's version of climate justice, there is inequity in the way the developing world experiences climate change's effects despite the fact they have contributed the least amount of emissions. This discussion centers on the developed world as the perpetrators and also potential redeemers to the climate crime, while another developed world subject acts as judge and jury (Oxfam). Consequently, the developing world becomes the hapless victim, frequently excluded from the discussion and unable to contribute to solutions.

Wodak (2001) reminds us that language expresses and manifests power. With this in mind, the wide-reaching communications of Oxfam International could potentially cause harm by representing the developing world with diminished agency. Discourse is power in

⁴⁷ In a few instances, transitioning economies, such as China and India are listed as potential donors.

action and thus discourses that reflect diminished agency could potentially translate into practice and reinforcing inequality.

6.2 Limitations and strengths of the research

There are certain methodological limitations that arise from the type of research undertaken for this thesis. Firstly, it was not within the scope of this thesis to examine all of the Oxfam International documents from their 2009 climate change campaign. Instead, a sampling strategy was employed.⁴⁸ It is plausible that including all the 2009 reports in the sample may have altered the empirical findings. Furthermore, this research exercise can speak only to Oxfam's 2009 climate change campaign. Were this study to be replicated for 2013, the results might be different considering the context within which the 2009 campaign took place (i.e., lead-up to the 2009 UNFCCC conference in Copenhagen as well as the height of the global recession). It is likely that a campaign of another year would place less emphasis on economic language and climate funding. Given that recent global meetings on climate change emphasize the participation of all countries, it is possible that Subjects A and B would have been presented on more equal footing in a current campaign. It should also be noted that Oxfam International's current website no longer showcases climate change as its central campaign, but instead on a food justice campaign (Oxfam International 2013).

The examination of images was outside of the scope of this thesis. That said, a potentially rich analysis could arise from applying the theoretical themes utilized for this thesis and to the images in the documents. The images of this campaign are found on the Web Pages and in the Reports, and many of them serve as evidence of the effects of climate

⁴⁸ A strategic sampling strategy was used to pick out one genre of the reports based on its relevance. The category of climate challenges (as named by the researcher) was selected as it communicated the most about the two primary subjects. As such, thirteen reports were excluded from this study.

change experienced by developing world people. One might expect that they would showcase victimization and thus a low-level of agency for developing world people. Additionally, there were a lot of images used in this campaign, which hints at the relevance of their study.

Since this thesis employed a critical discourse and content analysis of Oxfam International's climate change discourse, it cannot speak to the actual intentions of this organization. Therefore, evidence of negative patterns of developing world agency can only be attributed to the documents analyzed and not Oxfam itself. That said, it seems plausible that since Oxfam signed off on the production of the sampled documents that the organization concurs with the discourses contained therein.

6.3 Areas of Future research

The findings emerging from this thesis point to an opportunity to examine other discourses on climate change, particularly within a development context. For example, examining how the agency of developing world people is represented in the climate change discourses of other NGOs or supranational organizations such as the UN would provide valuable insights into the power dynamics between these organizations and developing world people and any inequalities that exist. This prospective research could possibly even shed light on how these inequalities could be addressed.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

In a globalized world where a new issue arises and new NGOs are created everyday, it is exceedingly difficult to gain support for your cause. While its possible that Oxfam did notice that climactic changes were interfering with its development work, it is probable that they

also saw an opportunity to garner new support by jumping on the climate change bandwagon. At the time of this campaign, climate change was an issue in the limelight as the countdown to Copenhagen was underway. The climate cause became poignant when some discourses started applying the idea of justice and law, as in the climate justice discourse. These arguments added logical economic reasoning and law, as well as arguments of moral responsibility to the usual compassion strategy of NGOs, making it a particularly attractive cause to advocate for.

While Oxfam's climate justice discourses were found to be the most disparaging discursive form to developing world agency, they also represent a missed opportunity. Climate justice points out invariable inequalities in the climate conundrum and provides the mechanism of law for practical enforcement of that justice. Oxfam fails to utilize the inherent tools of climate justice, since, the *justice* aspect of this discourse implies the inclusion of law or laws. While Oxfam occasionally references human rights and environmental law, overall the mechanism of law is not applied in this campaign. Instead, notions of justice in the allegorical sense of fairness are claimed or implied, denying the opportunity to ground this campaign into something more enforceable than owed finances.

In conclusion, NGOs, particularly larger organizations like Oxfam, typically have great intentions that are limited by pragmatics. They operate on the mission of creating the greatest positive effect with their (often) limited resources, not to mention that there is no lack of issues to be solved. To speak to the words of Maggie Black, Oxfam needs to decide whether riding the climate wave is more important than the destination, whether or not the ends justify the means.

Appendix A: Fairclough's Critical Discourse Framework

A. Vocabulary

1. What *experiential*⁴⁹ values do words have?
What classification schemes are drawn upon?
Are there words which are ideologically contested?
Is there *rewording* or *overwording*?
What ideologically significant meaning relations (*synonymy*, *hyponymy*, *antonymy*) are there between words?
1. What *relational*⁵⁰ values do words have?
Are there euphemistic expressions?
Are there markedly formal or informal words?
2. What *expressive*⁵¹ values do words have?
3. What metaphors are used?

B. Grammar

5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?
What types of *process* and *participant* predominate?
Is agency unclear?
Are processes what they seem?
Are *nominalizations* used?
Are sentences active or passive?
Are sentences positive or negative?
6. What relational values do grammatical features have?
What *modes* (*declarative*, *grammatical question*, *imperative*) are used?
Are there important features of *relational modality*?
Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?
7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?
Are there important features of *expressive modality*?
8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?
What logical connectors are used?

⁴⁹ “A formal feature with experiential value is a trace of and a cue to the way in which the text producer’s experience of the natural or social world is represented. Experiential value is to do with contents and knowledge and beliefs” (p. 112, Fairclough, 2001)

⁵⁰ “A formal feature with relational value is a trace of and cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse. Relational value is (transparently!) to do with relations and social relationships”.

⁵¹ “And, finally, a formal feature with expressive value is a trace and a cue to the producer’s evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of reality it related to. Expressive value is to do with subject and social identities, though only one dimension of the latter concepts is to do with subjective values.”

Are complex sentences characterized by *coordination* or/ *subordination*?
What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

C. Textual structures

9. What interactional conventions are used?

Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?

10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?

Appendix B Verb Listing by Category

Below is a listing of verbs that were analyzed in the Oxfam documents, broken down by category. Verbs that required effort and/or intention to perform were categorized as active. Verbs that required little or no effort to perform were categorized as passive. Verbs that appeared to fall in between the middle of these two (e.g. required minimal effort but weren't completely passive) were categorized as neutral. This list is not exhaustive but aims to include the various forms of the main verbs that were identified.

Analysis Codes-Agency by verbs

Active verbs:

Achieve, burn, burning, burned, mow, mowing, mowed, spill, spilling, spilled, spoil, spoiling, spoiled, achieve, act, add, affect, aim, argue, arrange, arrive, ask, asking, asked, attack, attacking, attacked, batter, battering, battered, beat, beating, begin, beginning, began, break, breaking, broken, bring, bringing, brought, build, building, built, burn, burning, burned, buy, buying, bought, call, calling, called, can, could, catch, catching, caught, cause, causing, caught, change, changing, changed, charge, charging, charged, choose, choosing, chosen, clean, cleaning, cleaned, climb, climbing, climbed, close, closing, closed, collect, collecting, collected, come, coming, came, commit, committing, committed, complain, complaining, complained, complete, completing, completed, connect, connecting, connected, contact, contacting, contacted, contain, containing, contained, contribute, contributing, contributed, control, controlling, controlled, cook, cooking, cooked, copy, copying, copied, correct, correcting, corrected, count, counting, counted, create, creating, created, cross, crossing, crossed, cut, cutting, damage, damaging, damaged, dance, dancing, danced, deliver, delivering, delivered, demand, demanding, demanded, deny, denying, denied, design, designing, designed, destroy, destroying, destroyed, devastate, devastating, devastated, develop, developing, developed, discover, discovering, discovered, discuss, discussing, discussed, divide, dividing, divided, do, doing, done, draw, drawing, drew, drive, driving, drove, end, ending, ended, examine, examining, examined, express, expressing, expressed, fail, failing, failed, fall, falling, fell, fasten, fastening, fastened, feed, feeding, fed, fight, fighting, fought, fill, filling, filled, finish, finishing, finished, fly, flying, flew, force, forcing, forced, form, forming, formed, find, finding, found, give, giving, gave, go, going, gone, grow, growing, grew, hate, hating, hated, head, heading, headed, help, helping, helped, hit, hitting, hold, holding, held, hurt, hurting, identify, identifying, identified, improve, improving, improved, influence, influencing, influenced, inform, informing, informed, intend, intending, intended, jump, jumping, jumped, kick, kicking, kicked, kill, killing, killed, knock, knocking, knocked, laugh, laughing, laughed, lead, leading, led, learn, learning, learned, leave, leaving, left, lend, lending, lent, lie, lying, lied, limit, limiting, limited, lose, losing, lost, love, loving, loved, make, making, made, mean, meaning, meant, meet, meeting, met, move, moving, moved, obtain, obtaining, obtained, offer, offering, offered, open, opening, opened, order, ordering, ordered, perform, performing, performed, pick, picking, picked, plan, planning, planned, point, present, presenting, presented, prevent, preventing, prevented, produce, producing, produced, promise, promising, promised, protect, protecting, protected, prove, proving, proved, provide, providing, provided, publish, publishing, published, pull, pulling, pulled, put, putting, raise, raising, raised,

ratify, ratifying, ratified, reach, reaching, reached, reduce, reducing, reduced, refuse, refusing, refused, remove, removing, removed, replace, replacing, replaced, report, reporting, reported, represent, representing, represented, return, returning, returned, rise, rising, rose, run, running, ran, save, saving, saved, say, saying, said, sell, selling, sold, send, sending, sent, separate, separating, separated, serve, serving, served, shake, shaking, shook, shoot, shooting, shot, shout, shouting, shouted, shut, shutting, sing, singing, sang, smile, smiling, smiled, sound, sounding, sounded, speak, speaking, spoke, stand, standing, stood, start, starting, started, stick, sticking, stuck, stop, stopping, stopped, study, studying, studied, succeed, succeeding, succeeded, supply, supplying, supplied, support, supporting, supported, take, taking, took, talk, talking, talked, teach, teaching, taught, tell, telling, told, test, testing, tested, think, thinking, thought, throw, throwing, threw, touch, touching, touched, train, training, trained, travel, travelling, travelled, treat, treating, treated, turn, turning, turned, use, using, used, vote, voting, voted, walk, walking, walked, warn, warning, warned, wash, washing, washed, watch, watching, watched, wear, wearing, wore, will, willing, willed, win, winning, won

Neutral verbs:

Account, accounting, accounted, admit, admitting, admitted, appear, appearing, appeared, apply, applying, applied, base, basing, based, be, being, been, bet, betting, believe, believing, believed, belong, belonging, belonged, breed, breeding, bred, bring, bringing, brought, care, caring, cared, carry, carrying, carried, cast, check, checking, checked, choose, chose, chosen, claim, claiming, claimed, clear, clearing, cleared, come, coming, came, compare, comparing, compared, concern, concerning, concerned, confirm, confirming, confirmed, consider, considering, considered, can, could, cover, covering, covered, cry, crying, cried, decide, deciding, decided, describe, describing, described, do, doing, did, done, draw, drew, drawn, dress, dressing, dressed, drink, drinking, drank, eat, eating, ate, encourage, encouraging, encouraged, enjoy, enjoying, enjoyed, expect, expecting, expected, feed, fed, feel, feeling, felt, find, finding, found, fit, fitting, flee, fled, go, going, gone, went, have, having, had, hide, hiding, hid, hope, hoping, hoped, imagine, imagining, imagined, include, including, included, increase, increasing, increased, indicate, indicating, indicated, introduce, introducing, introduced, invite, inviting, invited, involve, involving, involved, join, joining, joined, keep, keeping, kept, know, knowing, knew, last, lasting, lasted, leave, leaving, left, lend, lending, lent, like, liking, liked, link, linking, linked, live, living, lived, mark, marking, marked, matter, mattering, mattered, may(have), might (have), mean, meaning, meant, measure, meet, meeting, met, measuring, measured, mention, mentioning, mentioned, mind, minding, minded, miss, missing, missed, notice, noticing, noticed, ought, should, own, owning, owned, pass, passing, passed, place, placing, placed, prefer, preferring, preferred, prepare, preparing, prepared, press, pressing, pressed, put, read, reading, realize, realizing, realized, recognize, recognizing, recognized, record, recording, recorded, refer, referring, referred, reflect, reflecting, reflected, regard, regarding, regarded, relate, relating, related, remain, remained, remaining, remember, remembering, remembered, repeat, repeating, repeated, reply, replying, replied, reveal, revealing, revealed, ring, ringing, rang, roll, rolling, rolled, send, sending, sent, set, setting, share, sharing, shared, shed, shedding, shine, shining, shone, show, showing, showed, slide, sliding, slid, sling, slinging, slung, sort, sorting, sorted, spin, spinning, spun, spit, spitting, spat, stink, stank, stunk, string, stringing, strung, suggest, suggesting, suggested, suit, suiting, suited, suppose, supposing, supposed, swing, swinging, swung, think, thinking, thought, tend, tending, tended, try, trying, tried, understand, understanding, understood, visit, visiting, visited, wake, waking, wet, wetting, woke, wear, wearing, wore, want, wanting, wanted, will, would, write, writing, wrote

Passive verbs:

Accept hear, heard, kneel, kneeling, kneeled, lean, leaning, leaned, sit, sitting, sat, see, seeing, saw, weep, weeping, wept, accept, accepted, accepting, adapt, adapting, adapted. afford, afforded, affording, agree, agreeing, agreed, allow, allowing, allowed, answer, answering, answered, avoid, avoiding, avoided, beg, begging, begged, brace, bracing, braced, cost, costing, continue, continuing, continued, consist, consisting, consisted, deal, dealing, dealt, depend, depending, depended, die, dying, died, disappear, disappearing, disappeared, drop, dropping, dropped, enable, enabling, enabled, handle, handling, handled, get, getting, got, gain, gaining, gained, forgive, forgiving, forgave, follow, following, followed, fold, folding, folded, face, facing, faced, experience, experiencing, experienced, exist, existing, existed, happen, happening, happened, hear, hearing, heard, lay, laying, laid, occur, occurring, occurred, need, needing, needed, manage, managing, managed, look, looking, looked, listen, listening, listened, let, letting, receive, receiving, received, pass, passing, passed, release, releasing, released, require, requiring, required, rest, result, resulting, resulted, see, seeing, saw, seen, seem, seeming, seemed, survive, surviving, survived, suffer, suffering, suffered, stay, staying, stayed, state, stating, stated, sleep, sleeping, slept, settle, settling, settled, thank, thanking, thanked, used to, wait, waiting, waited, wish, wishing, wished, wonder, wondering, wondered, worry, worrying, worried

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