

Deconstructing Representations of “The Other” in the Online Media of Canadian Based
Non-Governmental Organizations

Lisa VanderWallen

Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the MA degree in Globalization and International
Development

School of International Development and Global Studies
Faculty of Social Science
University of Ottawa

© Lisa VanderWallen, Ottawa, Canada, 2012

Abstract:

In an increasingly globalized and interconnected world, Canadian identity and the role of Canada in international development efforts are constantly scrutinized. Alongside this massive new wave of globalization and excessive transnational communication technologies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are now major players in providing development aid and also in perpetuating discourses via digital visual representation. Deconstructing visual representations of the Self and Other in the online media of Canadian based and internationally based NGOs, this thesis is grounded in postdevelopment and postcolonial theories. Visual culture and emerging digital technologies are crucial to identity construction, and NGOs, increasingly relying on web material for fundraising, are a major purveyor of representations of those in the developing world.

Evaluating image use by Canadian based and internationally based NGOs, this thesis unites theoretical concepts of visual representation with concrete photographic depictions and structured content analysis to investigate multiple and changing development discourses. Considerable literature has focused on the notion of the Self and Other dichotomy especially as it relates to international relations and are explored within the text. Positioned in an era of polycentric global governance, NGOs are professionalized groups whose power is often obscured by charitable discourses. Despite the humanitarian and altruistic aims of the NGOs selected for the study, data demonstrates the implications of their image use for development discourse and practices.

Table of Contents

| SECTION: | PAGE: |
|--|-------|
| Acknowledgments | iv |
| Chapter 1: Conceptual Challenges of Identity | 21 |
| Chapter 2: Discursive Tensions in Development | 30 |
| Chapter 3: The Pornography of Poverty | 49 |
| Chapter 4: Identity and the Internet: Current Challenges | 56 |
| Chapter 5: Deconstructing the Other: Problematizing Constructions of Power and Approaches for Analysis | 80 |
| Chapter 6: Research Findings for Internationally Based NGOs | 102 |
| Chapter 7: Research Findings for Canadian Based NGOs | 115 |
| Chapter 8: Describing the Subject | 126 |
| Chapter 9: Analyzing the Subject | 134 |
| Chapter 10: Contextualizing the Subject | 140 |
| Research Conclusions | 148 |
| Bibliography | 156 |
| Appendix: | |
| - Internationally Based NGO Images: | |
| - World Vision Canada | 168 |
| - Save the Children Canada | 169 |
| - Plan Canada | 171 |
| - Oxfam Canada | 173 |
| - Care Canada | 175 |
| - Canadian NGO Images: | |
| - World Hope Canada | 176 |
| - World Relief Canada | 177 |
| - Kairos Canada | 179 |
| - Free the Children Canada | 181 |
| - USC Canada | 182 |
| - Visual Depictions of Data: | |
| <i>Describing the Subject:</i> | |
| - Visible Minority Status bar graphs and pie charts | 184 |
| - Representations of Gender bar graphs and pie charts | 189 |
| - Representations of Age bar graphs and pie charts | 194 |
| - Clothing of Subjects Represented bar graphs and pie charts | 200 |
| <i>Analyzing the Subject:</i> | |
| - Action in Photo bar graphs and pie charts | 205 |
| - Facial Expressions and Body Language bar graphs and pie charts | 211 |
| - The Dominant and Passive Divide bar graphs and pie charts | 222 |
| <i>Describing the Context:</i> | |
| - Camera Angle bar graphs and pie charts | 227 |
| - Rural/Urban Divisions bar graphs and pie charts | 232 |
| - Background Data bar graphs and pie charts | 237 |
| - National Origins bar graphs and pie charts | 242 |

Acknowledgments:

Professionally, I acknowledge the various professors who have guided my studies in international development and globalization and specifically appreciate the dedication of my supervisor, Alberto Florez-Malagon. Challenging me to develop a more advanced theoretical framework and being a constant advocate and supporter of the work granted me the confidence to complete the writing independently and the resources to write with a more self-assured style.

To my committee members, Rita Abrahamsen and Ari Gandsman, I appreciate the feedback I received following the submission of my proposal and the input you provide while serving on the committee. My gratitude is hardly enough thanks for working to evaluate me in fairness and for actively supporting the pursuits of students.

Personally, I acknowledge the wonderful support of my parents, siblings, and extended family, friends, and colleagues who listened to my ideas and provided feedback that allowed me to consider perspectives I had previously omitted. Mom, thank you for editing and for building my confidence when it was most wavering, along with challenging me to be my best Self. Dad, thank you for showing me the true value of hard work while demonstrating that fun in scrabble and crosswords can lead to great mental strides. And finally, to Travis – this degree is partially yours; you ignite my passion but also drive me to maintain sanity. I truly would not have survived these past two years without your patient affection, and I am eternally grateful.

Introduction:

Changing technologies and evolving digital advancements means that while the character of visual culture is changing, the impact of visual images as signifiers of greater social issues is only strengthened in current debates in international development.

“Visual culture is concerned with the visual events in which information, meaning, or pleasure is sought by the consumer in an interface with visual technology” (Mirzeoff, 2002, pg. 3). Like texts and oral testimonies, visual images are an important form of social and historical evidence, but can create some awkward problems in that social scientists do not always interpret or read the visual cues properly, meaning that criticism of visual evidence remains undeveloped (Burke, 2001, pg. 14 – 15). An old adage, “seeing is believing” underscores the importance of critically evaluating taking for granted images that are presented as truth claims. Massive advancements in digital reproduction means that “the proliferation of visibility has made film and television entertainment the United States’ second largest export after aerospace...visual culture is a tactic with which to study the genealogy, definition and function of postmodern everyday life from the point of view of the consumer, rather than the producer” (Mirzeoff, 2002, pg. 3). Photographic images “...have the ability to capture a viewer’s attention and to evoke more emotional responses than verbal communication. Images that appear in the media may influence public opinion and guide national policy” (Fahmey, 2003, pg. 9). Not only read as historical evidence, but also as historical pieces in themselves, photographs are valuable in that they can provide evidence of material culture while also projecting the idea that portraits are accurate representations of reality (Burke, 2001, pg. 24 – 25). Image use in fundraising campaigns by various non-governmental

organizations (NGOs) shape not only our understanding of the organization's themselves, but are also used to support the discursive messages of Canadian development policies and representations of diverse identities. Holding the power to depict subjects however they chose, NGO web material allows them to control audience perceptions, and visual culture studies are interested more in the consumers of culture, rather than just the producers. "The most political decision you make is where you direct people's eyes. In other words, what you show people day in and day out is political" (Wenders, 1997, pg. 52), so considerations of photographic representation are treated as political exercises. Canadian based NGOs working transnationally to improve living conditions for those living in extreme poverty compete in an increasingly crowded fundraising marketplace and are now employing more digital technologies to expand outreach efforts to attract more donors. Through social networking and official web pages, NGOs are able to instantly connect with a wider population and interact with donors in online fora, allowing for production of various images and multimedia. Studying these photographs, we can assess the ways that the Self and Other are represented by NGOs to better understand development discourses and the media that support official text and language. Historically,

"The images associated with [development], and the practices it entails, vary from one extreme to other depending on whether we adopt the viewpoint of the 'developer' – committed to bringing about the happiness he wishes for others – or the viewpoint of the 'developed' – who is forced to modify his social relations and his relationship to nature in order to enter the promised new world." (Rist, 2008, pg. 2)

Challenging traditional development projects and the discourse that supports them, this thesis is interested in the intersection of power and representation and its implications for Canadian identity. Importantly, visual culture studies emphasize investigating the consumer of images as crucial for providing context in understanding the representation of the subject. Canadian citizens are actively engaged with different charitable organizations, and in 2010, 23.4 percent of all tax filers claimed charitable donations, accounting for just over 5.7 million people (Canadian Donations, 2011). According to the 2010 Canadian Internet use survey, 80 percent of all Canadians aged 16 years and older were active users of the Internet for personal use. Another study from CRTC acknowledges over 9 million subscribers to cable or satellite television (CRTC, 2006). With active connection to television and internet, combined with engaged donations made to charitable organizations, Canadian citizens do not experience NGO websites as the only source of information on the developing world, but are instead contextualized amid documentary news footage, online social networking, and connections to different community organizations.

Citing President Truman's January 20, 1949 inaugural address and the following "Truman doctrine" that "initiated a new era in the understanding and management of world affairs...concerning the less economically accomplished countries of the world" (1995, pg. 3), Arturo Escobar explains the invention of a "development discourse" and the invention of the "Third World", "underdevelopment" and continued construction of a marginalized Other by the West (1995, pg. 3-20). Concerned with "development as a regime of representation" (1995, pg. 6), Escobar claims that economic international development is a failing project invented within the space of modernity so as to affirm

and support transnational interventions (1995, pg. 9). Edward Said suggests that "the general liberal consensus that 'true' knowledge is fundamentally non-political . . . obscures the highly if obscurely political circumstances obtaining when knowledge is produced" (1978, pg. 10).

This is also true of knowledge in international relations studies. Said argues that "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient.... in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient" (1978, pg. 3). Like Said's Orientalist discourses, "development or developmentalism has functioned as a mechanism for the production and management of the Third World in the post-war period" (Williams, 1998, par. 9). Amid shifting focuses of aid relief, discourses to support interventions that reaffirm the superiority of the West have permeated the landscape of international relations for decades. The post-war Marshall Plan and Bretton Woods Institutions can be considered a first stage in development regimes and help to frame a timeline in shifting international priorities. Transitioning from an economically driven mandate of the Marshall Plan to massive industrialization of the 1960s, poverty reduction programs of the 1970s, the lost-decade of the 1980s, a governance focus of the 1990s, and finally to "glamour aid" filled with moral campaigners of the 2000s, development discourse has transitioned in its focus, but not in its pervasiveness (Moyo, 2009, pg. 3-48).

Development discourse is not about the variety of topics or shifting priorities, but is ultimately concerned with defining the recipients of aid and maintaining the power of representation; "Development discourse has created an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and the exercise of power over, the Third World...this

discourse results in concrete patterns of thinking and acting through which the Third World is produced” (Escobar, 1995, pg. 9,11). Traditional theories of development can be categorized under a diffusionist paradigm that is divided into three main branches: comparative analyses of patterns of development (spatial differentiation); the single region stage models (some of which embrace spatial integration); and the system - of regions diffusion models (spatial diffusion) (Browett, 1980, pg. 60). “Proponents of theories within all three branches believe that they adopt a non-ideological approach to development and so are able to provide objective and value-free scientific analyses” (Browett, 1980, pg. 60), serving to construct the discursive function of each branch as apolitical and more scientific and rational, rather than embedded in power relations. Shifting terminology used by different development practitioners creates the illusion that programming is becoming more progressive and successful, when in actuality discourse remains intact to allow for power to remain unchanged.

As an ideology, interventions to end global poverty have created a development discourse so powerful it can be compared to religion. Claiming that “Development is an element in the religion of modernity” (pg. 21), Gilbert Rist (2008) explains the pervasiveness and stubbornness of its practitioners; “Just as Christians know all about the numerous crimes committed in the name of their faith, yet continue to uphold it, so do the ‘development’ experts increasingly recognize the mistakes without questioning their reasoning for soldiering on” (2008, pg. 23). Coinciding with state led interventions and the formation of transnational governance bodies to oversee official development efforts, NGOs emerged in the immediate post-war period to help increase assistance to regions torn by war. NGOs, positioned as civil society actors, work outside the official doctrines

of the state, yet have orientations and objectives similar to state discourses. Aiming to promote global democracy, effective aid relief, and acting as an intermediary between grassroots movements, various development actors, state governments, and international bodies, NGOs are often used “to ‘democratize’ development practices by better facilitating grassroots participation” (Murdock, 2003, pg. 507). NGO efforts are often depoliticized, despite that the overall objectives and orientations support wider development discourses. In aiming to economically and socially develop the Global South in the same way that states have, NGOs are less criticized for their political engagements and seen as neutral, charitable bodies. World Vision, Save the Children, Care, Oxfam, and Plan were all created internationally during the war and post-war period and quickly set up satellite organizations in Canada. Canadian experiences in development programming is similar to many Western nations in that early responses emerged in the post-war period alongside the invention of major international bodies, but have adapted to create more long term development strategies forming a complex web of transnational activity. Like many other regions where digital technologies have transformed international relations, Canadian citizens remain actively engaged in missions around the world.

Following the post-war period and Canada’s successful military campaign as liberators for many European nations, the role of Canada as an international peacekeeper was solidified by numerous international memberships and leadership ventures. Massive immigration to Canada from European nations torn by war following the war meant that the doctrine of multiculturalism was born not in the Trudeau era entirely, but was a result of ‘nationalities’ groups formed in Canada immediately following the war (Kristmanson,

2003, pg. xv). Massive immigration and with connections with relatives abroad, new Canadians developed a greater internationalism and domestic policies reflected a push towards more transnational intervention. Coupled with domestic social advancements and widespread immigration along with innovative leadership and technological developments, Canadian citizens became leaders of industrialized development. Europe's devastation after the war weakened their role in international economic realms, and Canada's strategic location beside the United States made them a major source for development funding. Marshall Plan operations and the post-war re-building of Europe, accompanied by the creation of the League of Nations, United Nations, and Bretton Woods Institutions meant a new transnational politics for Canadian governments.

“The cold war and decolonization in Asia framed Canada's decision in 1950 to offer capital and technical assistance through the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia. Since then, Canada has distributed over \$50 billion in official development assistance to countries in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America.” (Morrison, 1998, pg. 1)

Under the leadership of Lester B. Pearson, Canada became a pioneer of peacekeeping missions and the role of Canada as a positive global leader became solidified internationally as Canadians helped create concepts such as the UN Security Council and helped author the UN Declaration for Human Rights. In many cases, leaders of Canadian governments are responsible for authoring global discourses on international relations and shaping early transnational development interests. The Canadian International Development Agency was established in 1968 by an order in council to administer the bulk of Canada's Official Development Assistance (ODA) program and to better assist

people living in poverty (www.acdi-cida.gc.ca). Prior to an official ODA administration like CIDA, Canadian assistance took the form of contributions to the United Nations and its agencies until in 1959, the Department of Trade and Commerce set up an Economic and Technical Assistance Bureau that began to look after the growing needs of developing countries (www.acdi-cida.gc.ca). In 1960, the Bureau's functions were transferred to the Department of External Affairs, now the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, which managed ODA funds until 1968 when CIDA was created. Generally, it is recognized that the Pearson years were the best for Canadian aid policy:

“The halcyon days for Canadian aid were the 1960s, when Lester B. Pearson helped stake out an international leadership role for Canada. Pearson himself headed the 1969 UN expert commission which established the widely accepted target for donor countries of 0.7% of Gross National Income (GNI) for overseas development assistance (ODA).” (Brown and Jackson, 2010, pg. 2)

Funding for ODA is channeled through CIDA to various sources, with NGOs gaining much of their funding from CIDA grants and redistributions. However, “Canadian NGOs have seen the most dramatic losses from a share of \$281.78 million in 1991 to just \$13.5 million in 2003” (Agg, 2006, pg. 17). Canadian ODA on the whole has been on the decline for many years, with 1975-76 being Canada’s greatest year in terms of ODA/GNI ratio, reaching 0.53 % (0.55% for 1975 calendar year) (Morrison, 1998, pg. xv) with 2005 levels marked at only 0.34% (OECD, 2006). Critics of the Canadian role in international development have often claimed that Canada’s position as an international peacekeeper and leader of global humanitarian interventions has weakened in the last few decades (Potter, 2002; Brown, 2008; Brown and Jackson, 2010). With less financial

commitments to ODA, NGOs are often forced to take on the extra burden of programming overseas and face a heightened need for fundraising. A myriad of political and social changes has meant that Canadians do not commit as much of their GDP percentages to ODA. While critics cite a lack of political will as a major reason for the cutbacks to ODA, the official government reasoning states that major drops in funding in the mid 1990s to 2000s was caused by “additional demands on aid resources, including for emergency humanitarian relief, post-conflict reconstruction, and security-related objectives, [which] put further pressure on budgets for long-term development and poverty reduction programs” (Paul and Pistor, 2009, pg. 2).

Emerging studies on globalization speculate that with new interconnections facilitated by information communication technologies, operations of global governance are less situated at the state level. With easier access to information and mechanisms of power stretching across financial, economic, political, communicative, and national boundaries, a system of polycentric global governance means that many operatives hold power. With power being partially dispersed away from the state, NGOs in particular now take on more responsibilities that previously were held in the domain of the local governments. Following IMF loan conditionalities that limited state spending in the social sector, transnational development NGOs increasingly took on social service and human welfare responsibilities. NGOs during the period of structural adjustment became more professionalized, and became,

“Concerned especially about the effects of adjustment policies on the poor. Some of the largest NGOs began to spend aid money on advocacy initiatives, aiming to influence the development and aid policies of official donors, and on trying to

give a greater voice and greater power to poor people to influence policies, and the structures and institutions affecting them.” (Riddell, 2007, pg. 37)

Over the last two decades, cutbacks in ODA and reductions in state level interventions has meant an increase in the number of NGOs working in various capacities and on a variety of issues in poor countries and a rapid expansion in the scale of their activities, which is unmatched in the monitoring of NGO missions (Riddell, 2007, pg. 404).

Despite what can widely be considered a failed project (statistics on extreme poverty globally and failed Millennium Development Goal indicators can prove this claim), development still remains a continued focus for international institutions.

With modern day technologies, easy access to images from around the globe, and multiple non-governmental bodies easily available, it is difficult for people of the so-called “Generation Y” to consider a time when virtual realities did not dominate the social landscape. While intriguing for political scientists, the new world epoch where states are less powerful than corporations or other bodies, people born into massive digital transition are normalized to believing in a limited state role. Rather than mimic the social activism and idealism of their 1960s era parents, new generations are characterized by their resourcefulness in accessing information, leading to their more pragmatic worldview (Neuborne, 1999, cover story). Amid uprisings advocating for the 99% and occupying Wall Street, other members of Generation Y are complicit in social networking sites that violate personal privacy and acknowledge multinational corporations as the most powerful institutions in the world.

“Bombarded by ad messages since birth...marketing experts say they form a less homogeneous market than their parents did. One factor is the fracturing of media,

with network TV having given way to a spectrum of cable channels and magazine goliaths...most important, though, is the rise of the Internet. It is the Gen Y medium of choice, just as network TV was for boomers. 'Television drives homogeneity,' says Mary Slayton, global director for consumer insights for Nike. 'The Internet drives diversity.' (Neuborne, 1999, cover story)

Now highly professionalized groups, NGOs are using the Internet to court potential donors and tend to follow a very corporatized model in web design. Answering calls for proactive disclosure and mimicking the corporate web material of major companies and governments, the web pages for NGOs contain: links to mission statements and organizational core values, contact information, biographies on the CEOs and board of directors, videos and photographs depicting their work, annual reports outlining financial data, and areas where online donations can be made instantly. Additionally, NGO web sites tend to use language of inclusion, speaking: "about us", "where we work", and "our mission". Language of inclusion on NGO websites mirrors that of official Canadian discourses of Canadian identity and state discourse that promote Canada as a society promoting multicultural values and welcoming everyone to citizenship. Adopted in 1971 as Canada's first official policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework, the stated purpose of the policy was to "encourage members of all ethnic groups in Canada to maintain and share their language and cultural heritage with other Canadians" (Esses and Gardner, 1996, pg. 147). Promoting integration rather than assimilation (Dewing, 2009, pg. 3), the multicultural discourse constructs Canadian identity as diverse and accepting of many different ethnicities and cultures. In understanding representations of the Self

and Other, Canada's multicultural discourse challenges traditional understandings of the Other and will be contextualized in the findings of this research.

Working within a constructivist epistemological framework that argues humans generate knowledge and meaning from an interaction between their life experiences and their previous ideas, the research is centered on investigating the Canadian development industry with a focus specifically on the NGOs. Images can "...shape our interpretation of the world by creating shared perceptions, affecting and conditioning real-life understanding" (Fahmy, 2003, pg. 3). In an increasingly interconnected and web savvy world, the emergence of internet based advertising, NGO fundraising, and constant information exchange means that images are transmitted and shared across wider platforms than ever before with their impact becoming even more pervasive. The research objective is to better understand the discursive visual representation of "the Other" in the online media used by Canadian based NGOs, limiting the project to photographic evidence. The primary research question shaping this explanatory investigation is: "How do constructed representations of the Other in the online media of Canadian based NGOs support discursive practices operating within the development industry?" My thesis intends to study the use of images by Canadian Based NGO's on their official web pages only to understand the social construction of Otherness as it relates to Canadian development discourse. Selecting 10 images from each organization, a total sample size of 100 images is evenly comprised of 50 from internationally based NGOs and 50 images from Canadian based NGOs. As my subsequent literature review will demonstrate, a wide variety of sources have investigated photographic elements used by international institutions, but few studies have specifically focused on Canadian

NGOs, nor on a comparison between nationally based organizations and the wider web of international NGOs. In a business whose donations are driven to a large extent by socially constructed perceptions of the Other, there is a practical aspect to the research as NGOs in Canada could use the research to better assess their marketing strategies in light of an ever-changing population. My research studies Canadian NGO construction of the Other and questions whether Canadian visual representations are distinct compared to wider international organizations. Fitting more broadly into a postdevelopment and postcolonial theoretical framework, the research project is unique in that it uses a content analysis of visual representations to negotiate the relationship between pictorial digital depictions and the broader discourse in the development NGO sector in Canada.

Since the thesis combines elements of discourse analysis, literature review, and content analysis, the chapters are divided to address the many aims of the research project. The chapters are divided into the sections that outline their main task, with continuity achieved throughout the thesis by constantly reframing back to the major research tenets focused around the construction of the Self and Other in an effort to construct a narrative about Canadian based NGOs and their use of visual representations.

Chapter one explores a constructivist epistemological framework to evaluate the conceptual challenges of identity construction, particularly as it relates to representations of the Self and Other. Continually questioning objectivity and the power relations behind knowledge production, constructivist epistemology is explained and applied to the major theorists cited to review the multidisciplinary nature of the Self and Other. An initial review explains how sociologists, psychoanalysts, and feminists have adapted the notion of Self and Other as pivotal concepts for explaining the construction of identities.

Included in this section of the chapter is also an exploration of the construction of identities in new digital mediums, highlighting claims that we are all cyborgs (Haraway, 1990), that we need to develop a computerized gaze (Mirzeoff, 2002), that we help to construct imagined communities online (Appadurai, 1996), and that our experience online allows us to experiment with diverse identities (Bell, 2001)., Visual representations of the Other are explained by briefly exploring photographic discourse and outlining the ways that images are treated as hegemonic apparatuses in that they subvert our consciousness, but are not often analyzed with the same critical eye as written text. A special consideration is made to understand the concept of the gaze and how it relates to understandings of the mediated Self and constructed Other as well as to new virtual variations of a digital gaze. Briefly, NGO's social construction and representation of the Other is considered.

The second chapter evaluates the discursive tensions in development work and explores postdevelopment and postcolonial theory, outlining the major tenets of each framework and examining the downfalls and criticisms launched against both approaches. Notably, the research attempts to focus on postdevelopment and postcolonial theory's efforts at understanding power and discourse and on their understanding of identity construction and representation. A consideration of colonial histories is invoked briefly to better contextualize the current discourses and an effort to incorporate various postcolonial subaltern voices (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1993; Fanon, 1963; Bhabha, 1987; and Nandy, 1997) is made to give credence to the critical perspective. Major development discourses are examining by looking at modernization theory and its backlash as well as the ways that development theorists and practitioners

use discourse to create solvable problems and prioritize scientific disciplines in programming and research.

The third chapter of the thesis investigates the pornography of poverty to assess the perpetuation of images that evoke the same cues as sexual pornography. Concepts such as: “compassion fatigue” (Moeller, 1999), “starving naked babies” (Manzo, 2006), “delicious horrors” (Rozario, 2003), and the continued visual depiction of victimization of women and children (Mohanty, 1997; Manzo, 2006, 2008; O’Dell, 2008; Lamers, 2005) are investigated and applied to NGO iconography. By exploring massive campaigns and the lasting desensitization, the literature suggests that the pornography of poverty will forever characterize NGO image production. Mechanisms for over-sensationalizing humanitarian crises are explored to also reveal the juxtaposition of pornographic cues amid needy children.

A fourth chapter considers the internet and identities as well as current challenges for NGOs as, changing aid media and new media are researched to explain the ways that backlash to traditional negative images combined with newer technologies and changing demographics influence NGO advertising. Increased disclosure requests mean that NGOs now use modern media and social networking to engage differently with potential donors than in previous generations. Additionally, commentary on celebrity star power and famous interventions speaks to the current NGO trend of using images of celebrities and advocates to promote specific causes and make organizational efforts more marketable. The theme of digital media and transitioning propaganda neatly concludes commentary on changing aid media and alterations to NGOs. Briefly, the thesis explores

a few selected case studies from the United States and the United Kingdom to highlight the body of literature on NGO representations in print media

The fifth chapter works to deconstruct the Other by problematizing constructions of power and outlines approaches for analysis. By explaining the methodological approach the chapter highlights again the main research objectives and problems and attempts to explore a method for approaching the questions. Additionally, following the brief introduction, sections outlining the process for selecting NGOs for investigation, selecting of the images, collecting the data, and coding the data are included so that future studies on digital sites of representation can be conducted. Since I created a method for applying random sampling procedures to complicated web sites and was very explicit in outlining the categories for analysis, the methodological chapter is crucial so as to explain how the findings can relate to the literature review and theoretical understandings.

In a sixth chapter, I analyze the research findings by explaining the results of the data, first beginning by reviewing the images selected from internationally based NGOs. In short summaries, I outline the results for each organization. A seventh chapter follows the same process by exploring Canadian based NGOs separately and focuses on how their aggregated data compares with internationally based NGOs with similar mandates and mission statements. By first exploring each NGO separately, the data is first analyzed to describe the images of each organization to see the ways that representations of the Self and Other are constructed and reflective of official organizational discourses. Project aims and official mission statement and visions of organizations seem to dictate pictorial representations and are explored in the first section of the findings chapter.

An eighth, ninth and tenth chapter scrutinize the content of selected photos to outline the description of the subject, an analysis of the subject, and the description of the context to assess the ways that Canadian based NGOs and internationally based NGOs treat representations of the Self and Other. By isolating variables such as representations of the fundraiser and the aid recipient, research assesses the ways that images reflect organizational discourses, and support broader development discourses.

Chapter One: Conceptual Challenges of Identity

Constructivist epistemology attests that all meaning, understanding, and ways of knowing are premised on our own experiences in the world and it is that through our own learning and construction that we create reality. Arguing against total objectivity, constructivists see the knower as the source from which all understanding is built, rather than seeing the world solely in the realm of the material (Perkins, 1999; Tynjälä, 1999; Kanselaar, 2002; Schulte, 1996). For my project, many themes are explained and can be interpreted through a constructivist epistemological framework. While the thesis discusses many diverse notions ranging from image production, NGO policies, representation, power, and discourse, ultimately, the work embodies a broad investigation into social identities especially in regards to the mediated Self and constructed Other. Constructivists challenge absolute definitions of Self and see the understanding of Self as built on an act of creation. The notion that even self-identity is reliant on a something that it is not, is explained by the creation of an Other. We create the Other in order to acquire a better understanding of the Self. Many different theories across diverse disciplines have challenged the source of our sense of identity, with constructivists attesting that our sense of Self is not inevitable, but instead is crafted.

The notion of the Self and Other often referred to in critical investigations in international relations comes from a variety of disciplines in the understanding of constructed identities and can be aptly applied to visual representations, especially in my transnational investigation. Whether cited by psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, feminists, or other fields of research, the notion of the Self and Other is a useful and often used concept for understanding our constructed identities. Dating back to the days of Simone De Beauvoir's *second sex*, feminists have long argued that the disciplined binaries used to define maleness and femaleness lead to essentialist thinking and a normalization of constructed identities. Called the process of negative differentiation, sexual and racial identities rely on an understanding that:

“whiteness needs blackness to constitute itself as whiteness; that masculinity needs femininity or feminized masculinity to constitute its masculinity in agreed upon modes; that civility and bourgeois respectability need the stereotypical unruly ‘Others’ to define the nonexistent codes of what constitutes ‘acceptable’ behavior” (Rogoff, 2002, pg. 32).

Like the colonizer and colonized, the Orient and the Occident, the developed and the underdeveloped, definitions of Self and Other are mutually constitutive and hybridities mean that people cannot always be neatly categorized.

Consciousness and awareness of the Other is crucial for a more thorough and engaged understanding of the Self. The experience of knowing that the Other can also view the Self is what transitions the existence of the Self as subject to the Self as object. Interestingly then, the representation of the Other in online NGO imagery is particularly unique in that the subjects of the pictures (the depicted Other) have no ability to gain

subject status since they are unable to look back at the audience Self. Photographs create a one-way viewing spectrum. Audiences to the photographs recognize their status as Self-as subject and the Other-as object is inevitable.

The research objective is to better understand the discursive visual representation of the Other in the online media used by Canadian based NGOs. The primary research question that shaped this explanatory investigation was: “How do constructed representations of the Other in the online media of Canadian based NGOs support discursive practices operating within the development industry?” It is important to clarify that images in themselves are not discourse, as discourse refers to language. Victor Burgin (1982) comments that the prevalence and availability of photographs and photographers (compared to say paintings and painters) means that audiences view photographs “as a free and familiar coinage of meaning, largely unremarked and untheorized by those amongst which it circulates” which is similar to the attributes of spoken language, often taken for granted (pg. 143). Burgin (1982) does not conflate photographic images with language (which could further assume that pictures are themselves a discourse), but suggests that the natural language (spoken and written) and visual language (photographic and semiotic) are similar, even though there is no signifying system or technical apparatus for interpreting visual language as there is in textual words (pg. 143). Studies in visual culture teach us that images are always contextualized and produce separate meanings. More precisely, “The visual, in our view, never comes ‘pure’, it is always ‘contaminated’ by the work of our other senses (hearing, touch, smell), touched by other texts and discourses, and imbricated in a whole series of apparatuses” (Shohat and Stam, 2002, pg. 55). My project does not argue that images are

discourse, but rather suggests that the social cues produced from the visual representation embodied in NGO online photographs supports a larger discursive framework. Often, images are ignored or not analyzed because they are so pervasive, which can be especially true in online scenarios where text, images, links, and videos compete to capture our attention. Visual images such as advertisements, television, movies, and photographs are read informally and we tend not to analyze them since images do not come in the language of analysis, written word or text (Silverman and Rader, 2006, pg. 360). In reading visual images, we need to start analyzing the ways that values and assumptions are transmitted quietly and often subconsciously through images, and also be aware that the viewer always participates in the construction and significance of the image (Silverman and Rader, 2006, pg. 360). So-called

“photographic discourse, like all discourses, engages discourses beyond itself”; the ‘photographic text’, like any other, is the site of a complex ‘intertextuality’, an overlapping series of previous texts ‘taken for granted’ at a particular cultural or historical conjuncture.” (Burgin, 1982, pg. 144).

If we acknowledge that photographs are part of an intertextual experience with development discourse, the analysis of NGO images can help inform understandings of ourselves in relation to development paradigms both domestically and abroad.

Photographs, especially those used on NGO websites, can be understood and evaluated as a way of analyzing the representation of the Other, as well as deconstructing the picture to determine aspects of our own identity. The Internet and the websites contained within it, as a medium, is an especially interesting loci for investigations about representations of Self and Other, because virtual realities allow for diverse and multiple

identities. Digital images and their presentation on an online media is an interesting area for investigation, especially if we consider that,

“the way images are presented might have a critical impact not only on the audience’s attitude, but also on the degree of empathy, since the emotional values contained in the image influence how strongly the reader is touched by the suffering of the depicted parties.” (Dobernig, Lobinger & Wetzstein, 2010, pg. 91)

The photographs used on NGO websites can help to tell us about the broader society’s understanding of the development industry and about the consciousness of each Canadian citizen as to their position in the “global village”. When considering online photographic representations, it is important to understand the multiple actors involved in not only producing the images, but also in receiving and viewing the photos. With the Internet, a worldwide audience is created to the NGO images, such that determining the Self and Other as neatly separate categories becomes challenging. Like the postcolonial thinkers who establish the colonizer and colonized as mutually constitutive, visual representations of the Other are also contextualized and understood in relation to the Self.

Knowing that the viewer must be central to the analysis of the photographs, the gaze concept, often cited by feminists is important to establish as a key theoretical tenet. Explaining the gaze as a field of vision that is “an apparatus of investigation, verification, surveillance, and cognition, which has served to sustain the traditions of Western post Enlightenment scientificity and early modern technologies,” Irit Rogoff explains how a specific way of looking that is sanctioned and legitimated by scientific imperatives leads to a legitimation of state and academic discourses (Rogoff, 2002, pg. 31). Put more

simply, Rogoff suggests that the academic gaze forces researchers to view images in a way that is supported by the larger discourse, which also serves to perpetuate and further empower the institutions that produce the images. Psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (2002) pioneered the use of the concept of the gaze especially in arguing that desire serves to discipline the subject. Having enormous impact in visual culture studies, Lacan explains how our experience in the gaze, determines our identity; Lacan says “in the scopic field, the gaze is outside, I am looked at, that is to say, I am a picture” (2002, pg. 126). Later elaborating on how the subject being looked at is a picture, he explains:

“What determines me, at the most profound level, in the visible, is the gaze that is outside. It is through the gaze that I enter light and it is from the gaze that I receive its effects. Hence it comes about that the gaze is the instrument through which light is embodied and through which in a fragmented form I am photographed” (Lacan, 2002, pg. 127).

If we see the gaze as having the same effect as being photographed, the parallels of identity formation and image reproduction are easily made. Like Sartre who established the changing subject/object definition when one becomes conscious of being looked at, Lacan’s gaze explains, “The effects of the gaze can be felt in the sensation of being looked at, that can also be a sexual or gender surveillance, or a racialized distinction” (Mirzeoff, 2002, pg. 112). In what Lacan refers to as the “locus of mediation”, the intersection between the subject and the gaze causes a “fracture, a bi-partition, a splitting of the being” (Mirzeoff, 2002, pg. 112). W.E.B. Dubois explains having a gift of a:

“Second sight in this American world – a world which yields him no true self-consciousness but lets him see himself through the revelation of the Other

world...this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's Self through the eyes of another" (2002, pg. 125).

Similarly, psychoanalyst Frantz Fanon comments on his own double consciousness, and speaks about how he was able to internalize the Other's gaze and how it becomes part of his own Self identity. Fanon (1963) explains how this internalization is so prevalent, it operates as a discourse that the double consciousness is unnoticed, "the black man...does not know at what moment his inferiority comes into being through the Other" (pg. 110).

In seeing the Self through the eyes of the Other, a disconnection is formed between the actual lived body and the psychological Self. Echoing Dubois, Fanon explains (1963),

"Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity. It is third-person consciousness... It does not impose itself on me; it is rather, a definitive structuring of the Self and of the world – definitive because it creates a dialectic between my body and the world" (pg. 111).

Fanon's articulation of the double consciousness and the gaze accurately explains how subjects of the gaze mediate objectivity and subjectivity in the formation of identity.

When considering the gaze as it relates to photography, consciousness of the audience could perhaps alter the understanding of the gaze, if we are to presume that the experience of the being looked at is only manifested if the viewer is present. Sartre, referring to the gaze as "the look", argues that consciousness transcends materiality.

"Sartre's theory of the look is different, then, in that it claims that I can experience the subjectivity of Others directly – by becoming an object for the Others – and that I perceive my being-as object (and the Other's being as subject)

by means of the look...the look need not require the real presence of the Other's consciousness." (Detmer, 2008, pg. 95)

As a medium, the photograph can be interpreted as a same way as a door in Sartre's explanation of external objects which can be interpreted in:

"that behind the door a spectacle is 'to be seen,' a conversation as 'to be heard.'

The door, the keyhole are at once both instruments and obstacles; they are presented as 'to be handled with care;' the keyhole is given as 'to be looked through close by and a little to one side.'" (Sartre, 1956, pg. 347-48)

With modernity and the 'virtual gaze', elements from previous generations can be reconsidered and compared to online images. Foucault's (1979) explanation of the panopticon as a "seeing machine, a sort of dark room into which individuals spied; has become a transparent building in which the exercise of power may be supervised by society as a whole" (pg. 205) can be compared to any web pages on the Internet, with every linked-in individual granted access to the control tower to discipline the web. Similar to the ways that "feminist theorists have invoked the 'panoptic' implant as a model for the ever present 'male gaze'" (Friedberg, 2002, pg. 398), the invasive virtual gaze contains the same disciplining qualities.

By looking at the Internet as an emerging medium for constructing new identities, my project questions the creation of online personas and the power of representation granted through access to online resources. New digital identities mean that we now need to learn to see the world in the way that a computer would envision and categorize reality. "Following Donna Haraway's famous assertion that we are all now cyborgs, we need to know how the computer sees, to learn how to recognize its gaze and then to

imitate it” (Mirzoeff, 2002, p.11). Building on Benedict Anderson’s imagined communities, Arjun Appadurai (1996) explains how new media form a complex interplay of imagined worlds where

“The image, the imagined, the imaginary – these are all terms that direct us to something crucial and new in global cultural practices: the imagination as a social practice. No longer mere fantasy, no longer simple escape, no longer elite pastime, and no longer mere contemplation, the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work, and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility.”

(pg. 31)

Appadurai explains how identities created in the modern epoch are shaped and influenced by 5 dimensions termed: ethnoscaples, mediascaples, technoscaples, financescaples and ideoscaples, which overlap as culture forms to create translocalities, Fourth Worlds, virtual neighbourhoods, and imagined worlds (1996, pg. 46, 178-200). Modern technologies have created new spaces for imagination and arenas for people to experiment with multiple identities. As a discursive concept, many people are not even conscious of their presence in virtual realities, nor of the way this engagement impacts their ability to see the world; “The younger generation takes the digital gaze for granted... The Power Puff Girls are pixilated panopticism, in which the body is a vehicle for visual surveillance unhindered by a self or an identity” (Mirzoeff, 2002, p.11). Commenting on the emergence of diverse identities in virtual communities, David Bell (2001) explains, “Reflexivity allows us to think about who we are and who we want to be – and the Internet is the ideal site to ‘play’ with our identities” (pg. 97). While some authors like

Bell and Appadurai see the enormous potential for multiple identities via new technologies, some authors echo Marxists concepts of alienation to argue that: “the deployment of high-efficiency, high profit technologies is in conflict with an integrated sense of human identity” (Ewen, 1988, pg. 188). Concepts of virtual realities and multiple identities in online communities work within constructivist criticisms against absolute realities and allow for reflexivity in understanding.

Throughout this project, online presentation of images by NGOs is questioned from a constructivist epistemological frame and photographs are analyzed based on constructivist understanding of visual communication. Considered as a sensual theory of visual communication, constructivism considers “discrete elements within a scene [that] are combined and understood by the brain through a series of laws of grouping: the law of similarity, the law of proximity, the law of continuation, and the law of common fate” (Lester, 2000, p. 43). By analyzing the photographs online to understand the manufactured realities that they present, my work continues to adhere to constructivist principles. When in visual communication it is considered sensual, “constructivism emphasizes the viewer’s eye movements in an active state of perception”, but as a perceptual theory, constructivism investigates the meaning behind images and representations (Lester, 2000, pg. 47-48). Opting mainly to interpret constructivism’s perceptual theory within visual communications, my investigation into image use on NGO web sites maintains consistent epistemological grounding while still incorporating postdevelopment and postcolonial theories.

Chapter Two: Discursive Tensions in Development

Postdevelopment theory is a critical reaction to the failings of development projects with theorists claiming that development as a discursive concept is obsolete or bankrupt and that development practices have done more harm than good (Matthews, 2004, pg. 373). Many critical economists, social scientists and political analysts are disillusioned with and critical of development theory and practice, but “what distinguishes the post-development perspective from other critical perspectives is that post-development theory pronounces the demise of development and urges for 'alternatives to development rather than alternative development'” (Matthews, 2004, pg. 373). Critical of the lasting unequal power relationships, postcolonial theory is interested in empowering subaltern voices and challenging the construction of unequal global relationships. Postcolonial thinking argues against singular definitions of power as solely dominating, but also acknowledges the productive quality of power. Postcolonial theory addresses not only the chronological period of time occurring after the formal colonial era, but also acknowledge coloniality. Santiago Castro-Gomez explains that “coloniality should not be confused with colonialism. While colonialism refers to a historical period, coloniality references a technology of power that persists today, founded on the ‘knowledge of the other.’ Coloniality is not modernity’s ‘past’ but its ‘other face’” (2002, pg. 276). As a critical theory, Sarah Radcliffe explains that postcolonialism “aims to raise living standards within an emancipatory politics” (293) by “giving voice to postcolonial subjects and the intricate emotive histories” (295), a notion that is diminished when oversimplifying the historical chronology of colonialism by adhering “post” to colonialism to mean “after”. Epistemologically speaking, both postcolonial and postdevelopment theories can be considered constructivist, since they both challenge the

status quo and question objectivity by criticizing discourse and acknowledge that our social identity is constructed through diverse mechanisms of power.

Contextualized within the broader postdevelopment (sometimes synonymous with anti-development) critical literature, my research analyzes the discursive practices of the development industry, specifically looking at Canadian development organizations. Too generally, postdevelopment criticism is conflated as meaning anti-development when in actuality, postdevelopment theory offers alternative perspectives on development problems and assesses interventions to understand relationships of power. Rather than simply arguing outright against traditional development intentions or programs, postdevelopment theory suggests that development is a construction; that it has been invented or is a “myth” (Rahnema, 1997, p. ix). Postdevelopment theory observes the discourse of development as it has maintained a “charismatic power of attraction” and that despite this, development seemed like “such a sacred cow that it appeared totally irresponsible to question its relevance” (Rahnema, 1997, p. ix). Postdevelopment questions why practices are protected through powerful institutions and attempts to understand the impact of the power imbalance.

Postdevelopment theory has emerged as the latest radical critical reaction to the traditional development projects, with an emphasis on the operation and construction of power at multiple levels (Brigg, 2002). Concerned with the intersection of knowledge, power, and culture, postdevelopment thinking builds on notions from Foucault by exploring the productive rather than solely limiting aspect of power. Postdevelopment theory addresses discursive elements within the development industry asserting that actors involved in international development operate in part to secure the status quo and

justify their interventions. Postdevelopment thinker Arturo Escobar (1995) argues that development functions as a discourse to ‘make and unmake the Third World’ and explains, “As a discourse, development is thus a very real historical formation, albeit articulated around an artificial construct (underdevelopment), which must be conceptualized in different ways if the development discourse is to be challenged or displaced” (pg. 53). Escobar’s evaluation of development discourse and constructivist perspective is echoed by postdevelopmentalist Ivan Illich (1971) who argues that Third World underdevelopment is “planned poverty” and is “a form of consciousness”, “a state of mind” (pg. 96) suggesting that development must also be considered epistemologically rather than only materially. Other postdevelopment theorists find that representations of subsistence economies in the vernacular of development aids in the justification of modernist interventions and supports the aims of major transnational institutions (Sahlins, 1972; Ferguson, 1994; Stiglitz, 2003).

Citing the post-war creation of development intervention, postdevelopment critics explain that humanitarian intervention has shifted priorities over the years, but that these changes are all part of transforming discourses. In light of many criticisms directed at major development players coming from diverse camps, development agencies are acknowledging the failures of the past; World Bank President James Wolfensohn admits that: “Development is not about adjustment...Development is about putting all the component parts in one place-together in harmony” (Nwankwo and Richards, 2004, pg. 112). Postdevelopment theorists see that despite changes in the major tenets that the development agencies themselves are proclaiming, the overall structure laid out during the immediate post-war period has not dramatically been altered; “Although the discourse

has gone through a series of structural changes, the architecture of the discursive formation laid down in the period 1945-1955 has remained unchanged, allowing the discourse to adapt to new conditions” (Escobar, 1995, pg. 42). Similarly, postcolonial theory is itself a political project aimed at giving voice to the subaltern members of society. Since postcolonialism is interested in the complex interplay of power relations, the “post” must include more than just the state-based power investigations that “after” implies. Importantly, as a political project aimed at giving voice to hidden transcripts and subjugated populations, postcolonialism is meant to challenge Western cultural hegemony rather than work to reaffirm the disciplining of Western academic and cultural traditions as superior; a challenge especially considering that postcolonial studies are conducted mainly in Northern institutions.

As an international phenomenon, the interaction between transnational actors leads to an important discursive aspect in development practice; the construction of binaries which results in “Self” versus the “Other” dualities. By examining the power of language and discourse, postcolonialism explores notions of the Self and Other as it is constructed through the lens of colonial history and manifested in diverse identities, including new hybrid identities born of colonial influence. My projects’ interest in evaluating representations of the Self and the Other is aided by a postcolonial framework. In understanding the “intimate enemy” (Nandy, 1987), both the colonizer and colonized must come to terms with the internal understanding of the Self. However, according to Homi Bhabha (1987), since definitions of the settler and native are mutually constitutive, individuals have alienated “shifting boundaries of Otherness” (pg. 120) where colonial identities are not constructed as “Self and Other but the Otherness of Self” (pg. 119).

Arguing that “the subaltern cannot speak” and “representation has not withered away” (1998, pg.104) Gayatri Chakrovorty Spivak criticizes the academic Western writer for continuing to construct “the Other” as a “shadow of the self” (1998, pg. 75).

Constructing the world into binaries, development discourse relies on notions that the world is easily divisible into a category of developed, industrialized, Northern, and Western grouping contrasted with those who are underdeveloped, pre-industrial, Southern and Eastern. Arguing that “modernity is an alterity-generating machine” (2002, pg. 269), Santiago Castro-Gomez explains that:

“The formation of the modern subject went hand in hand with the requirement of self-control and the repression of instincts, the goal being to make social difference more visible...The invention of citizenship and the invention of the other, are genetically related.” (2002, pg. 274)

The power of these binaries as disciplining as well as productive in creating identities is evidenced in the development literature, especially since escaping the dichotomies seems impossible;

“Working in development inevitably positions us within a ‘development discourse’ where the North’s superiority over the South is taken for granted, and Western-style development is the norm. Our encounters with, and representations of, our ‘subjects’ are therefore coded or framed in terms of an us/them dichotomy in which ‘we’ aid/develop/civilize/empower ‘them.’” (Kapoor, 2004, p.629)

Like the colonial relationships of the past, concepts of Other and Self are mutually constituted and cannot exist without the presence of each other. Additionally, Arturo Escobar (1992) suggests:

“that the post-War hegemonic formation of development has also resulted, in the Third World, in a multiplicity of antagonisms and identities -peasants, ‘urban marginals’, ‘those belonging to the informal sector’, ‘women bypassed by development’, the ‘illiterate’, ‘indigenous peoples who do not modernize’, etc. - , that is, all those victims of development.” (pg. 39)

Crediting development discourses and hegemonic ideals as producing concepts such as the Third World, Escobar sees discursive power as productive of different ideologies. Often credited with giving birth to postcolonialism, Edward Said explores the concept of Orientalism arguing that the Orient is a European invention whereby cultural hegemony helps to strengthen and reaffirm the dichotomous relationship between East and West (Said, 1978, pg. 7). Famously, Said (1978) teaches us that the invention of the “Orient” is a Western construction and the construction of the Occident derives its meaning from the Orient; “that Orientalism makes sense at all depends more on the West than on the Orient, and this sense is directly indebted to various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clear, ‘there’ in discourse about it” (pg. 22). Within development discourse, practices of representation perpetuate and reaffirm the existence of the industrialized or civilized nation through the invention of the uncivilized or underdeveloped state. Homi Bhabha (1987) teaches us that “cultural and political identity is constructed through a process of Othering” (pg. 219) and cites a major challenge in development’s modernization discourse: “the problem of modernity has been its inability to deal with archaic cultural forms that it sees as being opposed to itself” (pg. 215). Since discursive practices in development have constructed the world into binaries, conceptually, struggles emerge in dealing with hybridities that do not fit neatly into either

of the categories. For instance, “parts of the First World marginalized in the new global economy are hardly distinguishable in way of life from what used to be viewed as Third World” (Dirlik, 1994, pg. 351), which demonstrates the failings of development practices to address spaces and subjects caught “in-between”.

The binaries in development discourse are so powerful, that even postdevelopment and anti-development thinkers are often guilty of perpetuating the same constructions that they are themselves trying to criticize. Postdevelopment criticism is accused of using non-sequiturs, unhelpful binaries, false deductions of the poor, wobbly romanticism, self-righteous policies, and is condemned for relying on implausible politics (Corbridge, 1998, pg. 139). Both mainstream development discourse and postdevelopment criticisms position those living in the Global South as inferior and tend to emphasize the traditional, local, and indigenous nature of their societies. Increasingly, the notion of Self and Other in the development industry is not only perpetuated at the broad level of institutional and structural implementation, but in the field workers themselves. In one study,

“The discourse of evolutionary development not only provides meaning to a variety of problems in Tanzania; it also gives meaning to the development worker role... it widens the development worker role by creating the image of an omniscient development worker Self” (Eriksson Baaz, 2005, p. 42).

Like the colonial subjects who begin to internalize what the Other thought of them, the development worker often becomes an individual representation of the wider discursive practices that distinguish between the traditional and the modern.

Historically, the primary theoretical framework used to inform discussions on international development has been neoclassical economics, which uses rational choice theory and observations of market mechanisms as the main arena for describing social phenomena. Using neoclassical economics as its foundation, modernization theory's influence on diverse development policies at multiple levels has resulted in backlash and efforts to recreate a new theoretical paradigm. Development's reliance on modernization and linear progression serves to maintain discursive binaries; "With the 'traditional' and the 'modern' being placed on an evolutionary, progressive scale, modernization theory identified the genesis of Western society as the model upon which traditional societies could and would develop, assisted by Western expertise and know-how" (Sending and Neumann, 2006, pg. 659). Despite claims that development discourse has moved beyond modernization theories, the concept of the traditional becoming modern is still a major tenet of development programming, which works to maintain the dichotomy between modern and traditional. Another device that enables the continued production of the Third World Other is the romanticizing of the traditional, underdeveloped Global South.

Romanticizing the traditional, underdeveloped South, discursive practices in the development industry work to present the local in contrast to the highly industrialized, global citizen in the Western world (operating in the same vein as the Self and Other construction). Typically depicted in paternalistic ways or as a vehicle for Western audiences to exercise their moral humanitarianism, representations of the Third World as innocent, feminine and childlike are crucial to the perpetuation of the development industry. Photographs depicting the Global South on Northern NGO websites help support claims made within the official dogma of development practice. While discourse

refers to language, images are used to support discourse and to make more lasting, dramatic impressions on would-be donors since photos are not often read with the same critical lens as text. Many authors have noted that,

“the representation of the Third World as a child in need of adult guidance was not an uncommon metaphor and lent itself perfectly to the development discourse.

The infantilization of the Third World was integral to development as a ‘secular theory of salvation.’” (Escobar, 1995, pg. 30)

Within discursive development practices, there is an emphasis on constructing the Third World as existing beyond the confines of modernity so that with proper economic and development intervention, citizens can be “saved” by the Western donor. James Ferguson’s (1994) Lesotho example reveals that the World Bank Country Report repeatedly maintained that the nation has remained “traditional”, primarily “agrarian” and existing outside the interventions of “modern economic development”, despite evidence that the country was undergoing widespread industrialization and making many social advances (pg. 32). Similarly, Robert Wade’s (1993) study on so-called free market successes touted by the World Bank of Taiwan and South Korean economies demonstrated that in effect, it was central government planning that led to economic stability. By presenting South Korea and Taiwan as free-market successes and by keeping Lesotho in a pre-industrial social space, the discursive practices of development serve the needs of the World Bank as a donor and more easily justify the economically driven policy interventions recommended by the organization. Another element revealed in an analysis of development discourse is the repeated assumption that traditional societies and people in developing countries are somehow connected to nature and that

this connection provides some sort of utopian reality. Women in particular are characterized as being naturally close to nature, which often reinforces gender roles and stereotypes at the local level while unintentionally excluding females from projects focused on improving female driven indicators (Kapoor, 2004, pg. 637). Moreover, attempts by development agents to include women in programming often resort to guidance from Western feminists, which unfortunately has a repeated tendency to construct Third World woman as victims (Mohanty, 1997, pg. 57), only reaffirming the discursive practices of development and not helping to radically alter their perspective. Additionally, efforts made by postdevelopment critics to understand the local, “romanticizes the ‘soil cultures’ of the social majorities and provides poor empirical documentation of its claims” (Corbridge, 1998, pg. 145). Discursive practices romanticize the local, exotic, and traditional and are used to reaffirm the positional, superior, and rational authority of the development planners in an effort to continually justify their interventions. NGOs are often guilty of perpetuating this discourse, especially through shifting vernacular promoting capacity building, local projects, bottom up development, or participatory approaches while generally adhering to the same top-down planning principles.

Working within the field of international development, most projects intend to confront the general overarching problem that is consistent across many regions: poverty. As such, the emphasis in most programs is placed on economic solutions to diverse problems, often criticized as being a form of reductionism that is guilty of offering a simple solution for more complex problems. While early development strategies were characterized by the polarities offered from modernization and dependency, remnants of

these ideologies remain popular today. Dependency theory's reliance on Marxist materialism and modernization's emphasis on linear progression and Rostow's (1971) stages of growth both demonstrate a commitment to the tenets of neo-classical economics which are still present in development practices today. Interestingly, "contemporary development discourse involves a peculiar, but ultimately quite consistent, application of the neo-classical metaphors of economic rationality to the public and political sphere" (Crush, 1995, pg. 79). Economic solutions are consistently offered up for social problems with intellectuals often emphasizing the importance of grounded, mathematically deduced answers for complex social and political realities.

In many instances, the field of international development is unable to separate notions of the economic from ideas of the political. In questioning why researchers always subordinate the needs of the political to those of the economic, Foucault writes,

"the historical *raison d'etre* of political power is to be found in the economy.

Broadly speaking, in the first case we have a political power whose formal model is discoverable in the process of exchange, the economic circulation of commodities; in the second case, the historical *raison d'etre* of political power and the principle of its concrete forms and actual functioning, is located in the economy." (Two Lectures, 1980, pg. 89)

Foucault, in this passage is calling for a more diffused analysis of power, criticizing the emphasis in the academy of investigating solely the economic, however his analysis remains right on point: aspects of the political in development studies are subordinated to those of the economic. The tendency in academia to privilege economics and positivistic scientific rationalism which privileges scientific reason and logical thought over

everything else has a significant impact on practices of development. While current academic development programs located in the institutions of the West focus on the interdisciplinary nature of development, there was in previous eras “the recurring tendency for development studies to explain the failure of predominately economic development plans (as most plans are), by invoking the following reason: There must have been some troublesome knob in the development machine marked as the ‘human factor’” (Apthorpe, 1970, pg. 7). Placing emphasis on economics within development paradigms allows practitioners and scholars to shift blame back onto the local populace or onto abstract concepts such as “corruption” or “traditionalism” or other non-economic factors when plans driven primarily through economic reasoning fail. Failing economic development programs targeting sub-Saharan Africa construct myths about the region that exaggerate local social phenomena and shift responsibility for failure away from the planning economists themselves. Additionally, emphasis on empiricism and scientific rationalism binds the academic working on development issues to use positivist instruments in their research and forces them to appeal to institutional funding boards using metrics with concrete data to justify findings. Emphasizing scientific methods within development practices, “A preoccupation with scientism pervaded the writing of developmentalists, who perceived underdevelopment in South Africa to be almost exclusively a function of inadequate methodology and poor application of economic principles” (Tapscott, 1995, pg. 184). Not only economics is emphasized in development practices, but also other disciplines that rely on scientific measures are prioritized. Constructivist thinking challenges the reliance on rationalism, since all metrics used are subject to interpretation, considering that constructivists challenge the objectivity of

reality. Foucault explains, that with “the discovery of population as an object of scientific investigation; people begin to inquire into birth rates, death rates, and changes in population to say that...it is impossible to govern a state without knowing its population” (Truth and Power, 1980, pg. 65). Foucault’s analysis on the birth of demographics in the 18th century as a means for understanding a population is still relevant today, especially within development studies where the discursive emphasis on scientific methods prioritizes demographic and economic data. Building on the concept of legitimizing the collection of knowledge, scientific disciplines are valued in development investigations because they are considered reasonable based on their methodological tendency to use quantitative research techniques (Riley and McCarthy, 2003, pg. 74). Likewise, “Meaningful action in respect of rural development will only result if a hard-nosed and down to earth approach is followed in collecting data, analyzing results, and drawing up a cost/benefit balance sheet on infield testing for economic viability and social acceptability” (Erskine, 1985, pg. 382). Without an appeal to scientific rationality and the use of measurable data, development programs are devalued and conceived as being either impractical or too idealistic. Explains Escobar (1995), “the professionalization of development also made it possible to remove all problems from the political and cultural realms and to recast them in terms of the apparently more neutral realm of science” (pg. 45). NGOs in particular avoid casting themselves as political operatives, so the focus of most annual reports is on financial data, with pictures used to support the official mission statement, vision, and mandate of the organization. By constructing development research as a science, discourse is normalized and deemed apolitical, making it less subjective for critical scrutiny within the social or cultural

realm. Photographs, seen as truth claims” are often used by NGOs in literal ways to support the operational goals of an organization, usually demonstrating an economic problem and solution. For instance, an annual report may claim that funds were spent on providing seeds to a local farmer and the farmer is then shown smiling holding crops, or even more literally, the seeds themselves are pictured, taking the subject completely out of the report to eliminate any political implications. By creating categories within development research, problems are neutralized and Western bias is hidden within Western investigation paradigms that validate the scientific methods implied.

Development research tends to adopt the human emphasis on classification, categorization, and standardization that has the effect of producing statistics that are socially constructed because the collectors make research choices which can obscure certain social relations (Bowker and Star, 1999, pg. 1-16). In the field, the disciplining of development can often mean an emphasis on expertise, sometimes leading to a disjointed team and tensions between different field workers, institutions and organizations. In a case study of a rural development program in India, project leader David Mosse (2005) comments on the disciplinary divisions of project coordinators into gender experts, anthropologists, seed technologists, plant breeders, or soil scientists (among others) as problematic for coherence in development programs (pg. 153). Worse, the discursive prioritizing of Western conceptions of knowledge has the effect of silencing local voices and undermining the contributions of indigenous ways of knowing. Lashing out against the epistemic violence committed against the Maori people during colonization in New Zealand, Linda Smith’s (1999) work on colonized knowledge suggests ways to prioritize and incorporate local knowledge systems as important to eliminate colonial, neo-imperial

bias through more bottom-up approaches to information collection in the Global South. Despite their voices typically being overshadowed by international planners, often research findings explain how nomadic or subsistence farmers have the best strategies for risk minimization and maintaining successful crops year after year (Sahlins, 1997, pg. 12-13). Like the writing by Western feminists on women in the Third World, development texts “must be considered in the context of the global hegemony of Western scholarship – i.e., the production, publication, distribution, and consumption of information and ideas” (Mohanty, 1997, pg. 55). For many organizations, the emergence of interdisciplinary development studies in mainstream academic institutions means that future employees have perhaps been schooled to think beyond the economic, to better understand the socio-cultural implications of development interventions. Interdisciplinary students may help improve the programming of NGO operations, however their education in a formal, Western institution could still carry bias and methodological problems. While research done in developing countries may already contain the bias of Western intellectuals themselves and is confined to Western ways of knowing in the production of the text, the hegemony of Western scholarship compounds this bias in the academic affirmation of that knowledge, as it further contributes to the institutional understanding of the subject.

A common trend in all of the literature on NGO imagery is focused on the social construction of the Other and in the representation of the Global South or Third World. Many authors have commented on the social construction of childhood and gender, as well as on the continued victimization of women (Edwards, 1996; Manzo, 2008; Mohanty, 1997). Within postdevelopment literature, there is continued analysis on the production of the Third World within the humanitarian industry. Arguing that children

are ignored as social actors in development policies, many authors address the ways that children have been systematically excluded from non-governmental efforts, which has resulted in their underdevelopment across many diverse international indicators (Manzo, 2003; Edwards, 1996). Representations of children, women, and traditional indigenous people in the development industry depict them as passive and dependent, which impacts their ability to access resources for development (Edwards, 1996; Dogra, 2007). Images of children help reaffirm an NGOs legitimacy in their transnational interventions and support the dogma of development itself (Manzo, 2008, pg. 634). Despite a consciousness by many NGOs of the criticism against modernization theories and the movement away from neoliberal interventions, organizations are still guilty of using images that represent development solutions as focused on interventions by the individual. Often this leads to a mixed and contradictory practice of representations that appease critics by acknowledging bottom-up or participatory development while still offering commodity based, individually driven solutions. Says Smith (2004),

“While development organizations may seek to maintain a community-based and reflexive development agenda overseas, their need to gain funds in a highly competitive marketplace, alongside their rootedness in the largely affluent North, demands an individualistic and commodified approach.” (pg. 747)

Presenting recipients of aid in the Global South as an opportunity for investment has been dubbed “‘Consumer Aid’, in which African subjects are objectified and then transformed into consumer items” (Lidchi, cited in Cohen, 2001, pg. 179). Presenting subjects as objects helps to depoliticize issues surrounding the campaign and helps to neutralize the term development itself. Smith (2004) refers to this marketable representation and

construction of subjects as buyable objects as sanitizing, “whereby more critical perspectives are continually deferred or subsumed within the language of efficiency” (pg. 747). Emphasis on the business and profitability of the NGO can overshadow the criticisms launched against specific campaigns and work to obscure realities beyond measurable variables. Representations of the Other in terms of “have” and “have-not” in purely quantitative notions has the effect of depoliticizing development interventions, in that power and privilege are not investigated beyond material realities, into the psychological and ideological implications (Eade, 1996, pg. 291). Images of children are used as a discursive apparatus whereby the humanitarian identity is constructed and helps perpetuate solidarity of donors by uniting people around the concept of the innocent child (Ash, 2008; Manzo 2006; Manzo 2008; Smith, 2004; Wishart, 2008).

There are theoretical and conceptual dangers in continuing to use images that further contribute to discursive elements in development, however there are also long term practical implications for the continued practice of socially constructing the Other in a negative way. For instance, there is a stark contradiction between faces of development and real world realities, which as a result of certain representations, continues to be under-investigated in the official development lore (Smith, 2004). The depiction of poverty helps to reaffirm the work done by the development NGO itself and becomes an end in itself. Discursive practices supported by photographic representation used by NGOs serve to justify program interventions by the humanitarian body by creating social constructions of poverty that require assistance from the organizations themselves. Even project failures by specific NGOs result in a continued commitment of more resources and a reaffirmation of the dire need of the Global South so further intervention is thus

justified. In terms of long-term consequences, other authors investigate the implications of social constructions and representations of Africa as dependent and needy, arguing that the iconography used in NGO advertising undermines economic investment in the region (Manzo, 2008). In what is often referred to as “Afro-pessimism”, major brewing corporation Diageo Africa claims that depictions of Africa and reports exclusively focused on conflict, famine, politics, disease, and war perpetuate an unbalanced description of the continent and “also contribute to undermine investor confidence in Africa” (Diageo, 2004, pg. 17).

Many postcolonial writers (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1990) speak to internalizing the image of the Other imposed on them and articulate the way that these constructions shaped their cultural identities. Similarly, in studies on NGO images, different authors have demonstrated that the subjects of photographic depictions begin to believe myths about themselves. A 1998 study by Warren Nyamugasira on NGOs and representation reported that when children, who were a part of UNICEF and World Vision campaigns, were asked to draw pictures of their feelings, kids often drew themselves without mouths or with hands covering their mouths, indicating that they felt silenced or voiceless in the NGO development project (pg. 302). Additionally, adults who have memories of the long term NGO involvement in their region cite growing to believe what the iconography said about themselves, rather than considering their reality. For example,

“When Vuyiswa Ngqobongwana the ‘Talking Africa’ radio show presenter (August 13, 2005) confessed to ‘feeling ashamed’ of being African as a child she showed how damaging stereotypes of the majority world can cut both ways –

affecting not just how ‘we’ see ‘them’, but also how ‘they’ see themselves.”

(Manzo, 2006, pg. 11)

Similarly, using a New York Times editorial letter and a subsequent response as a point of departure, the ways that the Maasai (an indigenous tribe in Tanzania) are wrongfully depicted in various American media outlets, is studied to explain how images of pastoralism and tribalism are common in development representations of the Global South (Hodgson, 1995).

Chapter Three: The Pornography of Poverty

The concept of the pornography of poverty addresses the many ways that images in development and humanitarian intervention mimic those used in the pornography industry. Competition among NGOs means that organizations are constantly trying to catch the attention of donors and launch campaigns that appeal to the largest populace of potential donors, while still adhering to the ideological principles of the campaigns aims. According to Machiel Lamers (2005), as part of fundraising campaigns,

“NGOs provide images and information statements about people in developing countries in order to convince audiences in the First World that something has to be done, that the undersigned organization is the best candidate to do something about it, and that money is needed from the audiences to finance these endeavours.” (pg. 38)

With the rapid pace of digital media and an increasingly technology dependent population, continuous news cycles and a higher paced turnover, organizations face more pressure to connect with potential donors. Authors have noted there is growing concern surrounding “compassion fatigue”, understood by Susan Moeller (1999) as

“the unacknowledged cause of much of the failure of international reporting today. It is at the base of many of the complaints about the public’s short attention span, the media’s peripatetic journalism, the public’s boredom with international news, and the media’s preoccupation with crisis coverage.” (pg. 2)

As a result of increased desensitization to images and donor apathy, compassion fatigue often means that NGOs rely on outsourced marketing efforts to professional advertising agencies. Indirectly, the result is “‘the pornography of poverty’, i.e. ‘the use of starving babies and other emotive imagery to coax, cajole and bludgeon donations from a guilt-ridden Northern public’” (Smillie, 1995, pg. 136). While critics of the pornography of poverty acknowledge the use of images that fetishizes the subject, the blame is not held solely by the organizations themselves. Critics recognize that, “Pleasurable consumption of consumable beings is the dominant perspective of our culture. It is what subjects do to objects, what someone does to something” (Adams, 2004, pg. 13). Without blaming the NGOs, but looking rather at the larger structural problems with constructing beings as objects, images of poverty that appear pornographic are part of a dominant discourse that is so powerfully hegemonic, the perpetrators of pornographic poverty images may not even be conscious of their role. For example, the notion of “starving naked babies” (Manzo, 2006, pg. 10), “Heroin Baby” (Ash, 2008, pg. 179), and babies injected with syringes and girls as prostitutes (O’Dell 2008, pg. 386) demonstrates the tendency of NGOs to use provocative images to entice the average citizen into donating. Echoing McLuhan’s (1964) “medium is the message”, modern advertisements go beyond simply selling the products they feature; they also offer insights into the structure of our society,

and tell us about power and representation. They are a message in themselves. Says Carol Adams (2004),

“Advertisements are never only about the product they are promoting. They are about how our culture is structured, what we believe about ourselves and others. Advertisements appeal to *someone* to buy *something*. In this, they offer a window into the myths by which our world is structured – who are the someones in our culture and who become the somethings.” (pg. 14)

Like many feminists who argue that pornography objectifies women, critics of the “pornography of poverty” claim that NGO advertisements have the power to represent the subjects in the Global South as objects. The effect of objectifying the subject has a similar impact as pornography of tantalizing, disgusting, or even sometimes arousing the viewer. Many feminists have focused criticisms on the ways that women’s bodies are used in advertising to sell products. My research project builds on their initial findings to explore women and children as advertisements for developing the Global South. Notably, Jean Kilbourne’s *Killing Us Softly* series provides an ideal example of the type of constructivist criticism that I applied to my research project. Kilbourne’s look at the implicit use of racism, classism, and sexism in advertising that leads to an acceptable objectification of women (Andrew, Feder & Klaver, 1994, pg. 127) can be applied also to the NGO images that I investigated for my project.

Humanitarian organizations often use images of pain, suffering, and danger to shock donors to peak their interest or to shame potential givers for not contributing enough. Many authors have noted that the distant representation of pain can be seen as pornographic. Specifically, “Susan Sontag, argues that the conspicuous modern

fascination with images of pain and suffering is essentially pornographic, a result of the increasing insulation of our everyday lives from violence, death, and destruction” (Rozario, 2003, pg. 426). Images focused on suffering abroad are pornographic in their representation and work to obscure larger structural issues of poverty. By appealing to the wider population’s desire for “delicious horrors” (Rozario, 2003), NGOs work within the broader media machine. Says Cottle and Nolan (2007)

“The media, we also know, are drawn selectively to images of distress (‘the pornography of suffering’) rather than issues of structural disadvantage or the politics that determine and shape the scenes of skeletal figures that appear like ghosts on our TV screens.” (pg. 863)

Images of pornography of suffering characterize many of the pictures used by NGOs in fundraising efforts and have also been the source of much criticism and backlash, which will be commented on later in the literature review as we examine the theme of changing aid media.

Susan Ash’s 2008 study of Dr. Barnardo’s Children’s Charities in the United Kingdom reveals that the image of an emaciated, “heroin baby” produced feelings of shame and embarrassment for donors and challenged their sense of morality (pg. 180). Accusing NGOs of shaming and shocking donors in the Global North with “distant horrors” may not entirely be a fair explanation of their advertising campaigns. Additionally, to surmise that all viewers see these images as pleasurable pornography and view them solely in this way is not completely justified or backed by the literature. Writes Kevin Rozario (2003),

“Without denying that some readers of this literature may have responded more viscerally to the cheap thrills than to the social problems addressed in reform literature, it is insufficient to dismiss sensational enthusiasms as being simply horrible, arousing, and sado-masochistic, as if these qualities were impeding the greater (and purer) cause of humanitarianism.” (pg. 426)

Rozario argues that on the contrary, the sensationalism of pain and violence is an intrinsic aspect of compassion sensibility (2003, pg. 426). Cited by Rozario, Karen Halttunen (1995) concludes that the pornography of pain was "not merely a seamy sideline to humanitarian reform literature but rather an integral aspect of the humanitarian sensibility" (pg. 304). Pornographic images of pain mimic the pangs of guilt felt by the viewer and work within the social construction of the Other. Further, the images selected by the NGOs are pornographic in that they send the same cues to viewers; “pornographic photographs, like advertisements, are carefully constructed; nothing that appears in the photograph or the advertisement is there by accident...photographs sends cues to users. Users learn to be sexually receptive to cues built into pornography” (Adams, 2004, pg. 16-17).

The reproduction of “starving naked babies” has been highly criticized as relying on pornographic techniques, however the highly competitive nature of the NGO industry often warrants the use of poverty images as pornography. For many critics like Lamers (2005) “The problem is not that starving babies do not exist, but that such pictures, when continuously repeated year after year, outweighs reality and become realities of their own” (pg. 39). Despite the criticism of repetition, the general mantra in the industry is, “if starving naked babies worked in the past, than starving naked babies will headline the

next humanitarian crisis” (Manzo, 2008, pg. 10). Further, emphasis in the literature has focused on the production of “delicious horrors” (Rozario, 2003) and the fetishism of poverty. In a study of the American Red Cross, the appeal of the over-sensationalized distant violent episodes in the mass culture of the United States parallels the pornography industry and coincides chronologically with the perpetuation of mainstream media in the post-war period (Rozario, 2003). Within this pornography of poverty conception, woman and children are often depicted as victims, helping to reaffirm the need for humanitarian intervention and appealing to a sense of paternalism in iconography (Lamers, 2005; O’Dell, 2008). Children, women, and elderly people are often seen as helpless in a violent situation, and therefore they are most suitable as ideal victims than males in their prime (Christie, 1996).

The polarized images in fundraising posters demonstrate a dichotomy between the superior Western subject and the inferior dependent victim (Lamers, 2005). Working within the notion of the “pornography of poverty”, literature exposes the ways that NGOs and humanitarian groups are focused on the victims of poverty, often having a tendency to overdramatize specific aspects of poverty with the effect of distorting reality (Lamers, 2005). Often, the perpetuation of poverty as pornographic and the continual perception of the Third World as dependent impacts their ability to break out of constructed ideas and limits their potential for economic investment (Manzo 2006, pg. 11). Within the pornography of poverty, literature suggests that images are categorized into two main sections: those that depict the children as passive agents in their own development; and those that show the children as signifiers of the dangerous world and the safeness of the home (O’Dell 2008; Rozario, 2003). The humanitarian industry is criticized in the

literature for using pictures of children in adult situations such as a baby about to be injected with a syringe of drugs, a girl as a prostitute, a heroin baby, and the starving naked baby (Manzo, 2003; Manzo, 2008; Ash, 2008; O'Dell, 2008). Like pornographic images that represent women as desiring and even needing male pleasure, the reliance on the representation of children as needy and deserving of salvation is constructed so that the audience feels an obligation to help. The juxtaposition of using pornographic cues amid needy children reflects a central tenet of Western values: that of protecting the innocent. Says Linday O'Dell (2008)

“The notion that children need to be saved from harm and the concerns of the adult world is strongly embedded in Western ideology and practices...child saving operates as a form of culture blaming...and also serves to blame mothers and to pathologise ‘Other’ cultures.” (pg. 385).

Critically, many authors suggest that the construction of children as abused and damaged individuals, serves to oversimplify the complexity of abuse and the lives of victims (Manzo, 2003; O'Dell 2008). Alternative to the notion that the construction of children as victims is a pull factor to attract donors, other authors suggest that the focus on helpless victims is a strategy to avoid blaming the larger players who provide funding and resources to the NGO itself. Authors have speculated that NGOs deliberately focus their marketing campaigns on the victims of poverty because, by accusing the culprits, they risk displeasing powerful contributors, such as governments, big business, and multinational corporations (Lamers, 2005; Simpson 1986). In order to keep everybody happy, it is necessary to communicate politically neutral messages in one's fundraising campaign (Simpson, 1986, pg. 23-24).

Chapter Four: Identity and the Internet: Current Challenges

Humanitarian organizations have constantly evolved in both their scope of outreach and in their fundraising necessities and strategies. Increasingly more sophisticated and more highly methodical, NGOs in the modern epoch mirror large corporations in both their organizational structure and marketing campaigns. Commenting on the emergence of philanthropy as a mass phenomena, Kevin Rozario (2003) cites the second decade of the twentieth century as a major turning point when humanitarian organizations heightened their media presence, coinciding with the rise in popularity of pulp magazines, advertisements and commercial movies (pg. 419). Rozario (2003) explains how potential donors began to be viewed as customers, “As it turns out, it was only when philanthropy became a marketing venture and when donors began to be treated and courted as consumers who had to be entertained that philanthropy could become a mass phenomenon” (pg. 419). Nowadays, unequal global distribution of wealth means that citizens in the Global North are increasingly described as mass consumers and are constructed as potential buyers of any charitable “goods”. While over the years, NGOs have changed their policies, the issues they attempt to tackle, and the scope of their projects, very little progress has been made at the level of global ideology and any advertising changes seem to impact women and children negatively (Nyamugasira, 1998, pg. 298). For many organizations, changing media sources and expanded scope of communications technologies has meant that they can more easily reach a customer base, but modern times has also meant other challenges. For instance, the economic crisis and the global recession since 2008 has meant that many people have less money for charitable donations, especially in light of a tax system that is not as favourable to

humanitarian donations as in previous decades (Guy and Patton, 1989, pg. 20).

Additionally, typical demographic groups are changing their donor behavior. For instance, yuppies and baby boomers (widely touted by NGOs as big givers) now seem to be quite willing to spend money on consumer goods, but are more tight-fisted when it comes to giving to altruistic cause organizations (Simpson J.C, 1986, pg. 33). A new generation born in the era of instant communication and expanding internet-proficiency now celebrates mass culture, consumerism, and celebrities, so NGOs are adjusting their campaigns accordingly (Reynolds, 2004). With incredible advancements made in communications technologies over the last few decades, NGOs have adapted to confront new challenges in mass media and much of the literature explores this changing aid media.

Observers have investigated the increasing scope and impact that Western media has on expanding cultural imperialism. Postcolonial projects acknowledge that the end of the formal colonial period is not synonymous with the end of unequal distributions of power. Quoting Robert Young (2001, pg. 57), Rita Abrahamsen (2003) succinctly writes, “While the ‘post’ in postcolonialism signifies the end of colonialism and imperialism as direct domination, it does not imply *after* imperialism as a global system of hegemonic power” (pg. 195). The Western mass media and NGO imagery are an example of an operation of hegemonic power that current postcolonial writers criticize. Never before in history has mass media been such an influential and available source of information and power. James Petras (1994) explains how in previous centuries the church, education system, and public authorities played a major role in inculcating native people, but that now, “The mass media, publicity, advertisements, secular entertainers

and intellectuals play a major role today. In the contemporary world, Hollywood, CNN and Disneyland are more influential than the Vatican, the Bible or the public relations rhetoric of political figures” (pg. 182). Considering Petras made his mid 1990s comments before the advent of Facebook, Twitter, Smartphones and 4G wireless networks, the impact and spread of cultural imperialism can presumably be even more pervasive. Comments on the power of advertising and the increasing influence of mass media supports justifications by NGOs on advertising spending and investments in big marketing firms. Further, increased international connectivity and the pressures of transnational crises mean that NGO’s traditional reliance on aid media is contextualized by the modern epoch of globalization. For instance,

“Humanitarian organizations today confront a globalizing, increasingly competitive, media environment characterized by new communication technologies and unprecedented 24/7 ‘real-time’ capabilities; they co-exist and compete for media attention and donor funds within an increasingly crowded humanitarian aid field; and they also confront new forms of humanitarian crises including the military use of starvation, systematic terror and flows of refugees as well as the human fall-out from globally virulent pandemics and extreme weather events.” (Cottle and Nolan, 2007, pg. 863)

Constantly bombarded with pictures from around the world and new abilities to connect across many borders, one might question whether photographs still have the same impact on Western viewers and potential donors. Has compassion fatigue meant a weakened response from the donor base? Susan Sontag (2003) suggests that photographs still provide a chance to a “pay attention, to reflect, to learn, to examine the

rationalizations for mass suffering” (pg. 117) even in a world “hyper-saturated with images” (pg. 105).

Conscious of the immense challenges that NGOs face in both providing programming and in attracting donors, the critical nature of this project is not assigning blame to the organizations themselves, but rather working to expose the larger structural issues that work both within the discourse of development and also work to fuel discursive mechanisms. Postcolonial and postdevelopment theories acknowledge multiple operations of power and see that the traditional Manichean, Westphalian, state-centric international actor is not the only source of development interactions. With a diminished state role abroad, NGOs are often expected to pick up where states would previously have intervened. In earlier generations, states were considered to be the ultimate authority on the condition of foreign countries, so they decided on the programming prescriptions and were primary funding sources. Now in a system of polycentric global governance, since there are more major international players, states do not contribute as much to foreign projects, especially considering the massive influence multinational corporations have and the role that major media plays in shaping attitudes towards other countries. With control of international intervention and power shifted from the state outward, NGOs become the purveyors of aid relief and also a highly respected authority on international crises. As such, pictures used by humanitarian organizations in major media offer a truth-claim which helps to create a discourse for global compassion. Explains Birgitta Höijer (2004),

“The role of humanitarian aid agencies is becoming increasingly important in global crises, and people in the West are getting more involved in NGOs. The

media expose pictures of distant victims of civil wars, genocide, massacres and other violence against civil populations, and play a basic role in giving publicity to human suffering.” (pg. 513)

The power that NGOs and humanitarian organizations exercise in manipulating the media is an important part of their fundraising process, but their trusted position as a selfless, not-for-profit venture, warrants extra caution by the NGO in projecting pictures presented to be truthful. A prominent characteristic of an increased digitally active and information-savvy population is a suspected consciousness about digital truths and skepticism towards digital sources. While we might anticipate the modern population to be increasingly skeptical about digitalized information and challenge the truth-claims made by humanitarian organizations (especially in light of easily “photoshopped” pictures), some sources reveal that people have been questioning NGO interventions since the 1800s. Interestingly, a major advertising campaign from 1877 depicting needy children was considered extremely scandalous because the children were posed in the photo and actors were used to represent the poor, rather than use actual orphans themselves (*The Times of London, 1877*). Responding to one of the first shocking advertising campaigns launched by a humanitarian organization, critics warned about the use of “artistic fictions”. Explaining the 19th century response to the doctored photo, Seth Koven (1997) writes, “The use of ‘artistic fiction’ to represent actual fact is not only morally wrong, as thus employed, but might, in the absence of a very strict control, grow into a system of deception dangerous to the cause on behalf of which it is practiced” (pg. 25-26). Worried for over a century about issues of representation, the lack of clear universal codes of conduct for humanitarian media representation or consistent photo

standards demonstrates an absence in the literature of concrete rules for NGOs to follow. The backlash towards controversial and negative images has a long history in the humanitarian realm and newer digital mediums provide the next arena for critical investigation.

There is considerable commentary on the changing nature of image use by NGOs, especially in their reaction to criticism and backlash (Cottle and Nolan, 2007; Höijer, 2004). Despite the continued use of pornographic images of poverty and continued depiction of suffering, there is the element of backlash and intense criticism for using exploitative images, and relying solely on negative images (Manzo, 2006; Manzo 2008; Cottle and Nolan, 2007). As a means to elicit donations and capture attention, mass Western media and NGOs alike have been widely criticized for using images of suffering to evoke emotional responses in readers and viewers - everything from sympathy, pity, empathy and sadness to anger and indignation (Campbell 2004, pg. 61; Cohen 2001, pg. 183–194; Moeller 1999, pg. 2–39; Van der Gaag and Nash 1987, pg. 64–73; Voluntary Service Overseas 2002, pg. 10–12). Even though many organizations are conscious of the dangers of using negative images, the urge to use images that evoke certain emotions is hard to resist, given the success of campaigns that use controversial images. Says Jonathan Benthall (1993), “Raising funds through atrocity images is a morally hazardous exercise which could lead to systemic confidence trickery... qualities such as a flair for exploiting the media, keep the flame of charity alight by showing what can be done by one individual” (pg. 221). With this in mind, NGOs are now more conscious of the risks of using negative imagery and have often promoted using more ethically driven photographs in an effort to strengthen their corporate brand.

Specifically, Simon Cottle and David Nolan's 2007 case study of the American Red Cross, Oxfam, Save The Children, World Vision, CARE, and Doctors Without Borders that looks at humanitarian organizations and the media, established that there is now a focus on corporate branding, so NGOs are more centered on having a positive imagery associated with them (Cottle and Nolan, 2007). A focus on corporate branding has led to increased media consciousness and media applications are more strategic. Cottle and Nolan's (2007) multi-organization case study evaluated the increasingly corporate nature of NGO media presence:

“In the increasingly crowded and competitive field of humanitarian agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) now seek to ‘brand’ themselves in the media; they purposefully use celebrities and produce regionalized and personalized ‘media packages’ to court media attention; and they reflexively expend time and resources warding off increased risks of mediated scandals.”
(pg. 862).

Along with the emphasis on corporate branding in the NGO industry is a call for increased disclosure, as donors demand more transparency from the purveyors of aid. Since people now recognize NGOs as big businesses and conclude this based on their professional media campaigns, donors expect more information from the media outlets employed by NGOs. Recently, the public has called for increased openness and transparency from organizations following trust crises in the for-profit, nonprofit, and government sectors (Kelleher, 2006). Richard D. Waters (2010) explains how new media resources allow organizations to achieve a higher standard of transparency and accountability;

“Increasingly, nonprofit organizations are being challenged to demonstrate their accountability to donors, their operating community, and their clients and program participants. Blogs provide a channel for open communications.

Individuals can openly question an organization’s practices in front of their virtual peers, and the organization’s answer (or lack thereof) is available for everyone to scrutinize” (pg. 1421).

The increasing call for disclosure is especially relevant in an era of social networking as the increased scrutiny has:

“encouraged practitioners to use the Internet and social networking sites to advocate for their organizations and causes...For full disclosure, organizations must make sure to provide a detailed description of the organization and its history, use hyperlinks to connect to the organization’s Website, provide logos and visual cues to establish the connection, and list the individuals who are responsible for maintaining the social networking site profile.” (Walters, Lamm, Burnett, & Lucas, 2009, pg. 103)

Beyond the added pressure to disclose information about their organization, NGOs also face difficulties in developing an online media strategy since virtual realities can present certain risks. For instance, NGO respondents to open ended questions about their engagement in social media admitted that there are concerns about reliability, message control, image reproduction, and the scope of online audiences (Seo, Kim, and Yang, 2009, pg. 125).

Within the literature focusing on the changing aid media, there is a new consciousness about compassion fatigue and desensitization of images, especially in light

of globalization and increased exposure to media (Rozario, 2003; Höijer, 2004). There is considerable literature too that identifies the Ethiopian 1984 famine as a “watershed moment” where NGOs began a campaign to end the use of negative images because of a backlash from the general public which demanded more positively framed media campaigns (Manzo, 2006; Dogra, 2007). Following the 1984 famine in Ethiopia, reformers called for better codes of conduct and best practice guides to be developed by NGOs especially as “pronounced and immediate impact of the traditional appeal imagery on public consciousness and compassion only strengthened (perhaps paradoxically) the hand of the critics” (Manzo, 2006, pg. 9). Even with the emergence of better practices and more so-called “positive images”, critics argue that essentially NGOs achieve the same results in terms of public perception. Stanley Cohen (2001) argues that “at the core, less patronizing images are fundamentally about the same thing: anti-denial” (pg.180). He further explains the reconstruction of images to adapt to changing social perceptions of NGO iconography. He writes, “The politically incorrect image—dependent child/protective parent—is reimagined as the acceptable promotion of social change: village-level projects (literacy, health, farming), continuity, self-reliance, community and sustainability” (Cohen, 2001, pg. 181). Changing public perceptions of development signal a change in pictorial representations, but not an overall change in the operations of power: NGOs have the ability to control and manage discourse through their choice of image use, especially considering that NGOs are a “trusted source” and that pictures seem to represent truth-claims. Additionally, Matt Smith’s (2004) United Kingdom comparative NGO study on Plan UK and ActionAid found that both organizations distributed flyers and pamphlets that contained blatant contradictions as a strategy to

manipulate the public (pg. 744). Essentially, the organizations were able to improve their corporate brand by representing their work as empowering, while still relying on the same negative images to solicit donations. Smith (2004) explains how the flyer distributed by Plan UK contains two contradictory parts: the first gives respect to the recipients of aid by demonstrating their knowledge and excellent articulation of needs; meanwhile, the second part shows needy, frightened children who are reliant on sponsorship (pg. 744). The use of paradox and juxtaposition by NGOs in their advertisements serves as an excellent rhetorical device to protect their positive brand while still using negative images to guilt people into donating. Kate Manzo (2008) suggests that iconography of childhood is itself a signifier of NGO corporate identity in that it brands NGOs as having humanitarian principles (pg. 635). However, Manzo (2008) notes the irony is that “the dominant iconography of childhood is inherently paradoxical in the way it simultaneously endorses, constructs, and undermines the humanitarian principles espoused by the NGOs concerned” (pg. 635).

Another interesting commentary on the shift towards more positive imagery suggests that NGOs use constructive pictures as a way to reaffirm the role of the donor and continue to flatter them into giving more (Moro, 1998, pg. 76). Jørgen Lissner (1977) explains that positive representations of aid recipients shows donors how wonderfully their donations worked and generate a “God-like” feeling (pg. 130), prompting further contributions. NGOs that project a positive image and demonstrate to their donors the success of their contributions are also able to gain from corporate partnerships. Studies indicate that: “The latest trend within marketing is humanitarian sponsoring, in which big companies give money and other resources to social and

humanitarian aid. Companies want to win goodwill by being seen as benefactors” (Höijer, 2004, pg. 514). For multi-national corporations now pressured to engage in better humanitarian practices, achieve better triple bottom lines, and engage in better corporate social responsibility, being aligned with an NGO that generates positive messages and feelings of generosity is increasingly important.

Mirroring the partnerships formed with big business is an increasingly more professionalized NGO industry, characterized by more policy-oriented programming and a more highly educated staff (Murdock, 2003, pg. 507). Alongside NGO professionalization is the convergence of diverse organizational tenets under one umbrella communications or marketing operation. Organizations may typically focus separately on fundraising, education, consciousness-raising, or political lobbying for instance, but are now combining these efforts into one overarching communications strategy (Smith, 2004, pg.746). As a result of this professionalization, sensitivity to corporate identity and promoted business partnerships means that media campaigns are increasingly more complex and sophisticated.

With increased globalization and the emergence of new media, there is amplified competition and a growing tendency for NGOs to use images that include more politically charged definitions of neediness; “despite [...] common and unchanging aspects of fundraising posters there has been a discernable shift from relatively neutral to politically loaded explanations of poverty” (Lamers, 2005, pg.46). Many NGOs try to avoid publically aligning themselves with one political party in an effort to remain neutral and appeal to the widest demographic of donors. Notably though, the efforts by NGOs to remain apolitical have failed and are often contradicted by their choice of

pictures. Kate Manzo (2008) argues that all forms of intervention and visual representation, whether labeled as human rights interventions, or otherwise, are in their very nature political (pg. 634). A famous 1984 USAID fundraising campaign surrounding the Ethiopian famine attempted the slogan “A hungry child has no politics” was criticized for “abstracting children from politics as an operation strategy” (Burman, 1994, pg. 243). Kate Manzo (2008) further explains that:

“Images consistent with the slogan are contradictory in effect. Whilst they mirror humanitarian principles enshrined in the Geneva Conventions dating back to 1864, they also undermine more recent NGO guidelines on images and reinforce a contested image of NGOs themselves as apolitical entities.” (pg. 641).

The changing aid media is now characterized by more celebrity endorsements that help to contribute to the image of NGOs as apolitical.

Celebrity endorsement is not a brand new phenomena, however the increasing scope of media influence and increasing presence of celebrities in our everyday lives makes partnerships for NGOs an ideal solution to maintain an apolitical presence; “NGOs’ use of celebrities is not as novel as it might seem, and the issue may not be celebrities per se but rather the traditionally apolitical nature of their involvement with NGO causes and campaigns” (Manzo, 2008, pg. 646). Celebrity endorsements within the changing aid media are a major growing trend in the humanitarian industry, coinciding with the growing accessibility of celebrity culture through increasing paparazzi coverage and active social media use by the stars themselves.

Attempts to grab media attention are often aided by celebrity endorsements, as news outlets feed into the public’s desire for more images and updates on their favourite

stars. Frequent criticisms of disempowering or negative images by NGOs has shifted their emphasis towards positive, more “empowering” images. The shift in imagery use can also be partially attributed to a new generation of potential donors who are more cynical and able to more rapidly and easily attain information than the generation before them via quick and easy access to Internet resources. A growing percentage of the donor base has heard of early development failures, so they are more insistent that their donation be spent effectively and produce results in an ethical and effective manner. The growing new generation of potential donors has also influenced another emerging fundraising strategy: celebrity consumerism. Therefore, to engage the public and generate campaigns that resonate with today’s potential donor base, fundraising NGOs need to be more pop culture savvy and able to assert influence across many diverse mediums.

Celebrities are used in various capacities by NGOs, whether it is for short-term humanitarian crises (for instance, the massive response from celebrities following the Haitian earthquake) or for more long-term partnerships (like Angelina Jolie’s multi year position as a UN Ambassador). Not only do celebrities serve to depoliticize an NGOs role in a developing country, they can also bring attention to campaigns that would not otherwise attract any attention. Citing the worldwide coverage attached to Brad Pitt’s visit to Ethiopia, Save the Children Australia speaks to the need for celebrity ambassadors, because:

“You can talk about it and you can have a community service announcement and you can have a wonderful little ad and the money is going to all these wonderful things, but until you’ve got a celebrity or a photo-worthy person up there to sell it,

then it's going to be a steep hill." (National Media and Public Affairs Officer, cited in Cottle and Nolan, 2007, pg. 868)

Celebrities bring star power and sex appeal to development issues, otherwise perceived by the public to be depressing, complicated, technical, and overwhelming. Summarizing this sentiment, multinational corporations acknowledge the power of celebrities to bring awareness around corporate social responsibility campaigns. For instance, Peter Knight, journalist and author of Shell's Profits or Principles report explains: "if they can't understand why *Big Brother* or *Hello* magazine are so interesting to so many people, then they'll never realise why sustainable development will be so *un*interesting to them" (Hooper and Wright, 2001, pg. 2).

For some, the combination of appealing images beside those that appall the viewer leads to the most successful fundraising campaigns (Rozario, 2003, pg. 423). Beautiful celebrities offer the perfect depiction of sex appeal when juxtaposed beside images of discomfort. Hence why, sometimes, images of stars are used to pacify an uncomfortable issue and bring light to a disturbing issue in the Global South. Princess Diana's advocacy work on eliminating landmines and insistence on being pictured beside amputee victims of landmines demonstrated that celebrities could be used to bring awareness to issues that are uncomfortable for the general public to face. Some controversial issues, like female genital mutilation for instance, would never catch the attention of the mainstream media unless "celebrities like Cate Blanchett or someone go in there and advocate on behalf of it" (Cottle and Nolan 2007, pg. 868). Research on the role of celebrities in NGO fundraising suggests that while celebrity involvement attracts

donors, the stars' ability to simplify complicated issues may in effect misconstrue facts or over abbreviate big issues. Says Andrew Kamons (2007),

“Critics contend that while celebrities may succeed in engaging the public, they rarely do so without diluting the message they are trying to convey...celebrities often prove reluctant to wrestle with any ambiguities and are quick to gloss over the very distinctions that give a position importance.” (pg. 146)

A growing amount of literature is now focusing on the changing role of celebrities in NGO advertising and critically evaluates the impact that stars can have on NGO credibility, representation, and on the success of campaigns.

For many organizations, the benefits of using a celebrity for marketing efforts may not always outweigh the costs and the risks to the credibility of the NGO. In an era where NGOs are increasingly conscious of marketing strategies and corporate goals, some organizations are concerned that associating with celebrities could in effect “cheapen the brand” of the NGO (McDougall, 2006, pg. 38). Writes Kate Manzo (2008), “the uniform choice of recognizable stars is evocative of the ‘cult of celebrity’ that some NGO workers see as a threat to their organizational integrity” (pg. 646). There are dangers in using celebrities to support a cause when the same star may later commit a crime, make a controversial public statement or pursue a role contradictory to the images and mandates presented by the NGO. A major issue can arise when,

“Celebrities misconstrue the issues by presenting images that may be unreflective of a campaign’s priorities in order to gain exposure, or when the celebrity acts contrary to a campaign’s priorities, such as prominent PETA supporters like Naomi Campbell being photographed wearing fur.” (Wishart, 2008, pg. 29)

Further, there are obvious criticisms launched when a known extremely wealthy celebrity is seeking financial donations from the general populace who may doubt whether the celebrity really relates to either the poverty-stricken groups who the NGO works with or question whether the star relates to the average, middle class donor. Researchers have also commented on the problems with using celebrities as spokespeople in that the celebrity's glamour and star power overshadows the campaign itself, often unintentionally vanishing the boundaries between celebrity spectacle and newsworthy causes (Moeller, 1999, pg. 34). One of the most notable interceptions between celebrity and charity is the Live Aid concerts planned by Bob Geldof and friends in response to the East African famine in the early 1980s. As much as many authors recognize Geldof's efforts at using his celebrity to attract interest for an important issue, some note that "the celebrity story practically eclipsed the cause. In covering Live Aid, reporters became caught up in the thrill of watching Mick Jagger and Tina Turner cavort on stage" (Moeller, 1999, pg. 119). There is also a danger in using celebrities as spokespeople in that the voice of the celebrity may seem louder than the voices of the poor, further working to present those in the North as subjects while the recipients of aid remain objects (Cohen, 2001, pg. 206). Maria Eriksson Baaz (2005) describes Live Aid as; "frenzied performances were punctuated with appeals from an exhausted Bob Geldoff bullying people to part with their money...and iconic footage of starving people, and imagery of the passive, helpless African was lastingly inscribed in the minds of millions of people in the West" (pg.123).

Another danger therefore of increased celebrity attention to an NGOs cause is the lasting impact the imagery can have, now that more people are exposed to it through celebrity

endorsement. The celebrity attraction and depiction of Africa at Live Aid meant that:

“Northern audiences, whose popular belief it was that Africa was poor and underdeveloped, now had proof...African *subjects* were represented as the passive recipients of aid – *objects* of development – who had no voice, no identity and no contribution to make during the crisis. The West, in contrast, was constituted as being full of active subjects, development workers, fundraisers, journalists or world citizens.” (Lidchi, 1999, pg. 92-93)

Images of celebrities, known as having ultimate access to freedom based on their high status and available economic resources contrasted beside Africans in states of extreme poverty reaffirmed the positional superiority of the Western Self while limiting the agency of the developing Other.

In a similar vein to my project, many critical researches in the postdevelopment realm have noted problems with speaking for “the Other”, and celebrity representation can be the epitome of this practice. Many NGOs are conscious of the criticisms launched against their use of celebrities, however the power in soliciting donations and creating attention to a topic is too difficult to replace; “On behalf of UNHCR, [Angelina] Jolie has publicized the plights of the refugees more effectively than any prior government efforts while [U2’s] Bono has been arguably the most decisive factor in reframing the global debate on third world debt reform” (Kamons, 2007, pg. 146). Like the NGOs who continue to use negative images of poverty amid criticism because they prove to be successful fundraising tools, NGOs will also use celebrities if it means their campaigns will be effective and remain in the public spectre.

Studies on television, flyers, pamphlets, and posters are common, and many authors have focused on different major NGOs: an analysis was conducted on flyers and pamphlets used by ActionAid and Plan (Smith, 2004); many efforts have been focused on Dr. Barnardo's Children Charity photographs (Ash, 2008; O'Dell, 2008; Koven, 1997); and the Red Cross' mass culture has been examined (Rozario, 2003). Online investigations are emerging (Seo and Yang, 2009; Waters et.al, 2009), but are still in the early development phases. Many of the efforts by NGOs in the wake of humanitarian crises and famines in the early 1980s and the decades of subsequent criticism that followed were mainly focused around print campaigns and television coverage. Nowadays, NGOs are widening their media influence and are utilizing diverse forms of communication. In a 2009 study of 230 NGOs based in the United States, Seo and Yang concluded that:

“The results show that the organization's website is perceived as being the most important new media tool for NGOs, followed by blogs, videocasts, podcasts and wikis. This indicates that the website is the major new media tool for NGOs at this time.” (pg. 124)

Advertising experts comment that with new technologies, the ways that we consider even the basic representations of organizations must be contextualized amid new digital realities. For example, corporate brands and logos are increasingly more important since exposure is so rampant (94 percent of global citizens now recognize Coca Cola's logo), but visual representations are also less hampered by traditional barriers since computer screens allow us to look directly at light (rather than reflected light), enhancing the brain's ability to absorb and memorize the brand's colour palette (Haupt, 2011, pg. B6).

Since “society has become so thoroughly permeated with propaganda and lies, largely as a consequence of advertising, that the culture as a whole has become an enormous system of ideology” (Heath and Potter, 2004, pg. 1), attempts by advocates for alternative culture to ‘jam’ the system by blocking the channels through which the messages are exchanged have largely failed because: “there is no single overarching system that integrates it all. The culture cannot be jammed because there is no such thing as ‘the culture’ or ‘the system’...only a hodgepodge of social institutions” (Heath and Potter, 2004, pg. 8). NGO images as a corporate brand are another realm of seemingly unstoppable propaganda that form a large part of our culture. Manzo (2008) suggests that the iconography of childhood is in itself a corporate brand and logo for NGOs in that the image of childhood evokes humanitarian principles and organizational ideals (pg. 635). Current NGOs, employing professional advertising standards are using corporate branding techniques of major corporations and are increasingly aware of the importance of logos and other visual representation cues in digital media.

Seo and Yang’s (2009) research demonstrated that with growing focus on social media and new media, 75% of the NGOs surveyed acknowledged changing their approach to traditional mass media, explaining that their organizations have become less dependent on traditional media (pg. 125). In April 2006, the world’s largest social media site, Facebook, opened its registration process to organizations and had over 4000 organizations join within only two weeks (Facebook, 2007). For NGOs increasingly conscious of their corporate brand and identity, social networking allows NGOs to build relationships with potential donors in an interactive site driven by user generated content. Researchers have found that

“nonprofit organizations use social media to streamline their management functions, interact with volunteers and donors, and educate others about their programs and services. Through interactions with stakeholders on Facebook and other social media applications, organizations seek to develop relationships with important publics.” (Waters et al, 2009, pg. 103)

Social networking sites provide an arena where organizations can engage and interact with stakeholders, while also allowing nonprofits to gain publicity for specific causes and answer the call for more transparency through active disclosure on their official pages.

Seo and Yang (2009) study transnational NGO’s online public relation practices, but do not include a discourse analysis of the wider development field and do not use a content analysis investigation of images like my project. Seo and Yang (2009) specifically look at the strategies that NGOs and humanitarian organizations use and comment on the ways that their online behaviour is often determined by the mandate of the organization, with advocacy NGOs focused more on weblogs and aid organizations more centered around official organizational websites (pg. 125). Waters et al (2009) – look specifically at how NGOs are using social media – including the use of Facebook by NGOs, but are not focused on the use of images, instead attempting to understand how NGOs are creating an online presence. Most literature on NGO online presence is directed from a business or marketing perspective, intended to be used on improving donations, rather than directed as a critical postdevelopment reading of the imagery. The literature also points to the trend of empowering local actors, especially in light of studies based on local, Southern based NGOs (Murdock, 2003; Nyamugasira, 1998). By focusing on women’s based NGOs in the Global South, in Colombia for instance, studies

consider how women in organizations are using online and new media to upload images (Murdock, 2003). Other articles confront the differences in representation between those organizations based in the North and those in the South. While much discourse in development is now focused on the promise of the Southern institutions as providing a voice for the most impoverished and isolated (including women and children), literature reveals that overall both women and children continue to be silenced (Nyamugasira, 1998). In an effort to mainstream the voices of the most marginalized populations in the development industry, the literature recommends a “joint venture” between Northern and Southern institutions and pushes for a focus on issue-oriented goals (Moro, 1998; Nyamugasira, 1998).

Within the current literature, there is an emphasis on the understanding of the global compassion discourse and on the reasoning behind altruism. Many studies are conducted to understand which images inspire compassion and increase donations (Höijer, 2004; Ash, 2008), while my study is more interested in how these images are selected to represent the Other as part of the development machine. Commenting on why specific photographic images produce specific viewer behaviour, Susan Sontag (2003) suggests that within the context of widespread desensitization, it is our frustration of not being able to help the subjects of the picture, rather than the shock of seeing the images that causes viewers to turn away (pg. 117). Exposure to upsetting images, distant horrors, and violence abroad leads to a global compassion discourse. Examinations on the “global discourse of compassion” interpret the intersection of political journalism, humanitarian aid organizations, civil society, and cosmopolitan democracy (Höijer, 2004). Global citizens create an audience to genocides, humanitarian crises, massacres, and other

violence on civic populations, often motivating regular citizens to respond by engaging with NGOs (Rozario, 2003; Höijer, 2004). Through the “marketing of altruistic causes” (Guy and Patton, 1989) the focus has often been on a psychological analysis of the reasons why people are motivated to contribute to humanitarian causes based on altruistic motivations. The psychological analysis provides for an individualized perspective on donor behaviour, rather than on a broad investigation of the development discourse on a wider scale, or even on the organizations themselves. Looking at the changing marketing paradigms brought about by new media technologies, the authors suggest that the most effective way to improve charitable donations is through a more thorough understanding of donor behaviour and motivations. Many critics have found that donor behaviour is motivated by individual actions and that giving to NGOs is driven by a desire for donors to feel less guilty and better about their role in creating unequal distributions of wealth. What this serves to do is reaffirm the supremacy of the Self via a recognition of the inferior Other, who is reliant on the graciousness and charity of the wealthy individual. Rather than driven by a need to help others, many donors in the Global North are driven by an egoism that causes them to see themselves as the sole purveyor of potential aid. Says Kaplan, (1998) organizations that use images and catalogues of products to raise funds “encourages us to think of ourselves not as links in a chain but rather, as the center of the world, encouraging a story of ‘feel-good capitalism’ as well as ‘warm, fuzzy geopolitics’” (Kaplan in Fox, 1998, pg. 255). Interestingly, this sense of selfishness disguised as selflessness by Northern donors and the tendency to view themselves as omnificent beings mimics what many critics have claimed about the World Bank, IMF, and other transnational institutions (Stiglitz, 2003, pg. 41).

My work does not focus on donor behaviour as I feel that this goes beyond the scope of the project and is not necessarily connected to the postdevelopment and postcolonial perspective I implemented. Literature explains how global humanitarianism coincides with the emergence of mass media culture (Rozario, 2003), suggesting that there are surprising similarities between charity texts and pulp magazines, advertisements, and commercial movies (Rozario, 2003; Manzo, 2003; Højjer, 2004). As non-governmental organizations transition to become more marketable, potential donors began to be treated as customers, signifying a change in philanthropy towards a mass cultural venture. A classic adage “you can’t sell brotherhood like you sell soap” (Wiebe, 1952) reflects some serious problems in attempting to market altruistic causes, despite decades of marketing scholars advising NGOs to adopt professional marketing campaigns (Guy and Patton, 1989, pg. 20). Concerns of compassion fatigue and desensitization to images of suffering can explain the changing images used in development research since pictures of starving children and skeletal babies no longer elicit the same response in American society that they once did (Ash, 2008; Rozario, 2003; Manzo, 2008; Dogra, 2007).

Within the extant literature, the many case studies are conducted on organizations that are based in the United Kingdom (with a few exceptions from groups based in the United States). Dr. Barnardo’s Children’s Charities are cited numerous times based on the long history of provocative media campaigns by the organization (Ash, 2008; O’Dell, 2008; Koven, 1997). Dr. Barnardo’s, now a major UK non-governmental organization that collects nearly 190 million Euros each year to provide education and healthcare to vulnerable children, is notorious for innovative and controversial advertising campaigns

that promote the use of shame and embarrassment for effective marketing of humanitarian causes (Ash 2008). Famous for creating before and after pictures of “vagrants” and “success stories”, Barnardo was an expert when it came to manipulating public perceptions of the children he helped in his charity by aligning the images with evangelical themes (Ash, 2008; Koven, 1997). Barnardo images were also racialized, often chosen because they included African children, and were a source of scandal because they often showed children in indecent or vulgar poses (O’Dell 2008; Koven, 1997). Another often cited investigation is a three-decade study (1972-2005) on fundraising images from Christian Aid UK, which analyzes the media changes before and after the 1984 Ethiopian humanitarian crisis (Dogra, 2007). Additionally, a study on Oxfam UK investigates the different reasons why NGOs use images and explains that the purpose of each campaign ultimately determines the selection of the photograph (Moro, 1998). Case studies on Canadian based organizations are limited and underdeveloped at this point, specifically studies that investigate online media and image use.

While there is a wide range of literature covering the general topic of NGO iconography, there is still very little online analysis as it relates to the development industry. Further, research focused on social media is underdeveloped and methodologically focuses on the use and prevalence of organizations online, rather than looking at the contributions of these groups to discourse or follows a more formal content analysis method. From the current literature, I can surmise that most of the studies on NGO images exist primarily outside of Canada, and most research exists at micro-level taking account of small case studies. My research is more interested in macro-broad level discourse and includes a uniquely Canadian perspective. Many authors tout the

contributions of Canada to the international community, and some critics are disappointed with Canada's changing role in the international humanitarian scene. My research can contribute to the debate on Canada's contribution to development projects. Additionally, from a pragmatic perspective, my research can be used by NGOs themselves to establish best and conscious practice guidelines for their use of images and could help in creating a united Canadian NGO image-use ethical standard.

Chapter Five: Deconstructing the Other: Problematizing Constructions of Power and Approaches for Analysis

The postdevelopment theoretical perspective shapes a major part of the research design, especially in the selection of online images as a medium for investigation. Since I am ultimately interested in understanding the cross-section between representation and power, online images are an ideal medium because they bring into question the construction of identities and demonstrates within the development context that NGOs in the Global North have the ability to represent recipients of aid in the Global South however they seem fit. These NGOs hold the power to depict their members and efforts in a positive light, to appease critics, attract donors, and support official organization mandates. Satisfying the demands of many different stakeholders, I understand that each organization faces diverse pressures to attract donations and maintain a high traffic profile among an increasingly crowded online marketplace. While there is a major push in the official development discourse to allow the subalterns to speak for themselves, the example of Canadian based web pages from NGOs shows that persons living in the Global South have very little agency when it comes to having their images used and in how they are being represented. The appropriation of these images for the purpose of

fundraising is precisely what this project is hoping to reveal with an attempt to contextualize the use of images within the wider operations of development discourse. Keeping my theoretical framework central, my project is designed as a content analysis of the images used on web pages of Canadian based NGOs and internationally based NGOs working within Canada.

My work compared images from international NGOs working with Canadian offices with those of strictly Canadian based NGOs. Conscious of diverse interpretations of terms, I must first define what is meant by “development focused” NGOs, especially in a project aimed at criticizing the language of the development industry. The selection of NGO images for my study is driven by my interest in transnational representation and the notion of Self and Other in the online propaganda of NGOs located within Canada. As such, as a starting point, I selected NGOs that have domestic offices and may work with domestic populations for aid and fundraising, but whose primary focus is on international programming. Because NGOs as a main category can encompass any variety of civil society actors with wide ranging causes, for me, it was important to find organizations that work within the realm of human welfare and human development internationally. Since NGO as a label applies to any variety of non-profit organizations that work outside of state operations, the World Bank definition of NGO is most appropriate for my purposes; “NGOs are private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development” (Operational Directive, 1989, s.14.7). The World Bank categorizes NGOs that it works with into two subcategories: those that are “operational NGOs, whose primary purpose is the design and implementation of

development- related projects, and advocacy NGOs, whose primary purpose is to defend or promote a specific cause and who seek to influence the policy and practices of larger bodies” (Malena, 1995, pg. 13). Within these two main categories, the World Bank distinguishes between community-based organizations, which they classify as being mainly “membership based” (formed by a group of individuals to serve their own interests) and those that are national and international organizations that are dubbed “intermediary” (formed to serve others) (Malena, 1995, pg. 14). Even more specifically, the World Bank classifies NGOs that it works with into “typologies” outlined by whether the NGO is relief or development oriented; whether they are secular or religious; whether they stress service delivery or participation; and whether they are more private or public-oriented (Malena, 1995, pg. 15). I recognize that there is a danger in using World Bank typologies to help narrow my selection of NGOs since the World Bank is a major perpetuator and controller of development discourses, however I am only using these guidelines as a source for understanding how NGOs are recognized within the international system of classification. I will use these guidelines to select organizations that fit within the development-oriented typology rather than on relief oriented groups and am taking a sample of both secular and religious classified NGOs as I suspect religious affiliation will have an impact on representation. Additionally, my focus is mainly on operational organizations rather than on advocacy centered NGOs (with some exceptions). It is important to comment there is an increased blurring of these categories as organizations work to increase online advocacy efforts for improved operational capacity. Many NGOs work mainly in the operational realm, but are increasingly concerned with transnational advocacy efforts for increased influence and efficacy in

programming. With an ever-expanding NGO universe, moving from under ten in 1910 to over 38,000 working in more than one country in 1996 - more than double the number of a decade earlier (Scholte and Schnabel 2002, pg. 250; Simmons, 1998, pg. 89), I needed to be sure to select NGOs most appropriate for my research project. Among the massive body of NGOs there are a controlling few that possess over 500 million of the total estimated 8 billion relief market: CARE, World Vision International, Oxfam Federation, and Save the Children Federation are among most revenue generating groups (Simmons, 1998, p.92). Since these four are among the top NGOs working within the international, development, and operational realms and they have Canadian offices, they are ideal for my study. Among the other top eight organizations, Doctors Without Borders and The Red Cross were not selected for my project because they mainly operate as relief-oriented organizations and the remaining upper elite: Eurostep, CIDSE (Cooperation internationale pour le developpement et la solidarite), and APDOVE (Association of Protestant Development Organizations in Europe) were not chosen because they operate primarily in Europe. Additionally, the Canadian Red Cross was not selected because programs for the Red Cross extend beyond development paradigms and involve a lot of domestic programs (such as blood donor clinics and emergency relief in remote areas) and humanitarian relief and I am focused on international, human welfare NGOs. Finally, I chose Plan Canada because it fits within Revenue Canada's top charitable organizations that work in the development field, alongside the other four major players that are recognized for contributing internationally. The five internationally based organizations that I selected were also chosen for their long-term commitments in international development and their emphasis on health and education improvements. I

did not want to choose UNICEF or UNESCO because I do not want organizations part of the broader United Nations community, since I see those as part of a larger transnational governmental body and not fitting within the World Bank's more strict definition of an NGO. Additionally, big NGO player Amnesty International was not selected because of its narrow human rights centered programs and its central focus on advocacy rather than operational programming. I am more interested in organizations that work on human development that rely on a continual basis on donations for long-term commitments to transnational programs. The project will first look at images used by the top five Canadian International NGOs: World Vision Canada, CARE Canada, Plan Canada, Oxfam Canada, and Save the Children Canada. From this selection, I created a method to select Canadian based NGOs whose images could be used for my research.

For the most part, selecting the top five international NGOs working on development issues was easy, but finding corresponding Canadian counterparts required a more precise methodology to ensure that I was finding organizations that had similar aims as their international counterparts. To begin, I started by constructing a comparison chart of my selected five international NGOs and used the World Bank terminology to create categories: I listed the total revenues for each NGO; whether they were operational or advocacy based; secular or religious; relief or development oriented; and public or private. Next I copied their mandates into a column from their website, usually citing their "mission statement", or "vision statement" and highlighted any key words that best outlined their work. I also searched Revenue Canada's charities listing for information on the total revenues from 2010 and created a column that outlined the NGOs Revenue Canada category and charity type. In a final column I listed briefly some of the major

projects the organization is responsible for and the main focus of their work, again highlighting key words and terms. From this very specific summation of each NGO, I simply started Google searching using the key words that I had highlighted from each mandate and projects and skimmed through many organizations to find some that could be paired with each international NGO that I had originally selected.

Firstly, I needed to find an organization to pair with World Vision Canada, a major international NGO classified by Revenue Canada as a welfare organization, whose 2010 total revenues topped 415 million dollars. World Vision, a religious organization has a mission statement with a main emphasis on relief, development and advocacy and are dedicated to working with children, families and communities to overcome poverty and injustice through “transformational development” (www.worldvision.ca). World Vision’s “transformational development” is achieved through child sponsorship, sustainable, community-based programs, small business support, a special emphasis on well-being and children, and combating infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis. In researching Canadian based NGOs to match with World Vision, I found World Relief Canada, also classified by Canada Revenue as a welfare organization, but generating revenues just shy of ten million dollars in 2010. Like World Vision, World Relief Canada bases its work in Christian teachings and has a similar mandate and focus as World Vision, but on a much smaller scale. World Relief Canada’s vision is to see people responding, with compassion and justice, to the needs of the poor, oppressed and suffering in ways that bring healing and transformation in the world’s poorest communities (<http://wrcanada.org/>). Their focus on justice and compassion for the most impoverished populations is similar to World Vision’s mission statement. Additionally,

operationally, World Relief Canada is like World Vision in that they focus on sustainable development, health, literacy, education, and micro enterprise. Importantly, although the organization calls itself World Relief Canada, their missions are more long-term development centered instead of short-term relief focused. To compare any organization to World Vision is difficult because of World Vision's massive revenues and breadth of programming, but of any of my researched groups, World Relief had the most similarities.

Next, I needed to find an organization to pair with Save the Children Canada; another Canada Revenue Agency classified welfare organization whose total 2010 revenues were over 34 million dollars. As their name suggests, Save the Children Canada is a development centered, operational, private organization focused on programs aimed at improving the well being of children. A secular organization, Save the Children Canada envisions "a world where every child attains the right to survival, protection, development and participation" and works "to inspire breakthroughs in the way the world treats children, and to achieve immediate and lasting change in their lives" (www.savethechildren.ca). Save the Children Canada's emphasis on child empowerment means that their programs focus on improving health and nutrition, education, HIV/AIDS reduction, child protection, livelihoods and food security, emergency relief and child rights governance. Considering all of the central values focused on improving the lives of children, the most natural Canadian based match to internationally focused Save the Children, is Free the Children Canada, an organization pioneered by Craig Kielburger when he was just a child himself. Classified as a community welfare organization by Revenue Canada and bringing in revenues in 2010 over 22 million dollars, Free the

Children Canada is a secular, private, development focused, operational and advocacy organization. Like Save the Children who focus on empowering children around the globe, Free the Children's mission is to: "Free children from poverty. Free children from exploitation. Free children from the idea that they are powerless to change the world" (www.freethechildren.ca). Also similar to Save the Children, Free the Children's programs include education for all initiatives, educating children to be leaders, improved health care, access to better sanitation, and social and health kits.

Matching internationally based Plan Canada to an organization solely from Canada started out as a difficult challenge because I wanted to match secular organizations with other non-religious groups. However, after comparing the mandates, organizational classification, and programs, I realized that World Hope Canada is very similar to Plan Canada, despite being a religious nonprofit group. Both classified by Revenue Canada as welfare organizations, World Hope's 2010 revenues of 750 thousand barely measure up to Plan's massive 2010 revenues over 115 million, but their aims are similar and their programs promote the same goals and adapt similar methods. Plan Canada's human rights, justice, and dignity focused mandate advocates for improvements in the quality of life for children and families to be achieved most effectively through collaboration with community partnerships. Almost as though paraphrasing Plan Canada, World Hope Canada's vision promotes working with partners in communities to create dignity, fight for justice and inspire hope by focusing on children and encouraging self-sufficiency (www.worldhope.ca/). Further, both Plan Canada and World Hope list providing for basic needs as their operational goal; both focus on food security, education opportunities, water and sanitation, and both organizations are committed to advocating

on behalf of girls to help end sex trafficking or other social problems that disproportionately affect females. Ultimately, World Hope's religious background and Plan's secular status do not influence their operations nor their mandates and both organizations can be compared against each other, despite major differences in revenues.

Finding a match for Oxfam required investigating the most recent foci of Oxfam's programming to establish the most appropriate pair. Also falling into Revenue Canada's welfare organizations classification, Oxfam's 2010 earnings topped 23.5 million. The latest campaign that headlines Oxfam's website is called "GROW: Food, Women, Planet", an operational effort committed to empowering women, the main producers of food resources, to find sustainable solutions for food production in the Global South (www.oxfam.ca). Considering this latest campaign priority, Oxfam Canada is best compared to USC Canada, another Canada Revenue welfare organization whose mission is to "promote vibrant family farms, strong rural communities, and healthy ecosystems around the world" (www.usc-canada.org). Formally known as the Unitarian Service Committee of Canada, USC Canada is no longer affiliated with the Unitarian Church and was shortened and re-branded to reflect the organization's now secular status. Stated explicitly on their website, USC Canada grounds itself in "universal values" and partnerships with communities of all faiths. While USC Canada's 5.5 million dollar 2010 earnings are small compared to Oxfam, their programming aim to "strengthen biodiversity, food sovereignty, and the rights of those at the heart of resilient food systems – women, indigenous peoples, and small-scale farmers" almost perfectly matches up with Oxfam's latest campaign to empower female food producers.

While the main focus of my investigation is on operationally focused NGOs, I also wanted to include a set of organizations that are dedicated to more advocacy work, to see if image use is different when the goals of a group may be more policy driven. Care Canada has many facets to its programming, but a tenet of their work involves “influencing policy decisions at all levels, addressing discrimination in all its forms and defending dignity” (www.care.ca). Similarly, Kairos Canada is a collection of Canadian churches organized towards justice and dignity and works primarily in the advocacy field to influence policy decisions across different levels. Kairos and Care are both classified as welfare organizations by Revenue Canada, with Care earning 139 million in 2010 compared with Kairos’ 2.6 million. My hesitation to pair Kairos with Care is only in that Care is a secular organization and Kairos is religious and cites Christian teachings as a driving force of their programs. Acknowledging the religious drive of Kairos’ work, along with their dramatically smaller budget, and more narrow focus on advocacy, I will be very cautious in making direct comparisons between Care and Kairos. Despite these differences, each organization is committed to defending dignity, combating climate change and promoting sustainability, providing locally driven economic opportunities and microcredit loans, and positive social change to end discrimination. Considering the ways that Care and Kairos are similar, each will be evaluated as part of my sample study as organizations that offer both advocacy and operational programs.

After deciding on the method for pairing Canadian based NGOs to those that are internationally focused, I was able to select my ten organizations for the study. On the international side World Vision, Care Canada, Save the Children Canada, Plan Canada, and Oxfam Canada were selected for the first five organizations to study. On the

Canadian side World Hope Canada, World Relief Canada, Free the Children Canada, USC Canada and Kairos Canada were chosen following a matching methodology as described above. Once I had my ten organizations, I needed to find a way to randomly select 100 images to form my sample. In the following section, I describe the methodology that I created to find a random sample.

My project is designed as a content analysis that looks at power and representation to determine the ways that images used by NGOs support a broader development discourse. For my project, I needed to be especially conscious of my image selection and since I am trying to deconstruct power relations embedded in images, I needed to be careful that I am not biasing my image selection to support my critical investigation. When I initially conceived of this project, I was unclear about the semantics of throwing in terms such as semiotics and content analysis and am guilty of conflating the two in my research proposal. Now, after more consideration, my project is a content analysis rather than a semiological study. I am most interested in addressing the trends evident in a wider selection of photos than on a more intense study of a few pictures from each organization. Commenting on semiotic studies of advertising campaigns, Gillian Rose (2001) notes a major difference in that

“neither [author] had a rigorous sampling procedure, as a content analysis would; nor do either say how they chose which of these adverts to discuss in detail as examples in their books. This is because semiologists choose their images on the basis of how conceptually interesting they are, it seems” (pg. 73).

Since the aim of my research is to understand whether Canadian based NGOs were exceptional in their representation of the Other, or if they fit in within the larger patterns

of internationally based NGOs, I opted to use a content analysis rather than a more specific semiological study. The analysis of the data comprised of image coding is the main aspect of the project, but works within the analysis of literature on the subject of the development industry and the discursive practices that characterize humanitarian interventions.

As a special consideration, I extracted only images that were uploaded by the organizations themselves on to their official websites. I needed to be very careful in extracting images not to choose supplementary images from other groups posting onto the official sites or to opt for images from other social networking sites. I extracted the images from pages on the NGO site itself, not from the online available PDF annual reports or other sites related to the organization. For my small project, I opted for a sample size of 100 pictures, taking 10 from each NGO site. While a larger sample size would better inform my research, the limitations of a Master's Thesis both temporally and financially must form the parameters for my research. Additionally, for the sake of the project, I am interested in the images of the NGOs, not the study of Canadian donors' activities on social media – although I admit with more resources, time, and a broader research goal, I would find this to be an interesting investigation. Similarly, I would like to analyze videos uploaded by the organization, but for the scope of this project, it is too much to accomplish. As such, videos will be excluded, as will written text, and various other applications utilized by the organizations on their websites. Further, the membership composition of each NGO and web design is not going to be addressed within the confines of this project, however, the investigation into the populace of the donor community on social media could serve as an extension into the project for further

doctoral study. In order for my project to remain non-obtrusive and to maintain the content analysis methodological focus, I did not contact the organizations themselves to inquire about donor demographics, organizational membership, and web strategies or to ask for more information than what is provided online. I will, however, gladly offer to share my findings upon completion of the thesis, as I understand the difficulties that NGOs (especially some smaller organizations) have in conducting research on their own online behaviour and on the web presence of other similar organizations.

Another critical consideration is that I am insisting on pictures that contain a human subject, rather than any cartoon pictures, or logos, or still-life objects. While I acknowledge that pictures without a human depicted can be used to understand development issues, my interest in power and representation relies on an understanding of relationships and human interaction. Photographs were analyzed based on the representation of the subject, so it was absolutely essential for each picture to contain at least one subject, even if I surmise that the representation of this subject is itself an objectification. My unit of analysis is not the individual or group, but rather a social artifact: a product of social beings. In this case the images and photos themselves are the unit of analysis. A benefit of using publically available material is that I did not require Ethics Review Board consent to begin my project, but my work is not without some ethical considerations.

After selecting my ten organizations and setting the basic rules for the photographs that I would use, I needed a way to select the ten photographs so that I was adhering to the principles of simple random sampling. Knowing that random selection methods allow for an equal chance of selection independent of any other event in the

selection process (Babbie, 2011, pg. 215), I decided that simple random sampling would be the most effective way for me to address images on different NGO websites, so as to maintain as much objectivity as possible. With the sampling unit being the photographs themselves, I had to find a way to establish a sampling frame that could be applied to a random selection table to select my pictures. To form my sampling frame, I decided that each website's "site map" would provide an outline of each page from the organization and that most of these pages could contain an image for analysis. As a process, I created a sampling frame from each organization by copying each variable of the site map into a listed Excel spreadsheet. For organizations that did not post their site map, I used an online site map exporter that analyzes an organization's site and lists all of the different pages. Saving each of the site map lists in a separate file for each organization, I named these sampling frame lists "Random Number Selection _NGO Name". Depending on the complexity of each organization's website, I had to create a different sized sampling frame for each, as some organizations have 50 to 100 different pages and others have up to 500. After I created a document outlining each numbered unit of the sampling frame, I used an online random number generator to create a random number chart for each organization's sampling frame. To ensure that each photo on each organization's site had the same likelihood of being selected, there needed to be a different random number set for each sampling frame. Thus, if an organization had 500 different pages on their site map, I created a random table with 500 different variables, randomly mixed in a chart. If there were only 100 pages on the site map, I created a charted list of 100 random numbers. From the random numbered chart for each organization, I simply started at the top left column of the random numbers, cross referenced the value to my sampling frame

for the corresponding organization's site and then followed that listed page to its website. If there was a photograph on that page, I selected it and saved it to my computer's hard drive following the saving format that I had previously outlined in my research proposal. Following this format: charity name_photo#_http link _description, I was able to manage the data in an organized way, and was later able to code the information contained in each file. After I saved the photograph, I repeated the selection process again, until I had 10 for each organization. No photographs were dismissed, unless in some rare cases if there was no human subject depicted in the photograph. If in my random selection, a certain page did not contain an image, it was simply skipped and I moved onto the next number in the column. As I worked through the random numbers and sampling frame, I was sure to mark on both documents (the random numbers and the sampling frame) which pages contained pictures used for my project. The unique methodology that I adopted for using the principles of simple random sampling to websites and their contents can be used in further projects to analyze websites or other complicated online sources.

In terms of the data collection and analysis, I am aware of the changing nature of online downloading of images and that some organizations do not always want the public to take objects off of their sites. Since the images are publicly available, I am able to extract the pictures fairly easily, and save and store them on my own computer's hard drive or external hard drive and I was careful not to edit or alter them in any way. Often, this meant having small images or oversized images for my purposes, but I did not want to stretch them, or compress them since I want to analyze these photographs as the NGO intends. Ultimately, I needed to also be conscious of issues of Copyright, especially as web licensing agreements sometimes explicitly state that images uploaded to the site

become the official property of the NGO. In my understanding, I was allowed to extract the images for research purposes and can use them to complete the investigation of my project. However, in the annexes of this Thesis, these pictures are included along with the NGO name where they were found and the link so that they can be located and I am not claiming ownership. The research was designed to be a cross-sectional study – looking at data based on observations representing a single point in time – versus a longitudinal study, which would focus on data collection over different points of time. As such, I did not note the date of upload of the different photos, but instead worked over a couple of days in late November 2011 to extract the photos and save them on to my computer's hard drive.

While it was tedious, the most effective way for me to code my data was through a manual coding process where I treated each image separately and then aggregated the data for each subcategory (Canadian and International). In an effort to remain engaged with the images themselves throughout the course of the project I manually coded the images, by breaking them down into their most essential elements. Using basic Microsoft Excel spreadsheets for each NGO, I manually coded the ten images randomly selected for each NGO on a separate sheet. By breaking down the images to their basic elements, I was able to compile the data and find trends existent in the basic make-up of each image. I acknowledge that there is much more to the investigation of visual culture than simply reducing each photograph to a selected list of essential elements.

Understanding that photographs must be contextualized within a broader theoretical investigation into visual culture literature, the coding of images and data analysis serves as one aspect of the overall findings.

In order to collect data about the nature of photographs selected by NGOs, it was important to determine categories for analyzing each image. Since I was investigating whether Canadian based NGOs were exceptional in the use of photographs or whether they follow the patterns of the larger internationally based groups, I needed to use the same parameters to measure each grouping. In defining the Self and the Other, it is important to recognize the fluid nature of these definitions. With an ever-changing Canadian population compounded by the constant transitioning of online images, the representation of the Other and construction of the Self is in constant flux.

Acknowledging that my project addresses representations for a single point in time, I used categories that can be re-applied to more photographs extracted at a later date and analyzed following the same methodology. As a content analysis, rather than as pure semiotics, the primary methodology involves coding the images based on pre-determined categories, and then aggregating the data to find statistics, which represent the larger group of images, used by the NGO itself and the larger subcategory (Canadian based and International NGOs). Devising categories for content analysis is a crucial stage since the structure of these categories should be apparently objective in a number of ways so as to only describe what is 'really there' in the text or image (Slater, 1998, pg. 236). Sticking to a content analysis rather than more semiotic based methodology, I knew that my categories needed to be: "exhaustive: every aspect of the images with which the research is concerned must be covered by one category; exclusive: categories must not overlap; and enlightening: each category must produce a breakdown of imagery that will be analytically interesting and coherent" (Rose, 2001, pg. 60). A brief analysis of the photographs and NGO websites more broadly outlines the true aim of NGO web

presence; which is to promote the organization and attract more donations. Since I infer that these photographs can be read as advertisements, using Gillian Dyer's (1982) method of reading signifiers in photographs seemed like an ideal way to manage the diverse elements in each picture. Explained in *Advertising as Communication*, Dyer outlines four main categories and subcategories for reading human images used as advertising. She emphasizes a thorough analysis that involves looking at:

“first, representations of bodies including the age, gender, race, body, size, and looks; second, representation of manner addressing expression, eye contact and pose; third, representation of activity is considered by examining touch, body movement, and positional communication; and fourth, props and setting are to be analyzed.” (Dyer, 1982, pg. 96-104)

Keeping Dyer's brief framework in mind, I decided to use categories that could appropriately be applied to each of my photographs.

As a first category to analyze the subject of each photo, I decided that I needed to determine the race represented in the photograph. Knowing that it can be controversial to categorize subjects based on their races and knowing that even the process of naming these different races can be difficult, I chose to use Statistics Canada's census categories for my own project. Every 5 years, Statistics Canada's census surveys the population and asks people to self-identify their race as “Chinese, Southeast Asian, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, West Asian, Filipino, Black, Latin American, Arab, Multiple Visible Minority, Visible Minority (not included elsewhere), Aboriginal or Not a Visible Minority” (2006 Census, Statistics Canada). Since I am not able to ask the subjects of the photos themselves to self-identify their race, I knew the process of assigning a race to a

photograph was difficult, especially in clearly deciphering between very diverse ethnic groups whose identities I cannot always distinguish. As such, I felt it was fair and reasonable to group the Statistics Canada categories of “Chinese, Southeast Asian, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, West Asian, and Filipino” into one broader category simply titled “Asian”. In grouping these categories, I did lose some specificity, however I felt that given the project was interested in representations of the Other, knowing which specific race within the larger category Asia would not dramatically impact the data, nor deter me from understanding the true nature of NGO images. I kept the categories of multiple visible minority along with not a visible minority, and also added an “unknown” variant, if I felt that I could not clearly identify the racial background of the subject pictured. Before the coding process began, I decided that if there were any debates about any of these categories while I was coding, I would opt to use the Unknown variable, so as to not impact on the data. I also decided before beginning coding, that in cases where there were multiple subjects pictured, I would select the variant that best represented the majority of the picture of the main subject, the focal point of the photograph. Again, if this was too hard to discern, I would simple use the Unknown variant so that data would be representative of the whole set.

Secondly, the photographs were coded based on the gender and approximate age represented in the photo, as well as the nature of the subject itself. I initially decided to clarify who the subject was, in the most basic sense, asking myself: is the photograph a picture of a “fundraiser, aid recipient, celebrity, celebrity + fundraiser, celebrity + recipient, fundraiser + recipient, or unknown?” To codify the genders shown, I used the categories “male, female, unknown, mixed group mostly female, mixed group mostly

male, and mixed group unknown.” I was aware before I even began that I would need to address the ways to deal with images of multiple subjects along with unknown identities, so I made categories appropriate for these scenarios. In terms of ages represented, I chose to again focus on the majority of ages represented in the photograph when the picture contained multiple subjects. In terms of variants to measure, I outlined the categories “0-1 year, 1 year - 5 years, 5 years – 10 years, 10 years – 20 years, 20 years – 30 years, 30 years – 50 years, 50 years+ and unknown.” I created these categories for two reasons; first, I knew that assigning an age to a photo would be difficult, so I chose distinctive categories that can generally be deciphered from a photograph; second, the variants tell me basically whether the pictured subject is an infant, young child, older child, adolescent, young adult, or middle aged and above adult. From my literature review, I understood the representation of “starving naked babies” as a commonly cited image used by NGOs, as well as a reliance on images of childhood, femaleness, and exoticism of the traditional. Keeping these notions in mind, I created the age, gender, and subject categories explained above to investigate whether the same images criticized in the literature review were still present in the Canadian context.

My next categories for coding focused on the photograph itself and were less interested in the subject than in the context of the representation. Under categories titled “camera position, rural/urban, background, and national origin”, I was able to determine the relational position of the subject to the entire photograph. Under camera position, variables listed were “shot from above, shot from below, headshot or mug shot, landscape/wide lens, and shot straight on.” These categories were selected based on the experience of the gaze and a literature review on photographic techniques that explained

how different camera positions tell us different things about the subject of the images and about the position of the viewer. By categorizing the photograph as rural, urban, or unclear (in cases where it was not obvious), I was attempting to see the ways that the environmental Global South was represented by Northern-based NGOs. My theoretical review attested that one aspect of development discourse tended to depict people in the Global South in ways that exaggerate the rural and closer to nature romanticism of developing countries. Another criticism in the literature review explained the ways that discourses of poverty in regions in the Global South constantly depict people who live in urban areas as living in heightened poverty, and in modern day slums. The background subcategories would help inform me as to whether the photos contained a landscape that was “tropical, desert/arid, vegetative/agriculture, office/professional, or unclear”.

Variants in the background category were selected to help clarify data on rural and urban and provide more specifics on the nature of images chosen. A national origin category contained variants labeled “Africa, Asia-West, North America, South America, Central America, Middle East Asia, Asia Central, Asia unclear, Unknown, Oceania, Asia South, and Europe.” These labels were only assigned when the location of the photograph was clearly able to be determined. By using these different categories that helped to situate the subject in the photo, aggregated data could help me clarify the sorts of representations used for subjects in diverse situations. As a whole, these categories situate the subject of the photograph and when aggregated can help to outline trends in the type of images selected by Canadian based NGOs and internationally based NGOs.

The next set of categories I chose served to describe the subject of each photograph, working to define the “Action in Photo, Clothing, Body Language, Position

of Subject, and Facial Expression” of the primary subject. Under the action category, I included “household chores, farming – combination, farming – livestock, farming-harvest, attending school, begging, playing, idle, working, traditional/ritualistic, fundraising, protesting, and unclear”. While there are many other potential actions that could be depicted in a photograph, this list fits within the literature reviews’ description of what actions I can perhaps expect to find, and I allowed for “unclear” in the case that the action does not fit. In describing the clothing depicted in the photographs I opted to use variants “nude, partially nude, traditional/exotic, business attire/casual, tattered or damaged clothing, uniform, unclear” again promising myself to assign the most fitting category for the main subject or majority of subjects in the image and deciding to use “unclear” if an easy decision could not be made. Body language categories presented perhaps the most subjective issues in that it is often difficult to interpret the cues that a body is telling us. As such, I created categories that are very explicit and direct, that can usually not be interpreted in more than one way. With variables “confident posture, hand/object over mouth, hands extended/open, slouched or poor posture, reaching for the camera, avoiding camera, or unclear”, I was able to analyze the different positions of the subject in the picture, in relation to other variables (for instance race, gender, age). Following the coding of body language, I was interested in the facial expression of the subjects in the photographs, especially in light of literature that proposes NGOs have transitioned from crying babies to smiling, wide-eyed recipients. I classified the facial expressions of each photograph as “smiling or laughing, wide eyes at camera, eyes down away from camera, crying/sad, mixed mostly smiling, mixed mostly sad, crying, confusion, or unclear.” Notably, the body language and facial expression categories were

supported by an additional set of variables labeled “position of subject” which analyzed the subject to determine if they were “seated, standing, lying down, mixed/combination, crouched, or unclear.” Usually, the data coded in position of subject helped to affirm the body language, facial expression, and action in photo categories, and also was used in a final category to determine if the primary subject in each photo could be classified being dominant, passive, or undetermined.

Chapter Six: Research Findings: Internationally Based NGOs

World Vision:

World Vision Canada has operated since the opening of its first offices in Toronto in 1957. As Canada's largest private relief and development agency, Canadians now sponsor over half a million children around the world through World Vision Canada, which helps to fund the organizations international long-term development projects. Often partnering with CIDA and other government bodies, World Vision Canada is one of the most recognizable charities and their use of photographs is often investigated at the international level. World Vision is guided by Christian teachings, a concept of “transformational development”, and a mandate “dedicated to working with children, families and communities to overcome poverty and injustice” serving “all people regardless of religion, race, ethnicity or gender” (www.worldvision.ca). Analyzing ten random photos selected for investigation demonstrated that World Vision’s depiction of the Other follows many of the same criticisms launched in the earlier literature review. Out of the ten images selected, all ten featured the aid recipient as the subject of the picture, compared to other organizations that were more likely to balance images of fundraisers against recipients. World Vision images support traditional depictions of the

Other through their continued perpetuation of visible minorities; three images featured a Black subject, one image included an Arab subject, and the remaining six images focused on Asian subjects. Additionally, in the ten random images, World Vision's reliance on images of childhood as an inferior Other were reflected in age categories with all ten photographs featuring subjects under the age of ten. Six images focused on the period of late childhood from age five-ten years, with two photos featuring subjects between ages one-five years, and two photos focusing on infants under the age of one. World Vision national origins reflect the depiction of the Other, with three photos being placed in Africa and six in Asia, with one remaining categorized as unknown. Additionally, World Vision photographs selected for my sample are often guilty of being taken out of context with both the rural/urban category and the background category difficult to aggregate since each had four unclear and six unclear images respectfully. Otherwise, rural and urban depictions of aid subjects were split at three images each. One photograph featured a tropical background, one photograph depicted the subject in an office/professional background, and the remaining two photographs presented the subject in vegetative/agricultural backgrounds. World Vision subjects in photographs were clothed with one subject completely nude, one subject partially nude, four subjects in traditional or exotic wear, and four pictured in tattered or damaged clothing. Reaffirming the traditional notion of the Other, World Vision images on the whole depict a child living in poverty in the developing world and supports traditional representation of girls as most need of assistance: six photos featured young girls with four young males shown. World Vision photographs present a myriad of actions including three where the children are completing household chores, with girls shown doing traditional women's tasks such as

gathering water, and carrying baskets of fruit. Other actions shown include one where a male child is attending school, one where an infant is playing with a bottle, one where a boy is working to lug a giant bag of rice, and four images where the subject is idle, posing for the camera. From these photographs, we also can assess the body language and facial expressions of the subject. In only two of the photographs the body language depicts confidence, while in the other eight images the subject is shown covering their mouths (three images have a hand or object over the mouth, symbolizing a silencing of the subject), and five images show the subject with slouched or poor posture. Facial expressions are split, with five subjects smiling and laughing, one with their eyes down away from camera, two subjects with crying and sad faces, and two people who seem confused. Essentially, World Vision images reflect traditional understandings of an exotic Other and no representation of the Self, nor a more nuanced depiction of the recipients of aid.

Save the Children Canada:

Rooted in the International Save the Children Alliance, Canada's Save the Children group first emerged in 1921 but did not become an official incorporated charity until 1946. The Canadian committee's original aim was to give a voice to concerned citizens working to improve the welfare of children around the world and was initially inspired by the Friends Service Committee (a Quaker group). Now classified as a secular organization, the official discourse of the Save The Children includes a vision statement that sees "a world where every child attains the right to survival, protection, development and participation" and a "mission to inspire breakthroughs in the way the world treats children, and to achieve immediate and lasting change in their lives"

(www.savethechildren.ca). Save the Children Canada's photographs are very similar to those of the World Vision and again present disproportionately images of the aid recipients compared to fundraisers and rely on constructed representations of an exotic, distant, and impoverished Other, especially when contrasted against the image of the CEO of the organization, which was randomly selected for the sample. Seventy percent of the images featured a female subject, and eighty percent of the pictures focused on subjects under the age of ten. Since the aim of the organization is a focus on children, it is not surprising that the majority of their images feature kids, but it is the depiction of these children in terms of the actions, body language, facial expressions, clothing, visible minority status, and context that can be assessed to determine that traditional power structures remain unchallenged. Firstly, of the ten images shown, six depict Black subjects, two are of Arab race, and the last aid recipient is a visible minority not included elsewhere. The only non-visible minority depicted was the CEO of Save the Children and he is also one of the three males shown and the only subject over 50 years of age. Further, six images are set in African countries, two images are from Asia, and the final aid recipient's national origin cannot be placed. Considering that Save The Children works in over 120 countries, the sample reflects a narrow description of their work and shows that Save The Children photographs use images from Africa and Asia more frequently because poverty conditions in these countries are more likely to solicit donations than in other regions where the neediness might not be so graphic. Depictions of the Global South and subsequent post-development criticism are often accused of glamorizing "soil cultures" (Corbidge, 1998, pg. 145) and of always seeing the subject of development assistance as embedded in traditional work, clothing, and pre-industrial

societies. Images used on the website for Save The Children perpetuate this traditional representation of aid recipients. Clothing of aid recipients in images shows two children completely nude and two partially nude, three wearing traditional or exotic outfits, and two wearing tattered or damaged clothing. Again, only the image of the CEO is shown wearing casual, clean, and fully covering clothing. The CEO is pictured in an office or professional background along with one other image of girls at school who are also in a professional background. Otherwise, one photograph features a tropical background, three photographs show a desert/arid background, two photographs are vegetative/agricultural, and two have backgrounds that can only be classified as unclear. Aggregated, the photographs are seventy percent rural, ten percent urban and twenty percent are unclear in terms of rural or urban scenarios. Save The Children Canada depicts the body language of aid recipients as typically passive with seventy percent of photographs showing people sitting and twenty percent shown with an object covering their mouths, thirty percent with their hands extended either carrying an object or begging, and twenty percent with slouched or poor posture. In contrast, the image of the CEO shows a confident posture and smiling subject. In only ten percent of photographs of an aid recipient is the subject shown smiling, while twenty percent have wide eyes looking up at a camera in need, thirty percent with eyes averted away from the lens, and ten percent each looking sad or confused. Actions shown by Save The Children Canada demonstrate in some cases a continued perpetuation of a constructed Third World subject who relies on the donations from the Global North to survive. With four of the photographed recipients of aid shown idle, two are shown begging, one is shown in a traditional way carrying heavy objects on her head, and the rest are shown doing

household chores and one shows girls attending school. Save The Children Canada's images depict children in the Global South as needy, which serves to support the official discourses of the organization by justifying that the current conditions of the recipient restrict their right to survival, protection, development, and participation. The perpetuation of photographed images of children in need, justifies Save the Children Canada's aims to achieve immediate and lasting change in their lives, and supports claims that major interventions are required so that children can participate in their own development. Neediness is constructed in terms that provide intervention from Save the Children Canada specifically.

CARE Canada:

Beginning as an organization over 65 years ago, CARE Canada first began by sending "Care Packages" to the people of Europe during the destructive World War Two period. Now CARE Canada's responsibilities include coordinating the overall efforts of the CARE International network in Chad, Cuba, Indonesia, Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as managing projects in numerous other countries around the world. Secular, CARE Canada states that their "mission is to serve individuals and families in the poorest communities in the world. Drawing strength from our global diversity, resources and experience, we promote innovative solutions and are advocates for global responsibility" (www.care.ca). With a focus on diversity, and global responsibility, and individuals and their families, we should expect to find images that support a more diverse and complex representation of Self and Other, especially moving beyond typical images of children, women, and a limited variety of races depicted. Instead, the sample shows that CARE's depiction of the Other reflects traditional representations of those

living in the Global South. Focusing eight of the ten photographs on recipients of aid and two on fundraisers, the partnership discourse presented on CARE's website that claims its organization is committed to teamwork and creating environments for self-sufficiency is not clearly represented in the imagery. Ninety percent of the images feature mainly female subjects and sixty percent of the subjects are Black, ten percent represented are Arab and Asian, and the remaining twenty percent are not a visible minority.

Interestingly, when CARE photographs represent the fundraiser, both times the subject is not a visible minority, whereas when the aid recipient is depicted, every instance shows a member of a visible minority group. Reflecting a mandate committed to individuals and families, rather than just children, CARE Canada's sample images do include a variety of different ages distributed evenly across variables ranging from infancy to age 30 – 50 years. Primarily focused (sixty percent of total) on rural depictions, CARE Canada's tight cropping of images means that there is little context to analyze the pictures, with half of the photos unable to classify their backgrounds. Of those that can be assessed for their background context, one photo of an aid recipient shows the subject in a desert and arid environment and another two photos depict the subject in vegetative/agricultural background. CARE Canada's pictures of aid recipients live in either Africa (six images) or Asia (two images) with CARE fundraisers shown in North America (two images). When depicting a fundraiser, CARE workers are shown in professional or casual clothes while recipients of aid were clothed forty percent of the time in traditional or exotic outfits and another forty percent of the time were shown in tattered or damaged clothing. In one image, an aid recipient was shown in a school uniform and in another picture, the extreme close up meant that clothing could not be coded accurately. CARE's

photographic representation of the fundraiser can be interpreted and read quite literally, especially when the actions depicted show dominant, strong individuals, engaged in fundraising projects with one subject even holding a sign over her head that reads “I am Powerful.” Very literally, the fundraiser is shown one hundred percent of the time in a position of power and dominance, with confident posture, standing and smiling, while images of the Other, the aid recipient, are eighty eight percent of the time classified as passive, lacking power and agency. When the aid recipient is depicted, CARE’s sample demonstrated that in one photo the subject did household chores, one showed children attending school, one showed begging, and three photographs feature the subject in traditional or ritualistic tasks. CARE’s representation of an aid recipient’s body language demonstrated fifty percent of the time a subject with slouched or poor posture, ten percent of the time with confident posture, ten percent with a hand covering her mouth, and ten percent with a hand extended and open. While CARE does rely on some traditional representations of the Other, their efforts to include a variety of pictures representing some diverse demographics can be appreciated, showing that an effort to support their official mandates and mission statements allows for a better representation of development practices. Unfortunately, with the way that CARE frames their photos, with close-ups taking the subject out of context, it is sometimes difficult to make clear analyses of their organizations photos, based on the methodology that I used for my project.

Plan Canada:

Incorporated in Canada in 1968, starting as Foster Parents Plan Canada, Plan International was re-branded in 2006 to reflect its current global strategy, more inclusive

to donors beyond only ‘foster parents’. As a secular organization, Plan Canada operates in over 68 countries worldwide and is committed to ending global poverty and keeps a discourse of rights and justice at its core messaging. On their official website, Plan explains their vision as “a world in which all children realize their full potential in societies that respect people's rights and dignity. Plan aims to achieve lasting improvements in the quality of life of children, families and communities in developing countries” (www.plancanada.ca). Like many organizations now focused on partnership discourses and more so-called grassroots development, Plan promotes collaboration to unite people across cultures by providing for basic needs, including: education, health, water and sanitation, and protection. On top of operational discourses, Plan also claims to advocate and promote the rights and interests of the world's children, with a special focus on girls in an effort to overcome gender discrimination. Plan Canada’s selection of random photographs yielded eight images that featured recipients as subjects and two photographs that featured a fundraiser were assessed to determine whether the images actually demonstrated their textual discourses. Out of the eight images featuring aid recipients, fifty percent showed Black subjects, all of which were cited as being from the African continent and the other fifty percent represented Asian aid recipients from differing Asian regions. Six of the images of recipients are clearly coded as being rural, while the other two are too unclear to be coded. Additionally, three photographs could not be coded for their background, but the remaining images feature three subjects with a desert/arid background and two images have vegetative/agricultural backgrounds. Of the random selection, female subjects were represented 63 percent of the time as a recipient of aid, compared to the other 37 percent which were male recipients of aid. On top of a

disproportionate representation of females, aid recipients depicted were 75 percent shown to be under the age of ten, demonstrating a continued tendency to focus on images of children, females, and visible minorities when presenting photographs about international aid recipients. Compounding the representation of a young and vulnerable aid recipient is their depiction wearing tattered, damaged, or tradition and exotic clothing in 75 percent of aid recipient photographs. Combining to form the other 25 percent of photographs of aid recipients, subjects were shown wearing school uniforms or partially nude. In terms of their activities, recipients of aid were depicted evenly across categories showing them doing household chores, begging, playing, sitting idly, and participating in traditional or ritualistic activities. In half of the photographs of aid recipients presented by Plan on their website, the subject is shown with slouched or poor posture and has either a look of confusion, wide eyes at the camera, or eyes down away from the camera in half of the photos and is smiling or laughing in the other half. While the photos of aid recipients feature a variety of activities, postures, facial expressions, and body language, the overall coding resulted in the subject being characterized as passive 88 percent of the time when an aid recipient was shown. In contrast, in the two images where a fundraiser was the main the subject of the photograph, the subject was coded as being between the age of 30 and 50 years, was female but not a visible minority, was pictured sitting idly in North America, was wearing business or causal clothing, has confident posture and smiling one hundred percent of the time and is characterized as a dominant subject relative to the rest of the photograph. Many of the images randomly selected from Plan's website are very similar to the photographs selected by all of the other internationally based NGOs. One image selected in particular warrants extra comment in its positioning of the fundraiser

relative to the recipients of aid, in that it clearly depicts traditional notions of Self and Other in social constructions of identity. In the image, two non-visible minority aid workers are pictured wearing casual t-shirts with nice scarves and jewelry staring at each other and smiling. The women's heads are positioned above the children who they are working with and they are making eye contact with each other while the children, who are of Asian descent are pictured in dirty clothing, appear to have confused glances in multiple directions. Considering this basic analysis of the image, we see the women as benevolent leaders, whose clean appearance and knowing glances are positioned beside the children to reaffirm their superiority and construct the children as especially needing of their professional guidance and funding. Meanwhile, the photograph becomes more controversial when we realize that among the children, at the extreme low level of the photograph is a woman whose age matches that of the female aid workers. Hidden amongst the children and dressed in traditional wear, the young woman's identity is completely restricted and limited to that of a needy child and her presence in the photo helps to make the white women appear even more giving, accomplished, empowered and sophisticated. We are reminded at once that without the charity of Plan and the people who work for them, women and children in the developing world will continue to be needy, but also we are reaffirmed that women from our own societies are empowered relative to the rest of the world, causing a normalization of women's role in North American society – white women are caretakers of children and of visible minorities.

Oxfam Canada:

Working on helping people to create self-reliance and sustainable communities with over 100 partner organizations in many countries around the world, Oxfam Canada

was incorporated in 1966 and continues to work on “tackling the root causes of poverty and inequality” by being active in “education, policy advocacy and building a constituency of support for our work” (www.oxfam.ca). Most recently, Oxfam programming is now explicitly targeting women and female producers of food in their fundraising efforts and are advocating for a discourse involving empowering women and local actors. Headlining Oxfam’s discursive literature is an emphasis on partnership, creating self-reliance at the community level, and promoting gender equality. Since Oxfam Canada is explicitly dedicated to helping women, the representation of women in photographic depictions on their official website should reflect these stated organization aims. In nine of the ten photographs, Oxfam pictures feature an aid recipient, with the other photograph depicting a demonstration with protestors dressed as all of the G8 leaders attending a summit in Paris. Random sampling shows that the majority of photographs on Oxfam sites focus on the recipients of aid. As such, five of the nine photos depicted a Black subject, three showed an Arab aid recipient, and one featured an Asian subject. All nine images of aid recipients depict a female as the main subject, with the primary age shown being 20 – 30 years, reflecting Oxfam’s programming priority to provide funding for food producers. Females, age 20 – 30, are the primary food producers in many developing nations, so their representation in the photographs is not surprising. Since Oxfam’s most recent program aims are focused on aiding food producers, the representation of 78 percent rural environments and the same percentage in desert and agricultural or vegetative backgrounds seems fitting to the mission statement posted on Oxfam’s web site. Reflecting other organizations’ trends to select photos from either Africa or Asia, rather than from sites of work all around the world,

Oxfam also featured five photographs set in Africa and four in Asian regions. Despite a focus on promoting women's role as food producers, selected photographs for Oxfam only featured two in which subjects were participating in any form of farming, or food production, and instead had one where a subject performed household chores and another worked, three where the participants are idle and posing for the camera, and two engaged in traditional or ritualistic activities. Most interestingly, subjects in Oxfam photographs were dressed in traditional or exotic clothing in 89 percent of the photographs and were in tattered clothing in the remaining images. Body language and facial expressions produced data that is split fairly evenly between signs of confidence and dominance and images depicting poor posture and passivity. Overall, Oxfam photographs represent a literal translation of their work – helping to empower female producers. A quick look at the images selected to form the random sample acknowledges that depictions of Arab women, especially those wearing a Hajib or veil do not defy any of the typical stereotypes traditionally constructed about women from the Middle East or Muslim background. In one example, a group of women is shown wearing head coverings in a typical image of row upon row of women shot from above and out of the thirteen women pictured in the photograph, eight are covering their faces with their hands or a piece of cloth and only one looks directly at the camera. The image of a faceless, emotionless, exotic Middle Eastern woman supports traditional discourses on the position of Arab women in Afghanistan, especially in the use of images perpetuated by major media in the war on terror. Another photograph selected as part of the sample for Oxfam Canada shows a woman from Afghanistan in the process of removing a face covering for the camera, suggesting that the camera lens and its intended audience are literally the heroic

being that can liberate her from the veil, and it is only for us that she removes the constructed representation of her submission, the veil. Another image of a Muslim women shows a young woman with a baby on her hip at a refugee camp, again perpetuating the notion that women, particularly those that are part of Islamic religions, are the most frequently represented victims of war. As a refugee with an infant, the woman photographed reflects larger trends in North American justification for intervention; to be the saviors of innocent Muslim women who are tormented by their oppressors abroad.

Chapter Seven: Research Findings: Canadian Based NGOs

World Hope Canada:

In the early investigative phase of the project, working with the much smaller, Canadian based NGO web material presented a larger challenge since the organizations do not have as sophisticated websites or available online information. Notably, World Hope Canada does not include an expansive history of the organization on their website, and it is only through their official Facebook page do we learn that the young organization was formed in the year 2000. Additionally, images on World Hope Canada's website are of a poorer quality than many of the higher definition photographs included on internationally based organization websites. Officially, World Hope Canada grounds much of its discourse in Christian terminology and on efforts to bring hope and healing to hurting parts of the world, despite insisting on secular delivery of humanitarian aid and a promise against evangelizing aid recipients. Also working within a partnership discourse, World Hope Canada envisions a strategic programming operative to empower people through partnering with community members to create dignity, promote justice,

encourage self-sufficiency, inspire hope and focuses specifically on issues of child welfare and human trafficking (www.worldhope.ca). By evaluating the current mission statements, visions, and mandates of NGOs, a perpetuated theme emerges prophesizing about creating self-sufficient communities, community based development, partnerships, and holistic development strategies. Amid these discourses, are photographs which ultimately depict traditional representations of the Other in longstanding top-down programming efforts. Despite changing the official discourses over time and adapting consistent themes advocating for partnership and community development, photographs remain largely unchanged. World Hope, having only been incorporated a short time ago, is still working to develop a consistent web presence and certainly does not have the historical experience in marketing causes like other large, internationally based organizations. Since their budget is still relatively small, internationally, World Hope Canada has projects in a few selected regions: one in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, one in Ukraine, one in Niger, and one in Sierra Leone. Compared to other larger NGOs, World Hope Canada's web site does not include as many images or photographs, and has a considerably smaller staff than larger organizations, and relies to a great extent on volunteer workers. Considering these factors, the photographic resources available on their website are limited and reflect the bounded restrictions of a small organization. All ten images selected as part of the sample for World Hope Canada featured aid recipients, with seventy percent representing Black subjects and female subjects pictured in African regions. The other 30 percent of recipients were not visible minorities and were depicted in European environments, which is accurate when you consider that World Hope conducts a lot of their work in the Ukraine. The majority of the photographs (sixty

percent) depict subjects in rural areas, while the background imagery is divided amongst desert and arid conditions, vegetative, and professional, or industrial backgrounds. Rather than focus only on one demographic group, World Hope Canada allows for a wide range of ages represented ranging from infancy into late adulthood. Photographs from World Hope Canada's web site feature a variety of actions including working, household chores, attending school, playing, or posing idly for the camera. Along with the representation of many different actions, the body language and facial expressions of the subject in each photograph range evenly between confident posture and smiling or laughing recipients and slouched and poor posture and confusion, sad faces, or wide eyes at the camera. A major feature of World Hope Canada's images is the use of inserted script often covering the faces of the subject of the photo. Whether intentional or not, the effect is a concealing of the mouth of the aid recipient with the voice of the NGO – not only metaphorically silencing the subject, but also literally injecting the subject with the official NGO messaging and discourse. In three separate images, the text “Offering Hope for the Forgotten” literally covers the faces of the so-called forgotten subject, obscuring their identity to reaffirm the organization's messaging.

World Relief Canada:

Formed as an arm of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, religious organization World Relief Canada was incorporated in 1970 and currently focuses on economic and spiritual intervention in developing nations. Constructing their operations around discourses that advocate for compassion, justice, and bringing healing to the needs of the poor and oppressed, World Relief Canada also follows similar language used by other organizations in recent development initiatives by advocating for sustainable

development, microcredit, and micro-enterprise, which reflects discourses associated with empowering the local over the global. World Relief Canada currently works in Bangladesh, Burundi, Cambodia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Haiti, India, Kenya, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania and Vietnam and their photographic images reflect their work abroad. Representing eight aid recipients and two images that focus on fundraisers, photographs selected to form World Relief Canada's sample feature all eight aid recipients as being taken in Africa and one in Central America and every photo of an aid recipient features a Black subject and five of the eight are female. Half of the photographs featuring aid recipients focus on children under the age of ten, while the other half are adults aged 20-30 years of age. Photographs of male adults feature subjects who are actively participating in construction projects, teaching large groups of children, or leading family of women, while every single photo of a woman in the same age group showed her caring for her family or performing household duties. There are two ways to read the pictures: we can interpret the representation of a woman in the developing world as caretaking as a way for the Western NGO to perpetuate their control and power, or we can see the representation as a simple photographic depiction of on the ground realities. Carefully, we must consider that the NGO is not attempting to reaffirm traditional gender norms in the Global South, but may simply be showing what is observed during development efforts abroad. In no way does the project aim to accuse the NGO of purposefully continuing gendered oppression, but instead proposes that the photographs they select support traditional discourses of the developing world. The majority of World Relief Canada's images are set in rural regions, representing 75 percent of their depictions of their subjects, with the other 25

percent being unclear and thus unable to be coded. When the image is coded for clothing (two pictures were unclear and thus could not be described), the subject is either pictured wearing traditional or exotic clothing or is shown in tattered and damaged clothing. In half of the photographs of aid recipients, facial expressions and body language demonstrate a smiling, confident subject while the other half feature slouched, displaced people with looks of sadness, confusion, and desperation. In another interesting comparison, two images of fundraiser and recipient can be compared which reflect a telling reality about Self and Other, especially when it comes to representations of children. In an image of an aid recipient, a faceless, ragged clothed, and dark image of a boy dragging a giant weight behind him represents the child in a drought-ridden nation. Contrasting this, a blue-eyed blonde boy of roughly the same age from a fundraising nation is pictured in a clean suit, smiling at the camera with a sunshine ray highlighting his face. The boy dragging a weight is stripped of his identity, and is essentially shown in silhouette, leaning forward as he struggles to carry the heavy burden of his life behind him. Meanwhile, the boy dressed sharply in a suit is holding a globe between his hands. Read literally, the boy who represents the fundraiser has the world at his fingertips, while the starving African keeps his head bowed and labours in submission. Comparing the two images demonstrates the typical ways that the Self is represented as being able to exercise agency, while the Other is robbed of their identity and shown dependent on external intervention.

Kairos Canada:

Kairos Canada, an organization consisting of ten ecumenical organizations was formed in 2001, and like other newly formed Canadian NGOs does not have the same

level of sophistication in their web material. Committed to programming in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, the main tenets highlighting the organization's discourses are dignity, rights, sustainability, and encouraging trade. As an organization for the study of photographs that support development discourse, Kairos revealed a completely different perspective than any of the other groups included in the study. Firstly, Kairos' sample of photographs engaged much more with depictions of the fundraiser, with eighty percent of images focusing on fundraisers in North America. Additionally, images presented on the Kairos website consist of five which feature no visible minority and four that feature Aboriginal people, in North America, working together to fight for causes. All of Kairos images feature adults as the main subject, between ages 20 and 50. Females are represented slightly over half of the time, but are always shown as equals to their male counterparts, whether it be in fundraising projects, or in aid delivery. Kairos images appear to focus more around the process of fundraising than around aid delivery itself; subjects are depicted in half of the pictures protesting; in another lobbying a senator; and in another, a man is shown interviewing a recipient for feedback. While the photographs selected for the sample for Kairos are less glamorous and romantic than traditional representations of development subjects, Kairos provides a very different and welcomed perspective on the realities of humanitarian work. Most notably, Aboriginal subjects of Kairos' images are shown working in fundraising and advocacy efforts alongside members of the organization and are pictured below banners and signs promoting positive messaging about Aboriginal people. The subjects of the photographs are wearing casual clothes, and are generally not shown wearing traditional garb or tattered and damaged clothing. Body language of subjects projects confidence

regardless of race or gender and facial expressions typically depict them as smiling and happy participants. In every photograph the subjects are positioned as dominant and competent individuals who are actively involved in the development process and are able to make their own decisions and are active agents in the fundraising and advocacy process.

Free the Children Canada:

Founded in 1995, Free the Children Canada promotes itself as “the world’s largest network of children helping children” and works primarily in the realm of education as a vehicle for achieving development goals (www.freethechildren.ca). Partnership discourses combined with an emphasis on freedom underscore most of Free the Children Canada’s official messaging. Methodologically, Free the Children Canada was paired with Save the Children Canada as organizations whose mandates were compatible and could thus be compared against each other. When viewing the photographs from each organization, instantly a dramatic difference is felt in the tone and perspective: with a few exceptions, Free the Children Canada’s images do not induce the same feelings of discomfort that Save the Children Canada’s images initiate. Frowning and distraught looking children are replaced by images of smiling and active children. Divided evenly between images of fundraisers and aid recipients, Free the Children Canada’s photographs leave the viewer with a general sense of optimism and hopefulness, especially when placed beside those selected for the sample from Save the Children Canada. As a charity focused around promoting children’s causes, Free the Children’s sample produced images featuring children between the ages of five to ten in fifty percent of the photos and then included fifty percent of pictures featuring teenagers and young

adults. Likely in an effort to appeal directly to its targeted youth demographic at home, images from Free the Children Canada feature pictures from North America fifty percent of the time and images from around the globe are dispersed evenly between Africa, Asia, South America, and Central America. A visible minority is represented in 50 percent of the photographs with thirty percent representing a Black subject, and ten percent each showing a Latin American and Asian aid recipient. As an entire body, my research sample demonstrates that both Canadian based and internationally based NGOs have a tendency to use more images of females as their main subject than males and Free the Children Canada is no different, with over 70 percent of images featuring a female subject. Like many other NGOs also, Free the Children Canada's framing of the photograph means that often the image cannot be coded for background or rural and urban data – in each of these categories 40 and 30 percent of the photographs were shot without any background context. Otherwise, Free the Children Canada demonstrated a rural and vegetative background 10 percent of the time and demonstrated an urban and professional industrialized background nearly 60 percent of time clearly. With a focus on education, actions of subjects in the selected photographs showed children attending school 40 percent of the time, farming 10 percent, begging 20 percent of the time and idle in 30 percent of the photographs. In 50 percent of the photographs subjects are pictured wearing business attire or casual clothing while in 20 percent, the subjects wore tattered clothing or school uniforms and in 20 percent, subjects were shown in traditional or exotic clothes. In 70 percent of the photographs, subjects demonstrated confident posture and open and extended hands, and in 50 percent of the photos the subjects were clearly smiling, or laughing for the camera. Characterizing 50 percent of photographs as

depicting dominant subjects and thirty percent neutral or undetermined, Free the Children Canada's representation of the Self among a constructed Other demonstrates a more optimistic relationship between the NGO and aid recipients than its internationally based counterpart, Save the Children Canada. While Free the Children Canada's sample produced generally positive representations of children and aid recipients in the Global South, one photo stood out as fitting within the traditional representation of poverty in developing countries. The photo, shot from above to give the effect of someone looking down on, the subjects are a group of young boys eating with their hands in the street. The photo itself is dark, the boys are Asian, and covered in head to toe in dirt. They are barefoot and eating with their hands, which are also dirty, while their eyes are averted and they sit in the street. Interestingly, the children appear to be eating a standard meal in almost ration type containers, similar to those served by a standardized relief program. Perhaps the message is that standard programs focused only on food aid rather than on improving other poverty factors are less effective. Compared with other images selected for the sample from Free the Children Canada, the boys outside a school environment look steeped in poverty, while every other image of children attending school show them well dressed, clean, smiling, and confident. Whether subliminal or overt, Free the Children Canada is sending the message that education and being in school leads to confidence, success, and happiness while programs that do not include educational tenets lead only to more poverty.

USC Canada:

Formed in 1945, USC Canada promotes their organization as one that is focused on supporting women, small-scale farmers and youth in 12 countries in Africa, Asia, and

Latin America. Like so many of the NGOs now promoting the participatory development discourses, USC Canada's mission to support small-scale family farms and rural development, alongside sustainable policies that support biodiversity reflects many of the same goals of Oxfam Canada, which is why it was selected as a partner to the major international organization. Like many of the images from Oxfam Canada, USC's photos focus primarily on the vegetative production and agricultural aspects of their charitable work. Focusing eighty percent of the images on aid recipients, USC photographic depictions of visible minorities are divided evenly between Black, Asian, and Latin American subjects, represented evenly in Africa, Asia, and South America. As an organization targeting female food producers, women represent the majority of subjects in the selected USC photographs, with forty percent of aid recipients depicted being women between the ages of 30 and 50. In another thirty percent of images, male food producers are represented in aid recipient photographs and children are only the main subject in two of the total ten images. When depicted as aid recipients, even children are shown participating in actions to help with agricultural production. Two photos which depict members of the organization show women (one which features the doctor who started the USC NGO in 1945) and another, which shows women in North America participating in a cycling fundraiser. Photographs selected for the USC sample are set primarily in rural environments, with only the images of members of USC Canada depicted in urban, professional atmospheres. In fifty percent of the photographs of aid recipients, subjects are shown participating in farming activities, while another 25 percent are shown working at household chores. One image of USC recipients shows men gathered holding vegetables above their head as part of a fundraising and advocacy

activity sponsored by USC Canada in a Latin American country. Similar to Kairos Canada, USC Canada represents recipients of aid as active agents in the advocacy and fundraising of their own development, rather than depicting them merely as passive victims. In 75 percent of photographs of aid recipients, USC Canada photographs show the subject dressed in either tattered or damaged clothing and traditional or exotic clothes. When a fundraiser is depicted, the subject is always shown in business, casual, and professional looking clothes. When coded, body language and facial expressions of aid recipients vary from confidence and smiling to poor posture and sadness, but the overall representation of the subject is often neither as dominant or passive, but rather neutral. In the process of selecting photographs for USC Canada, finding images that were consistent and featured subjects was more difficult than other organizations, since USC Canada's images tended to focus on objects that they supply, such as seeds, or fertilizers, rather than on the recipients or fundraisers themselves.

For my project, analyzing the images separately for each organization was important to understand the unique patterns, which emerged in the data for each NGO. In the second section on analysis, the data will be aggregated so that international NGOs can be compared against Canadian based NGOs for each of the different categories to determine whether any differences truly exist between the two major groups. As part of this analysis, aid recipient and fundraiser representations have also been isolated so as to investigate the diverse constructions of Self and Other identities across different variables. To analyze the aggregated data, I grouped categories into three sections; one which simply describes the subject of the photograph, one which goes beyond description to analyze the subject and a final category which assesses the contextual position of the

subject. Below, my research reveals the differences and similarities in representation for each of the categories coded from my data.

Chapter Eight: Describing the Subject

Visible Minority Status

At a topical level, coding the subjects of the photographs for their visible minority status was the first variable in understanding the general representation of the Self and Other, as it pertains to race. By outlining the depiction of diverse races we can understand the ways that NGOs construct images of the fundraiser and aid recipient separately to determine if Canadian based NGOs are distinctive compared to their internationally based NGO counterparts, when the data is aggregated. On the whole, Canadian based NGOs and internationally based NGOs represent similar patterns when it comes to visible minority status. For Canadian based NGOs, Black subjects are featured 42 percent of the time, which is very close to the 48 percent of photographs used by internationally based NGOs which feature Black subjects. When we look into other categories of visible minority representations, more blatant differences emerge. Canadian based NGOs represent Asian subjects only 8 percent of the time compared to 24 percent of the time by internationally based NGOs. Not a single Canadian photograph featured an Arab subject while 14 percent of internationally based NGOs featured Arab subjects and Canadian NGOs depicted Aboriginal people in 8 percent of photos while internationally based NGOs did not ever show subjects of aboriginal descent. Additionally, sample photographs for Canadian based organizations showed subjects who were not a visible minority 34 percent of the time, compared to 10 percent from internationally based NGOs. When recipient and fundraiser groups are combined, the

data suggests that Canadian based NGOs are not entirely distinct, when we summarize the findings briefly. My sample of data demonstrates that Canadian based NGOs depict Black subjects at a similar frequency to internationally based NGOs, are less likely to depict Asian and Arab subjects, but more likely to show people who are not a visible minority and more often use Aboriginal subjects. When we isolate images that feature a fundraiser as the main subject, both internationally based NGOs and Canadian based NGOs have a tendency to depict subjects who are not a visible minority. For internationally based NGOs, 83 percent feature subjects who are not a visible minority with the remaining 17 percent of images coded as unknown. When Canadian based NGOs are depicting a fundraiser, 82 percent of subjects shown are not a visible minority, while 6 percent are a multiple visible minority and 12 percent are Aboriginal people. When the fundraiser is shown, Canadian based NGOs are distinctive in that they show Aboriginal people actively involved in the fundraising and advocacy process, compared to the sample from internationally based NGOs whose data proved to never depict Aboriginal people. More differences can be noted between Canadian based NGOs and internationally based nonprofits when the data is isolated to look at the representation of aid recipients. Both subgroups represent Black aid recipients 60 percent (Canadian based NGOs) and 55 percent (internationally based NGOs) of the time, demonstrating very little difference. More variance is seen in representations of Asian and Arab subjects with Canadian based NGOs represented Asian subjects in only 11 percent of photographs that feature recipients while internationally based NGOs depict Asian aid recipients 27 percent of the time and Arab recipients are shown in 16 percent of selected sample photographs. Canadian based NGOs are more diverse in their representation of the Other

(aid recipients) compared to their internationally based counterparts. Sample photographs of aid recipients from Canadian based NGOs showed that 9 percent of pictures depicted a Latin American recipient, 8 percent were not a visible minority, 6 percent were a multiple visible minority, and 6 percent were Aboriginal subjects. Meanwhile, internationally based NGOs features only 2 percent of aid recipients that were multiple visible minorities and did not show a single aid recipient who was Aboriginal, Latin American, or not a visible minority. Sample photographs selected for Canadian based NGOs showed a more accurate depiction of aid recipients in that they were dispersed across many different racial groups, complying with organizational discourses that advocate for work across many different regions. Internationally based organizations, in contrast, tended more to use traditional images of aid recipients as primarily Black, Asian, and Arab, reflecting a more narrow populace compared to programming aims which promote working with more cultural groups around the world.

Representations of Gender

Canadian and internationally based NGOs are almost identical in their representations of gender, demonstrating an overwhelming tendency to depict female subjects more often than males. Aggregated, sample photographs selected from Canadian based NGOs depicted female subjects 62 percent of the time while internationally based NGOs showed females 76 percent of the time. Males were represented in photographs from Canadian based NGOs 32 percent of the time (with 6 percent of photographs being coded as gender unknown) and internationally based NGOs depicted male subjects in 24 percent of images. Ultimately, whether the subject was from the fundraising group or an aid recipient made very little difference for Canadian based

and internationally based NGOs – females were always disproportionately overrepresented. When images featured a fundraiser, Canadian based NGO subjects were female 68 percent of the time and internationally based subjects were female 67 percent of the time (virtually no differences can be noted). If an aid recipient is the main subject of the photograph, females are depicted 61 percent of the time by Canadian NGOs and 78 percent of the time by internationally based NGOs. Essentially, both Canadian and internationally based NGOs are guilty of relying on images of girls and women for their fundraising campaigns, with internationally based NGOs being more likely to depict females as aid recipients than Canadian based NGOs. The heightened presence of females in development photography can be explained by analyzing a few of the major tenets in development discourses. In general, the feminization of poverty is a constant issue brought up in development research and is consistently cited as a major challenge for transnational organizations. We know that women and men do not experience economic development interventions in the same way and that truthfully women do not usually benefit equally from intervention. Many authors have linked neoliberalism discourse and its failed modernization projects to the feminization of labour and the feminization of poverty, a critique launched in response to mounting statistics on women's reality across multiple borders. UNIFEM reports that women account for 70 percent of the world's poor, represent two thirds of the illiterate population, perform 66 percent of the world's work, produce 50 percent of the food, but earn 10 percent of the income and own 1 percent of the property (UNIFEM 2007). Further, within a neoliberal discursive frame, "Access to independent income continues to be a distant goal for most women. Globally, women's labour force participation rates

have risen only 3.9 percentage points in the past 20 years—from 35.6 percent in 1970 to 39.5 percent in 1990” (UNDP, 1995, pg. 36). Compounding these official statistics on a difficult reality for women in developing nations is a discursive tendency to always represent women as victims, undermining their agency (Mohanty, 1997). In developing countries across the globe, social representation of women as caretakers and mothers, as well as the tendency to view women’s work as less virile and only as a supplement to men’s work, means that women’s wages are low and their skills are viewed as less valuable. “In the third world, women are heavily concentrated in the household and the so-called informal sectors. Hence, their work is either undercounted or completely omitted” (Bandarage, 1984, pg. 497). The social construction of women as caretakers crosses into highly developed and industrialized societies too and is evidenced in the data on NGO photographs that represent the fundraiser. Female fundraisers account for nearly 70 percent of the total fundraisers represented, demonstrating that humanitarian intervention is justified via the presence of women. Harking back to war era internationalism that relied on women’s support at home and volunteerism to support military intervention, women have long been seen as the at home providers of transnational aid. Representations of women as leaders of charitable action are perpetuated in the images used by NGOs selected for the study. By depicting women more frequently than men as fundraisers, NGOs can be seen as serving two different discursive functions; firstly, there is an appeal to a targeted audience’s sense of benevolent maternalism (a clever play on the concept of colonial benevolent paternalism); and serves as a juxtaposition against images of female aid recipients to demonstrate the power of women in developed countries, compared to those in the Global

South. A notion of benevolent maternalism in the aid industry suggests that women, as constructed mothers and caretakers, are more responsive and responsible to the needs of women in the developing world. Recently, in conjunction with web material that supports a discourse of benevolent maternalism, Care Canada has launched a television commercial that claims women in North America can better understand the plight of women in the developing world simply by merit of being female. As an alternative, representation of women can be seen as a positive feature of NGO work, especially in a realm of international relations politics, so often seen to be dominated by male policies.

Representations of Age

The literature review suggested that images used by NGOs have a tendency to focus on images of women and children, so my research attempted to test this trend to see if Canadian based NGOs were guilty of the same tendencies. As stated above, females were represented more frequently than men, but the data on age statistics is divided, with Canadian based NGOs being less likely to represent only children in their photographs. Among the selected sample, internationally based NGOs featured children under the age of ten in sixty percent of all photos, with thirty percent being between ages five to ten. In contrast, data from Canadian based NGOs shows that children under the age of ten were only depicted 42 percent of the time. Primarily, images selected for the Canadian sample of NGOs showed that in 34 percent of the images, subjects were between 20 and 30 years of age, and 30 and 50 years of age another 20 percent of the time. In the same categories, internationally based NGOs tended to show adult subjects less frequently, with a total of 34 percent for all adult categories combined. Overall, images selected for internationally based NGOs featured a much larger proportion of child subjects when compared to

Canadian NGO images. Further, when images featuring an aid recipient are separated, internationally based NGOs depict a child under the age of ten 68 percent of the time, compared to 43 percent under the age of ten for Canadian based NGOs. Depictions of infants under the age of one (previously referred to in the literature review as “starving naked babies”) are represented in 11 percent of aid recipient photographs from internationally based NGOs, compared to only 3 percent for Canadian based NGOs. Also, internationally based NGOs featured a 1 year – 5 year old aid recipient subject 23 percent of the time, compared to Canadian NGOs who featured a young child in only 9 percent of recipient photographs. Comparably, Canadian based NGO photographs that feature aid recipients depict subjects over the age of twenty, 39 percent of the time while internationally based NGOs show adults only 25 percent of the time. When looking at representations of the fundraiser, or organization staff, all NGOs have a tendency to focus on adults. Canadian based NGOs show subjects between the ages of 20 and 30 years the most (53 percent) while internationally based NGOs highlight ages 30-50 the most when they are representing the fundraiser (with 50 percent of the total). Internationally founded organizations only represent adults when depicting the Self, while Canadian based organizations include children ages 5-10 years in 12 percent of their photographs of fundraisers. Analyzing this data, we can suggest that the Canadian based NGOs are less reliant on traditional images of young children as aid recipients, considering that internationally based NGOs were more likely to present children as recipients. Literature review findings that suggested NGOs use images of childhood were proven to be true, especially in the case of internationally based NGOs. From the data, my research suggests that the predicted representation of the Other as a young, visible minority female

in need of development assistance from an adult located in North America is proving to be often quite true, especially in internationally based NGO representations. Canadian based NGO representations are different, but are not entirely distinctive, often following patterns of other NGOs.

Clothing of Subjects Represented

In describing the subject depicted in the sample of photographs selected for my study, it is important to comment on the clothing that each is wearing, and how the frequency of representation impacts the depiction of diverse subjects. When it comes to depictions of the Self, both Canadian based NGOs and internationally based organizations feature subjects in photographs who are wearing either traditional business attire, or professional and casual clothing in every single photograph. Aggregated, internationally based NGOs feature a nude or partially nude subject 14 percent of the time, whereas Canadian NGOs never feature an entirely nude subject, and only show a partially nude subject in 4 percent of its images. Considering that nudity is symbolic of vulnerability, it is important to note that only aid recipients are ever shown nude. International NGOs depict subjects wearing traditional or exotic clothing in 42 percent of all of the images and subjects are wearing tattered and damaged clothing another 25 percent of the time. Canadian based NGO photographs are shown wearing traditional clothing 18 percent of the time and tattered clothes 24 percent of the time. While major differences between Canadian based and internationally based NGOs are not evidenced at the aggregate level, or even when the Self is isolated, when the recipient is depicted more glaring trends emerge. For instance, a sample of photographs from internationally based NGOs shows that when the recipient is depicted, in 48 percent of photographs the subject

is in traditional or exotic wear, in 9 percent the subject is partially nude, in 7 percent the subject is entirely nude, and in 30 percent the subject is in tattered or damaged clothing. Comparing this to Canadian based NGOs, only 20 percent of recipients are shown in exotic wear, and nudity is not used as frequently. Subjects depicted in Canadian based NGOs are often shown (40 percent of the time) in damaged or tattered clothing, which serves to reaffirm the typical understanding of poverty. Images selected from many Canadian based NGOs were often unable to be coded, meaning that 27 percent of aid recipient photographs were deemed unclear. In terms of clothing, there is a major contrast between images of the fundraiser and images of aid recipient: fundraisers and members of the NGO are always depicted in clean, business attire and casual clothing while images of the recipient are never once shown in clean, casual wear, but instead are depicted either nude, in traditional clothing, school uniforms, or tattered and damaged clothing. The juxtaposition is undeniable, and works as an effective tool to support NGO claims of poverty in the areas where they deliver aid and services.

Chapter Nine: Analyzing the Subject:

Action in Photo

Through descriptions of the actions of the subject in the photograph, we can get an understanding as to the ways that the Self and Other are represented as agents and active beings. We know that images of the Other are likely to be constructed in ways that are stereotypes with certain features being exaggerated and other being omitted (Burke, 2001, pg. 125). When it comes to the types of actions being presented, the stereotypes of people living in the Global South are important to assess – therefore, categories were created that reflected many of the stereotypes that we often see in photographic

representations of the developing world: those of idle people, beggars, people doing traditional tasks, children working, etc. Importantly, Kairos Canada was credited earlier for providing a more balanced approach to representations of aid workers and recipients, and their inclusion in the sample certainly helps in the data analyzed for Canadian based NGOs. At the aggregate level, Canadian based NGOs provide a much more varied response of actions, with seven activities earning between 6 and 14 percent each, demonstrating a wide range of responses. Activities are relatively evenly represented between working, playing, attending school, performing household chores, fundraising/protesting, and farming. On the lower ends in terms of percentage of representation, activities such as begging, and traditional or ritualistic activities are shown 4 percent and 6 percent of the time, respectfully. The most frequently depicted action is “idle”, which is represented 24 percent of the time. Internationally based NGOs tended to depict idle subjects in a much higher percentage of sample photographs, accounting for 38 percent of total images. Additionally, stereotyped activities such as begging and traditional/ritualistic actions accounted for a higher percentage of the total photographs, measuring in at 8 percent and 16 percent respectfully. A major drop was seen also in more positive actions, such as working, farming, fundraising/protesting, and attending school, with internationally based NGOs choosing to represent these activities only 18 percent of the time, compared to 48 percent of the time for Canadian based NGOs. Interestingly, internationally based NGOs have a tendency to homogenize, even when it is members of their organization that are being represented. Considering the myriad of activities usually performed by development aid workers and organizational staff, the sample photographs selected from international NGOs only showed workers

sitting idly 67 percent of the time or fundraising 33 percent of the time. Canadian based NGOs in contrast, represented themselves as farming in 4 percent of photographs, fundraising in 29 percent, working in 17 percent, attending school in 17 percent, and sitting idle only 33 percent of the time. When images of aid recipients are shown, there are differences in the actions chosen to highlight by both Canadian and international NGOs. Canadian based and internationally based NGOs are virtually equal in terms of percentage of total of representation in household chores, attending school, and playing categories. However, when it comes to more positive, less gender stereotyped, and productive activities, such as working, farming, and fundraising or protesting, again, Canadian NGOs represented aid recipients in greater percentages. Farming was represented more often by 11 percentage points, working was represented more often by 8 percentage points, and fundraising was shown more often by 6 percentage points. Alternatively, international NGOs overrepresented aid recipients in traditional/ritualistic activities by 10 percentage points and pictured idle by 15 percentage points. Based on the sample, Canadian based NGOs represent a more varied depiction of activities for both the Self and Other and showed a greater promotion of non-traditional roles and aid recipients actively engaged in productive work.

Facial Expressions and Body Language

Coded separately, facial expressions and body language can be analyzed together since both work to provide insight into the ways that different emotion and actions are represented pictorially. Aggregated, there are not major differences in the facial expressions of subjects pictured between Canadian and internationally based NGOs. Notably, of the sample selected, Canadian based NGOs are slightly more likely to depict

subjects as smiling or laughing and less likely to show them as crying and sad or confused as internationally based NGOs, but other categories remain pretty close to each other in terms of total percentages. When members from the organization are represented and the photograph can clearly be coded for facial expressions, the subject is shown smiling for the camera in every single image, for both Canadian and internationally based NGOs. When an aid recipient is shown, Canadian based NGOs and internationally based NGOs represent smiling and laughing subjects 40 percent and 37 percent of the time respectfully, showing very little deviance in the data. From the selected sample, if the subject featured is a recipient, in close to 20 percent of photographs from both Canadian and internationally based NGOs, the recipient had their eyes down, hidden from the camera, and in 12 and 16 percent of pictures from Canadian and internationally based NGOs, subjects seemed confused. While only a few percentage points separate the international and Canadian organizations in most categories, the biggest difference is in representations of crying and sad recipients, shown 7 percent more times in internationally based NGOs than Canadian based groups. The differences are slight, so it is difficult to conclude affirmatively that internationally based NGOs are guilty of constructing the Other in a more negative, or even different way than Canadian groups. In terms of just facial expressions, Canadian based NGOs are not exceptional in their representations, but differences can be considered when we combine the findings with data on body language.

Data on body language demonstrates that Canadian based NGOs, compared to their international counterparts, are more likely to represent subjects in confident postures than in slouched positions or in stances that obscure the identities of the subjects.

Aggregated, Canadian based NGOs depicted their subjects with confident posture 58 percent of the time, compared to only 28 percent of confident posture subjects represented by internationally based NGOs. Slouched or poor posture subjects in photographs were depicted by internationally based NGOs 38 percent of the time, and an additional 14 percent were shown with an object covering their mouths or faces, indicating a visual representation of silencing and of concealing identities. In contrast, Canadian based NGOs featured subjects with poor posture 20 percent of the time and showed subjects covering their mouths only 10 percent of the time. In cases where members from the organization are depicted, both Canadian and internationally based NGO photographs feature subjects with confident posture 100 percent of the time, and in the majority of these photographs, subjects are pictured standing. When a recipient is pictured, the percentage of subjects pictured standing drops for both Canadian and internationally based NGOs and confident posture percentages drop to 37 percent for Canadian organizations and 17 percent for internationally based nonprofits. Internationally based NGO photographs feature a 47 percent representation of slouched and poor posture, 15 percent of recipients are covering their mouths and faces, and an additional 4 percent are avoiding the camera entirely. Canadian based NGO photographed recipients are slouched 30 percent of the time and have an object over their mouths another 15 percent, similar to internationally based pictures. When you combine data on facial expressions with the data on body language and the position of the subject, there is a clear indication that both Canadian and internationally based NGOs perpetuate representations of the Other as unhappy and insecure compared to the confident and strong Self, embodied by organization volunteers and workers.

The Dominant and Passive Divide

Using cues from body language, clothing, position of subject, action in photo, visible minority status, age, gender, and facial expression, as well as considering the role of the main subject relative to the rest of the photograph, images were coded to determine whether the primary subject in the photograph is depicted as either dominant or passive. Arguably the most subjective category to code, images were treated with extreme caution and if any pictures seemed too difficult to clearly determine, they were simply labeled undetermined, so as to not skew the final results. When coding for dominance and passivity, the main considerations were whether the image depicted a subject who was empowered and in control or instead was depicted in a way where they looked reliant or desperate and lacking agency. Often, sample selected photographs are taken at extreme close up perspectives and are difficult to code because they are taken completely out of context, without any other information or background data to situate the subject. As such, many were coded as undetermined. Considering all 50 images from internationally based NGOs, there was a tendency to represent all subjects as passive 64 percent of the time and dominant only 14 percent of the time, with 22 percent of all photos being coded as undetermined. Of the 50 selected images from Canadian based NGOs, only 20 percent overall were coded as passive, with 40 percent being labeled dominant and the remaining 40 percent deemed undetermined. When the fundraiser is pictured, for both Canadian based and internationally based organizations, every single one is shown in a position of dominance and confidence. Recipient focused photographs, however, do not produce the same unanimous results. Internationally based NGOs represent aid recipients as passive in 73 percent of the selected photographs, with only 2 percent clearly coded as dominant

and the remaining 25 percent of aid recipient photographs classified as undetermined. Canadian based NGOs are not as apt to include images where the aid recipient is so easily classified as passive: only 30 percent are deemed passive, while 9 percent of aid recipients are shown in positions of dominance. An entire 61 percent of photographs of aid recipients selected to form the Canadian sample, are coded as undetermined – meaning that they are not clearly dominant or passive, but instead neutral.

Chapter Ten: Contextualizing the Subject

Camera Angles

A critical understanding of the subject relies on contextualizing their representation amid the various backgrounds and assessing the point of view from which the subject is depicted. By looking at differing camera angles, we are able to read cues to understand the type of message that the photograph is sending. In coding, categories “shot from above, shot from below, shot straight on (or at eye level), headshot/mug shot, and landscape/wide lens” were used to assess the diversity of angles employed by different organizations. A high-angle shot (shot from above) is a point of view in which the camera is physically higher than the subject and is looking down upon the subject and can have the effect of making the subject look small, weak, or vulnerable. Important to the understanding of the subject and its photographer, images that are shot from above are understood as “looking down on a subject” which can project the idea that the photographer and the audience of the picture are superior to the subject depicted (Berger, 1998, pg. 84). Aggregated, images selected for Canadian based and internationally based NGOs depict subjects shot from above 18 percent and 24 percent of the time respectfully. Interestingly, when the subject of the photo is a representative of the organization, neither

Canadian based or internationally based NGOs opted to depict them shot from above. Instead, images shot from above were used on subjects who were aid recipients, living in developing regions, having the effect of making aid recipients look more weak and vulnerable. Photographs selected as a sample from internationally based NGOs that featured an aid recipient were shot from above 27 percent of the time, while Canadian based NGO photographs of recipients were shot from above 24 percent of the time. A low-angle shot, taken from below the subject has the effect of making the subject look powerful or threatening, conveying a completely opposite message than those taken from above, and can often be described as making the subject appear reverent (Berger, 1998, pg. 84). Overall, Canadian based and internationally based NGOs used this camera angle in images only 8 percent of the time and very little differences appear when we examine the use of shots from below on recipients and fundraisers, with a greater tendency of fundraisers to be depicted when shot from below. Joan Meyers-Levy and Laura A. Peracchio (1992) state that, “the objects that we visually look up to (e.g., our parents when we are children) generally are viewed positively” (pg. 456), can be read as an analogy to the images of fundraisers. We can see how depicting the NGO workers from below supports a paternalistic discourse where aid workers are shown as adults bringing salvation to the innocent and childlike developing subjects. The most common type of camera angle used by both Canadian and internationally based NGOs is a neutral shot or eye level shot which has little to no psychological effect on the viewer. Overall, Canadian based NGOs pictured subjects shot straight on in 50 percent of all photographs, in 46 percent of photographs which contained only fundraisers, and in 55 percent of the photographs that contained aid recipients. Internationally based NGOs pictured subjects

shot straight on in 38 percent of all photographs, in 34 percent of photographs which contained only fundraisers, and in 39 percent of the photographs that contained mainly aid recipients. Another very popular camera shot reflected in the data proved to be a full-face shot, headshot, or mug shot. A photograph taken of the entire face helps to communicate powerful cues, “with the full face shot, we find that the person being photographed is, in a sense, looking us directly in the eyes; and thus, this pose suggests honesty and candor” (Berger, 1998, pg. 85). Large differences in data demonstrate the tendency of both Canadian based and internationally based organizations to use headshots, especially when representing members of the organizations, particularly when the CEO, a celebrity, or head of the board of governors is being depicted. When fundraisers are selected as a subject, Canadian based NGOs posed them in headshots in 29 percent of the total photos, while recipient headshots only accounted for 3 percent of the total pictures. Similarly, internationally based NGOs depicted members from the organization in headshots in 33 percent of photographs, a percentage that drops to 11 when aid recipients are depicted. Essentially, NGOs want their members to be seen as honest and as having integrity, so a smiling headshot is almost always used. Another camera angle used frequently is the landscape or wide lens, which has an impact of making the subject appear small, relative to the rest of the surroundings. Results are inconsistent from the sample selected, with Canadian based NGOs using wide lens images more often on recipients of aid, and internationally based NGOs utilizing the wide angle more as a percentage of fundraiser images. Commenting on the nature of camera angles as a whole, both Canadian based and internationally based NGOs have a tendency to use angles that depict the fundraiser as truthful, honest, and in positions of power

(through headshot angles, and shots from below) while recipients are more often represented as innocent and childlike via shots taken from above.

Rural and Urban Divisions

With many images taken at extremely close ranges, often the subject in the photograph is depicted completely out of context, shown without any background data to support the picture or add clarifying details about the individual pictured. Massive urbanization in many parts of the developing world now means that in growing numbers, poverty in the Global South is no longer located only in rural areas. Populations in developing parts of the world can no longer be solely characterized as pastoral and pre-industrial. James Ferguson's (1994) study on the Lesotho World Bank country report demonstrates a tendency by western development practitioners to want to construct subjects in the Global South as living in rural areas and working in agrarian, and pre-industrial sectors. Interestingly, there is a long history of "urban representations of the inhabitants of the countryside. From the twelfth century onwards, western images of shepherds and peasants often represented them in a grotesque manner, thus distinguishing them clearly from the higher-status people who would view the images" (Burke, 2001, pg. 137). Considering that every NGO headquarters forming part of the study are located in major city hubs (namely Toronto and Ottawa) and that the majority of Canadian populations live in urban areas (80 percent of total population according to the 2006 Census), representations of aid recipients are primarily agrarian serve to reaffirm the elitist urban focus of the organizations. Poverty, as a multifaceted, multidimensional, and multiple meaning concept is often only presented as rural poverty which means that the "urban poor are a little-studied sector of the population", particularly in areas of former

colonial rule (Milton, 2007, pg. xvi). The study into rural and urban visual representations in the web material of Canadian and internationally based NGOs tests whether traditional constructions of the rural poor are perpetuated. Overall, Canadian based NGOs depict rural settings in 42 percent of the total photographs selected for the study, compared with 58 percent of photographs selected for internationally based NGOs. Urban regions are represented in 28 percent of Canadian photos and 18 percent of internationally based organization photos, with the remaining percentage of photographs being classified as “unclear.” Representations of the Self in NGO photographs are primarily urban, accounting for 58 percent of Canadian NGO images and 33 percent of internationally based NGO images. Rural images of the Self are only shown in 6 percent of Canadian fundraiser photos and 17 percent of internationally based fundraiser photos. In contrast, rural subjects are shown in 61 percent of photographs of aid recipients from Canadian based NGOs and 64 percent of aid recipient photographs from internationally based NGOs. The tendency to depict the Other as rural, agrarian, and living in poverty is high for both Canadian based and internationally based NGOs, with the urban poor again underrepresented since only 12 and 16 percent of all recipient images from Canadian based and internationally based NGOs respectfully depict subjects in urban environments.

Background Data

Data on the background of each photograph helps to further clarify rural and urban representations to better describe where the subject is depicted. Categories “tropical, desert/arid, vegetative/agricultural, office/professional, and unclear” were included so that images could be further defined. As mentioned early, many images with

extreme close up camera angles and headshot type pictures meant that subject representations are often lacking context, as is the case is 38 percent of the total photographs for Canadian based NGOs and 36 percent of sample photographs from internationally based nonprofits. Overall, when images are able to be coded, both internationally based and Canadian based NGOs tend to represent images of the organization in professional and office type settings, accounting for 83 percent from Canadian based NGOs and 76 percent from internationally based NGOs of the total fundraiser images selected. In contrast, when photographs can be coded for backgrounds, images depicting aid recipients are primarily shown in agricultural or desert/arid contexts. Canadian based NGOs depict aid recipients in desert/arid conditions in 18 percent of photographs and show subjects in agricultural environments in another 24 percent of photographs. Remaining coded photographs show subjects in office and professional backgrounds 9 percent of the time. Internationally based NGO photographs of aid recipients show 25 percent of subjects in desert/arid environments and another 25 percent in agricultural/vegetative areas. Another 5 percent of images show recipients in tropical atmospheres and a final 4 percent of coded internationally based NGO aid recipient images are shown amid professional backgrounds. Notably, a technique in photography is “the romantic use of nature (leaves, trees, water) to create a place where innocence can be refound” (Berger, 1998, pg. 88). From both Canadian based and internationally based NGOs, images that more frequently depict agricultural and rural backgrounds, alongside aid recipient subjects perpetuates discourses that those living in the developing world are pre-industrial and romanticizes the notion that they are somehow more closely connected with nature. Additionally, in 14 photographs from Canadian based NGOs and in 13

separate photographs from internationally based NGOs, aid recipients were pictured holding or touching different objects from nature: water, foliage, fruit, seeds, crops, grass, and even dirt while not a single photograph of an organizer shows such a close connection to nature. Subjects living in developing nations are depicted as living in environments closely connected to the natural world, where images of aid workers are depicted as professional and industrial. Commentary on image focus explains too that soft focus is related to romance and emotion while images that are very sharp and focused are connected to science and rationality (Berger, 1998, pg. 83). Pictures which are taken of recipients also tended to be less clear and less focused than many of the professional headshots of NGO board members and attendees at fundraising events, reaffirming the tendency to perpetuate discourses which present the recipients of aid as less rationally grounded and instead as more emotional and romantic. Like many advertising photographs and gendered discourses that tend to depict women as close to nature, emotional, and romantic, the background of photographs from both Canadian based and internationally based NGOs supports the trend of constructing recipients of aid as innocent, feminine, childlike, and helpless.

National Origin Data

Categories examining the context in which a subject is depicted are completed by looking at the national origin data and help to explore not only stereotypes of the NGOs, but also discourses about specific regions. When coding for national origins, categories were grouped together, so that data could be more easily analyzed. Coded images were compiled into “Africa, Asia, North America, Central America, South America, Oceania, Europe and Unknown.” In explorations on NGO mission statements and information

gathered on the range of their work, internationally based NGOs were expected to represent a wider range of national origins, since the breadth of their work means that they operate in way more regions than many of the tiny NGOs from just Canada. Data from the sample study represents an opposite trend. Aggregated, Canadian based NGOs provide a much more diverse representation of subjects in terms of national origin compared to internationally based NGOs. Overall, subjects in selected Canadian based NGO photographs are pictured in Africa in 34 percent of images, Asia in 8 percent, North America in 38 percent, Europe in 6, South America in 6 and Central America in 4 percent. The variation is widespread and North American subjects are represented even more frequently than those in Africa. Internationally based NGOs, in comparison, tend to rely heavily on subjects depicted in Asia (38 percent of all photographs) and Africa (48 percent of total pictures) and only show North American (10 percent of all photographs) and European (2 percent) subjects. An overemphasis on Africa and Asia as the sites for development obscures the need for programming in other developing regions, and reaffirms discourses that describe the overwhelming problems of African areas. When the fundraiser is the main subject of the photograph, the national origin is overwhelmingly North American, with Canadian based NGOs depicting subjects 100 percent of the time in North America and Internationally based NGOs depicting organization members in North America in 83 percent of photographs and 17 percent shown in Europe. Aid recipient subjects from internationally based NGOs are shown in Africa in 55 percent of the photographs and in Asia in the remaining 41 percent of pictures, with 4 percent of total photographs being coded as unclear. Internationally based NGO depiction of relief subjects being placed only in two continents serves to

affirm notions that poverty is located only in two very distant continents. By highlighting only regions that are geographically and culturally very distant from North America, the NGO photographs reaffirm discourses of an exotic developing world, whose problems are likely blamed on poverty and disease (often cited in Western descriptions of African countries) or bad politics and religion (shown in both African and Asian areas).

Canadian based NGOs, in comparison, represent a more nuanced and complex understanding of aid recipients. Subjects requiring aid are shown in Africa in 52 percent of photographs, 9 percent in South America, 12 percent in Asia, 6 percent in Central America, 9 percent in Europe, and 6 percent in North America. By including a more diversified range of regions, aid recipients are depicted all across the globe and notably, even with industrialized areas themselves (Europe and North America). Pockets of poverty in the Global North are often hidden behind discourses of the impoverished Other, who is located only in far-off regions of the world. By including aid recipients living within Canada specifically, we are reminded of the varying degrees of poverty at home and relief work is constructed as a more local phenomena.

Research Conclusions:

Hoping to make some bold statements about the Canadian international development industry and the role of NGOs in constructing diverse identities, the aims of the project were ambitious and in terms of finding clear distinct answers to the research questions, no clear decisive statements can be made vis-à-vis Canadian and internationally based NGOs. Combining methods of theoretical and thematic literature review alongside a content analysis, the research acted as a comparative study while exploring the discursive mechanisms of development projects within a Canadian context.

In an effort to avoiding sweeping statements, I cannot in good faith conclude that Canadian based NGOs are necessarily completely different or “better” in their representation of the Other, but that some organizations use more positive techniques than others and that across certain variables, Canadian based NGOs appear to have a more diversified visual representation than their internationally based counterpart. In my research, I wanted to explore textual NGO aims and see the ways that visual images support their official discourses. Quite literally, the research showed that NGOs, both Canadian and internationally based, use images that best depict their mission statements and visions in pictorial form. In my introduction, I posed the singular research question: “How do constructed representations of the Other in the online media of Canadian based NGOs support discursive practices operating within the development industry?” As I progressed through the literature and the data, I examined the changing discourses and the critical work of postdevelopment and postcolonial theories to contextualize my own data findings. While the initial project worked to reveal the discourses at the state and global governance level, an effort to explore NGO discursive mechanisms was included with an emphasis on disseminated power relations in the wake of more intense globalization and the emergence of more polycentric global governance. More specifically, this thesis first examined development discourses and Canada’s changing role in international intervention efforts and attempted to define the NGOs place in the web of global power relations. Ultimately interested in exploring changing identities in an era of more global citizenship, the Internet and digital mediums provided a unique arena for investigating visual culture.

Contributing to the literature on NGO representation and visual culture, this thesis provided a uniquely Canadian perspective and acted as a first of its kind of comparative analysis to investigate development discourses. Providing insight into digital representations of the Self and Other on NGO web sites, the thesis' strengths are in its contribution to literature with a focus on Canada. Repeated approaches should perhaps limit the scope of the investigation and include a wider sample. By coding across so many different variables, the content analysis provided a lot of basic information about each image, whereas a more detailed analysis of fewer images might expose different data. Future studies could benefit from the methodological approach to online data selection. Moving forward, my research efforts will continue to focus on NGOs and implications of their representations, with a more complete analysis of audience reactions.

Development discourses have transitioned from an era of dominant modernization and linear growth models to more recent partnership themes and more grassroots based movements, and the visual representation of the Global South often reflect these transitions. Credit can be given to the NGOs themselves for developing a better standard of image and depicting both aid recipients and fundraisers in more optimistic and positive lights. Earlier claims that the pornography of poverty would continue to headline crises in the future are disproved by the research and while they are not perfect depictions, are a much better standard than images used in earlier generations. Despite NGO claims that their marketing strategies follow best practices guidelines and strive to represent their efforts in only positive ways, there are lasting impressions in terms of the general public's understanding of the developing world. Often, this depiction can be deemed

controversial, and contributes to discursive representations, despite NGO efforts at more accurate reflections of their work. Compounding this perpetuation of controversial representations is a changing global governance structure whereby NGOs tackle social issues previously addressed by states and multilateral institutions. Since NGOs are framed as humanitarian organizations, their role in developing nations is often less criticized than state interventions or those of multilateral organizations from previous eras. NGOs, now corporate entities with highly professionalized marketing campaigns, are not only becoming the primary funders of projects in the Global South, they are also transitioning to be seen as the ultimate authority on life in developing regions. Framed as apolitical, NGOs are thus able to control visual and textual information about the regions in which they work, with widespread implications on the general public who view the NGO as a non-bias authority. NGOs, as a source of information on the developing world, are increasingly entering a hegemonic sphere, in which their discourses are so normalized, the general public is complacent and consenting to the influence the NGOs possess. With increased globalization in recent years and the greater dispersion of power, a new era of global governmentality means that NGOs take on functions that were previously conducted by the state. Changing global power relationships mean that the social space that NGOs used to operate has broadened and their definition can no longer be seen as narrowly as when NGOs first came into prevalence. Previously conceived as being a part of civil society, or seen as existing outside official state doctrines, NGOs now exist in a unique third space. Conducting state functions, yet not state operated, and private yet working within the public sphere on social issues, the very definitions of NGOs as non-governmental needs to be challenged in a world where governmentality

and power is so dispersed. Like Canadians often wedged between absolute definitions of self and other and existing with hybrid identities, NGOs exist between official state rule and the public that they serve. While previously, I challenged Canadian based NGOs to attempt to modify their position within the global discourse of development, I attest that NGOs can forge a new path in a world where categories of government, civil society, private, and public are more blurred and definitions and self and other become less clearly defined.

Research findings proved that while overtly pornographic images are stated to be on the decline, poverty as a fetishized concept is still often represented in digital media. As a concept, the pornography of poverty was explored in this thesis as a theme often criticized in the print media of earlier generations of NGO propaganda. Currently, the research on digital media concluded that images used by Canadian and internationally based NGOs do not incite the same cues, and cannot in fairness be deemed “pornographic”. While the literature review suggested that images would be pornographic and appeal to the audience’s sense of tantalizing disgust, the actual visual representations cannot be described as appalling, or graphic, but instead are focused on optimistic perspectives. Too often, stereotypes of the developing world are perpetuated more frequently than images that more accurately depicting realities. A disproportionate overrepresentation of females, young children, visible minorities, and people in Africa and Asia doing traditional and menial tasks as the Other is only matched by a Self that is presented as an adult, not a visible minority, and working from North America. Images of the Global South feature a tension between overly romanticized exotic locations and desperate poverty, working in the same vein as the delicious horrors cited in the text.

Subjects in North America are too often depicted as a uniform individual, lacking diversity, and positioned so as to reaffirm the professionalism of the NGO itself. When we see images from North America, the subject is typically engaged in specific similar activities where they are fundraising, promoting the organization, or simply posing for a picture. Typically not a visible minority, images of NGO workers ignore Canadian discourses of multiculturalism and instead are seemingly devoid of any diversity, making photographs of aid recipients seem particularly obscure and exotic.

Research suggested that Canadian based NGOs were not incredibly distinct in their visual representations, if even when compared against their internationally based counterparts, they seemed to present a less stigmatized photographic depiction. Aggregated, small differences between Canadian and internationally based NGOs means that Canadian groups cannot be cited for having incredibly more progressive or positive visual representation regimes. Interestingly, the Canadian based NGOs selected for the study are unique in that many were created recently, within the last few years. With the advantage of seeing the mistakes that previous organizations have made and having the knowledge of their criticisms, it was interesting to see that many of these new groups were more determined to copy their international counterparts than in trying to forge a unique visual cultural identity. Perhaps the trend of mimicking major internationally based transnational group photographs can be read as an analogy for Canada's role in the international community. No longer defined by peacekeeping missions, and large percentages of GNI to ODA, Canada can not be recognized as an international leader like it once was in the Pearson golden days. Rather than being recognized as a bold leader and purveyor of international peace, Canada's role is seen as similar to that of Europe or

United States and is not entirely distinct or incredible. Like many critics who argue that Canadian identity itself is a watered down version of Europeanism or Americanization, NGO images from Canadian based NGOs could not be defined as being distinctly Canadian or progressive. Perhaps underscoring all of the data is a realization that Canadian organizations lack a strong Self identity, and so they rely on traditional representations of a distant Other to affirm their purpose and sense of Self. NGOs define themselves textually with mission statements, visions, and organizational aims, and use images to support these discourses. Notably, many Canadian organizations seems to paraphrase internationally based NGOs, with so many groups relying on the same terminology to define very diverse organizations. In a Canadian society becoming increasingly diverse and multicultural, organizations which rely on stereotypical images of a distant Other only lead to more questions. Who is “the Other”, in a nation characterized by multiple identities, blurred cultures and diverse demographics? With such a hybridized Self to explore, why are NGO representations so static and predictable? Efforts to define Canadian identity are embodied not only by the state, but by the citizenry, the economy, and the spaces in between, including NGOs and other civil society actors. Changing digital mediums and interconnections across borders create another variable in constructing identities, such that perhaps it is archaic to even categorize groups as tied to a national entity. With digital realms now crossing traditional borders, sites of identity are even more complex. At a crossroads, Canadians, and the organizations that represent their interests, must decide whether to maintain a drive for national identity or take on the role of global citizen alone. As digitized realities define the postmodern experience, perhaps future generations will no longer identify

themselves as citizens of a nation or even the world, but as members of an ideological sphere.

Bibliography

- Abrahamsen, R. 2003 'African Studies and the Postcolonial Challenge' *African Affairs* 102 (407), 189-210.
- Adams, Carol J. (2004) *The Pornography of Meat*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc. Print.
- Agg, C. (2006). Trends in Government Support for Non-Governmental Organizations Is the "Golden Age" of the NGO Behind Us? *Civil Society and Social Movements Programme Paper Number 23*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Andrew, Barbara, Ellen Feder & Irene J. Klaver. (1994). Cultivating a Critical Voice in Women's Studies: A New Look at Advertising. *Feminist Teacher* (8) 3, 127-128.
- Appadurai, Arjun. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. Print.
- Apthorpe, R. (1970) *People, Planning and Development Studies*, London: Frank Cass. — (1986) 'Development policy discourse', *Public Administration and Development* 6: 377– 389.
- Ash, S. (2008). "Heroin Baby": Barnardo's Benevolence, and Shame. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* (32) 2, 179-200.
- Babbie, E.R. (2010). *The Basics of Social Research, Fifth Edition*. Wadsworth Publishing. Print.
- Bandarage, Asoka. (1984) "Women in Development: Liberalism, Marxism and Marxist-Feminism", *Development and Change*, 15:3, pp. 495-515.
- Bell, David. (2001). *An Introduction to Cybercultures*. London: Routledge. Print.
- Benthall, Jonathan. (1993) *Disasters, Relief and the Media*. London: New York: I.B. Taurus & Company Limited Publishers. Print.
- Berger, Arthur A. (1998) *Seeing is Believing: An Introduction to Visual Communication*. Mountain View CA: Mayfield Publishing Company. Print.
- Bhabha, Homi. (1987) 'Remembering Fanon', *New Formations* Available at: http://www.amielandmelburn.org.uk/collections/newformations/01_118.pdf.
- Bowker, G. and Star, S.L. (1999). *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*. Massachusetts: MIT Press. Print.

- Brigg, M. (2002). 'Post-development, Foucault and the Colonial Metaphor', *Third World Quarterly* (23) 3, 421-436.
- Browett, J. (1980). Development, the Diffusionist Paradigm and Geography. *Progress in Human Geography*. 4 (1), 57-79.
- Brown, Chris & Edward T. Jackson. (2010) "Could the Senate be Right: Should CIDA be Abolished?" Carleton University. Available at: <http://www.mcleodgroup.ca/docs/couldthesenateberight.pdf>
- Brown, Stephen (2008). "CIDA Under the Gun", *Paper to be presented at the Canadian Political Science Association Annual Conference University of British Columbia*. University of Ottawa. Available at: http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~brown/pages/Stephen_Brown_CAN07.pdf
- Burgin, V. (1982). "Looking at Photographs", (Edited by Victor Burgin), *Thinking Photography*. University of Michigan: Macmillan. Print.
- Burman, E (1994). Innocents abroad: Western fantasies of childhood and the iconography of emergencies. *Disasters* 18 (3), 238–253.
- Campbell D (2004). Horrific blindness: Images of death in contemporary media. *Journal for Cultural Research* 8 (1), 55–74.
- "Canadian Charitable Donations up in 2010: StatsCan", December 5, 2011. Canadian Press. Available online at: <http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/article/1097015--canadian-charitable-donations-up-in-2010-statscan>
- Castro-Gomez, S. (2002). The Social Sciences, Epistemic Violence, and the Problem of the "Invention of the Other". *Nepantla: Views from South*. 3 (2), 269-285.
- Christie, N. (1996) 'The Ideal Victim', (Edited by: E.A. Fattah) *From Crime Policy to Victim Policy*. London: Macmillan. Print.
- Corbridge, S (1998) 'Beneath the pavement only soil': the poverty of post-development, *Journal of Development Studies*, 34(6): 138–149.
- Cohen S. (2001) *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Print.
- Cottle, S., & Nolan, D. (2007). Global Humanitarianism and the Changing Aid-Media Field. *Journalism Studies* (8) 6, 862-878.
- CRTC. (August, 2006). "How Many Canadians Subscribe to Cable TV or Satellite TV? Cable TV/DTH Subscriber Estimates, Profile of Non-Subscribers and Special Survey Results" *Canadian Research Inc*. Available online at:

- <http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/publications/reports/radio/cmri.htm>
- Crush, J. (1995). (ed) *The Power of Development*. Routledge. Print.
- De Beauvoir, S. (1976). *The Second Sex*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Print.
- Detmer, D. (2008). *Sartre Explained: From Bad Faith to Authenticity*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing. Print.
- Dewing, M. (2009). Canadian Multiculturalism. *Library of Parliament*. Ottawa. PRB 09-20E. Available online at:
<http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/LOP/ResearchPublications/prb0920-e.htm>.
- Diageo Africa (2004). Africa: The Marginalized Continent. *Diageo Africa Business Reporting Awards*. London: David Hampshire, Managing Director.
- Dirlik, A. (1994). 'The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism', *Critical Inquiry* 20(2): 328-56.
- Dobernig, K., Lobinger, K. & Wetzstein, I. (2010). Covering Conflict: Differences in Visual and Verbal news Coverage of the Gaza Crisis 2009 in Four Weekly News Media. *Journal of Visual Literacy*, 29(1), 88-105.
- Dogra, N. (2007). Reading NGOs Visually – Implications of Visual Images for NGO Management. *Journal of International Development* (19), 161-171.
- Dubois, W.E.B. (2002). 'Double Consciousness' in Mirzoeff, N. (Ed.) *The Visual Culture Reader, Second Edition*. New York: Routledge. Print.
- Dyer, G. (1982). *Advertising as Communication*. Taylor & Francis, Routledge. E-Book.
- Eade, D. (1996) Editorial. *Development in Practice* (6) 4, 291-292.
- Edwards, M. (1996). New Approaches to Children and Development: Introduction and Overview. *Journal of International Development* (8) 6, 813-827.
- Escobar, A. (1992). Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements. *Social Text* 31 (32), 20-56.
- Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering Development. The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton University Press. Print.
- Eriksson Baaz, M. (2005). *The Paternalism of Partnership: A Postcolonial Reading of Identity in Development Aid*. London: Zed Books. Print.

- Erskine, J.M. (1985). Rural Development: Putting Theory into Practice, *Development Southern Africa* 2(3), 368-382.
- Esses, V. and Gardner, R.C. (1996). Multiculturalism in Canada: Context and Current Status. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* (28)3, 145-152.
- Ewen, Stuart. (1988). *All Consuming Images: The Politics of Style in Contemporary Culture*. Basic Books. Print.
- Facebook. (2007). Facebook Factsheet. Retrieved November 14, 2011 from <http://www.facebook.com/press/info.php?factsheet>.
- Fahmy, Shahira S. (2003). Many images, One World: An Analysis of Photographic Framing and Photojournalists' Attitudes of War and Terrorism. Columbia: University of Missouri. Print.
- Fanon, Frantz. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth*. Penguin. Print.
- Ferguson, J. (1994). *The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. University of Minnesota Press. Print.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Pantheon Books. Print.
- Foucault, M. (1980). 'Truth and Power', in *The Foucault Reader* (edited by P. Rabinow), Penguin. Print.
- Foucault, M. (1980). 'Two Lectures', in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (edited by C. Gordon), Harvester Press. Print.
- Fox, Diana Joyce. (1998). An Ethnography of Four Non-Governmental Development Organizations : Oxfam America, Grassroots International, ACCION International, and Cultural Survival, Inc. Vol. 16. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press. Print.
- Friedberg, A. (2002). 'The Mobilized and Virtual Gaze in Modernity' in Mirzoeff, N. (Ed.) *The Visual Culture Reader, Second Edition*. New York: Routledge. Print.
- Fuhrer, U. (2004). *Cultivating Minds: Identity as meaning-making practice*. London: Routledge. Print.
- Guy, B., & Patton, W.E. (1989). The Marketing of Altruistic Causes: Understanding Why People Help. *The Journal of Consumer Marketing* (6) 1, 19-30.
- Halttunen, Karen. (Apr. 1995). Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture. *American Historical Review* (100) 2, 303-334.
- Haraway, D. (1990). 'A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology, and Socialist

- Feminism in the 1980s' in Nicholson, L. *Feminism/Postmodernism*. New York and London: Routledge. Print.
- Heath, J & Potter, A. (2004). *Rebel Sells*. Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd. Print.
- Heywood, Ian & Barry Sandywell. (1999). *Interpreting Visual Culture: Explorations in the Hermeneutics of the Visual*. Routledge. Print.
- Hodgson, C.L. (1995). The Politics of Gender, Ethnicity and "Development" Images and the Reconfiguration of Maasai Identities in Tanzania 1916-1993. (Doctoral Dissertation). University of Michigan, USA.
- Höjjer, B. (2004). The Discourse of Global Compassion: the Audience and Media Reporting on Human Suffering. *Media, Culture and Society* (26) 4, 513-531.
- Hooper, S and Wright, M. (2001), "Break it down, open it up . . .", *Green Futures* 30, 21-4.
- Houpt, S. (2011, November 25). From Christ to Cola: Logos through the Ages. *The Globe and Mail*, p. B6.
- Illich, I. (1997). 'Development as Planned Poverty', in Rahnema, M and Brawtree, V (Eds) *The Post Development Reader*. London & New Jersey: Zed Books. Print.
- Kamons, A. (2007) Of Note: Celebrity and Politics. *SAIS Review* 27(1): 145-46.
- Kapoor, I. (2004). 'Hyper-Self Reflexive Development? Spivak on Representing the Third World "Other"', *Third World Quarterly* 25(4):627-647.
- Kelleher, T. (2006). *Public relations online: Lasting concepts for changing media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Print.
- Kanselaar, G. (2002). Constructivism and socio-constructivism. Article published on July 16, 2002. Available online at: <http://edu.fss.uu.nl/medewerkers/gk/files/Constructivism-gk.pdf>
- Kilbourne, Jean (Star) & Sut Jally (Producer). (2000). *Killing us Softly 3: Advertising's Image of Women*. Media Education Foundation. ISBN: 1-893521-53-2. Film.
- Koven, S. (1997). Dr.Barnardo's "Artistic Fictions": Photography, Sexuality, and the Ragged Child in Victorian London. *Radical History Review* (69), 6-45.
- Kristmanson, M. (2003). Plateaus of Freedom: Nationality, Culture, and State Security in Canada in 1940-1960. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, Canada. Print.
- Lacan, J. (2002). 'What is a Picture' in Mirzoeff, N. (Ed.) *The Visual Culture Reader, Second Edition*. New York: Routledge. Print.

- Lamers, M. (2005). Representing Poverty, Impoverishing Representation? A Discursive Analysis of a NGOs Fundraising Posters. *Graduate Journal of Social Sciences* (2) 1, 37-74.
- Lacan, Jacques. (1979). *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, Edited by: Sheridan, Alan. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. Print.
- Lester, P.M. (2000). *Visual Communication*. Fullerton, California: Wadsworth Thomson Learning. Print.
- Lidchi, H. (1999). 'Finding the Right Image: British Development NGOs and the Regulation of Imagery', in Tracy Skelton and Tim Allen (eds) *Culture and Global Change*. London and New York: Routledge. Print.
- Lissner, J. (1977). *The Politics of Altruism: A Study of the Political Behaviour of Voluntary Development Agencies*. Geneva: Lutheran World Federation. Print.
- Malena, C. (March 1995). *Working with NGOs: A Practical Guide to Operational Collaboration between the World Bank and Non-Governmental Organizations*. Washington: World Bank Press. Print.
- Manzo, K. (2003). Africa and the Rise and Rights-Based Development. *Geoforum* (2003) 34, 437-456.
- Manzo, K. (2006). An Extension of Colonialism? Development Education, Images and the Media. *The Development Education Journal* (2) 2, 9-12.
- Manzo, K. (2008). Imaging Humanitarianism: NGO Identity and the Iconography of Childhood. *Antipode* (40) 4, 632-657.
- Matthews, S. (2004). Post-Development Theories and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 25 (2), 373 – 384.
- McDougall D (2006, November 26). Now charity staff hit at cult of celebrity. *The Observer*, p. 38.
- McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Canada: McGraw-Hill Publishing. Print.
- Memmi, Albert. (1990). 'The Two Answers of the Colonized'. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Earthscan. Print.
- Meyers-Levy J. and Peracchio, L.A. (1992). Getting an Angle in Advertising: The Effect of Camera Angle on Product Evaluations. *Journal of Marketing Research* (4) 29, 451-461.

- Milton, Cynthia E. (2007). *The Many Meanings of Poverty: Colonialism, Social Compacts, and Assistance in Eighteenth Century Ecuador*. California: Stanford University Press. Print.
- Mirzoeff, N. (2002). 'Introduction to Plug in Theory' in Mirzoeff, N. (Ed.) *The Visual Culture Reader, Second Edition*. New York: Routledge. Print.
- Moeller S (1999) *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death*. London: Routledge. Print.
- Mohanty, T. (1997). 'Under Western Eyes: feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', in McClintock, A. Mufti, A. and Shohat, E (eds) *Dangerous Liaisons. Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*. Minnesota University Press. Print.
- Moro, H. (1998). Ambivalent Messages: Organizational Purposes of NGOs and Images of the South. *Development in Practice* (8) 1, 74-78.
- Morrison, D. (1998). *Aid and Ebb Tide: A History of CIDA and Canadian Development Assistance*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. Print.
- Mosse, D. (2005). *Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice*. London: Pluto Press. Print.
- Moyo, D. (2009). *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa*. London: Penguin Books. Print.
- Murdock, D. (2003). The Stubborn "Doing Good?" Question: Ethical/Epistemological Concerns in the Study of NGOs. *Ethnos* (68) 4, 507-532.
- Nandy, A. (1997). 'Colonization of the Mind', in Rahnama, M and Brawtree, V (Eds) *The Post Development Reader*. London & New Jersey: Zed Books. Print.
- Neuborne, E. (1999). "Generation Y." *Bloomberg Businessweek*. 15 February 1999. Available online at: http://www.businessweek.com/1999/99_07/b3616001.htm
- Nwankwo, Sonny & Darlington Richards. (2004). "Institutional Paradigm and the Management of Transitions: A Sub-Sahara Africa Perspective", *International Journal of Social Economics*, 31(1/2): 111-130.
- Nyamugasira, W. (1998). NGOs and Advocacy: How well are the Poor Represented? *Development in Practice* (8) 3, 297-308.
- O'Dell, L. (2008). Representations of the "Damaged" Child: "Child Saving" in a British Children's Charity ad Campaign. *Children and Society* (22), 383-392.

- OECD. (30 March, 2006). "Table 1: Net Official Development Assistance in 2005 Preliminary data". Available online at: http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/documents/07_OECD_2005.pdf.
- Operational Directive (1989). "Involving Nongovernmental Organizations in Bank-Supported Activities" *World Bank*, Washington. Print.
- Paul, J. and Pistor, M. (2009). Official Development Assistance Spending. *Parliamentary Information and Research Service*. Ottawa: Library of Parliament. Available online at: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/LOP/ResearchPublications/prb0710-e.pdf>.
- Perkins, D. (1999). The Many Faces of Constructivism. *Educational Leadership*, November, 6–11.
- Petras, J. (1994). 'The New Cultural Domination by the Media' in Rahnema, M and Brawtree, V (Eds) *The Post Development Reader*. London & New Jersey: Zed Books. Print.
- Potter, Evan. (2002/2003). Canada and the New Public Diplomacy. *International Journal* (58) 1, 43-64.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. (2007). *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Routledge. Print.
- Radcliffe, S. 2005 'Development and Geography: Towards a Postcolonial Development Geography?', *Progress in Human Geography* 29(3):291-298.
- Rahnema, M. (1997). 'Introduction', in Rahnema, M and Brawtree, V (Eds) *The Post Development Reader*. London & New Jersey: Zed Books. Print.
- Reynolds, C. (2004). "Charity chic". *Maclean's*, 117(51), 46. Available online at: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=767577521&Fmt=7&clientId=65345&RQT=309&VName=PQD>
- Riddell, R. (2007). *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Print.
- Riley, N. and McCarthy, J. (2003). *Demography in the Age of the Postmodern*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Print.
- Rist, G. (2008). *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*. New York. Zed Books. Print.
- Rogoff, I. (2002). 'Studying Visual Culture' in Mirzoeff, N. (Ed.) *The Visual*

- Culture Reader, Second Edition*. New York: Routledge. Print.
- Rose, G. (2001). *Visual Methodologies*. London: SAGE Publishing. Print.
- Rostow, W.W. (1971). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Print.
- Rozario, K. (2003). "Delicious Horrors": Mass Culture, the Red Cross and the Appeal of Modern American Humanitarianism. *American Quarterly* (55) 3, 417-455.
- Sahlins, Marshall. (1997). "The Original Affluent Society". In: Rahnema M. and Bawtree V. (Eds), *The Post-Development Reader*. Zed Books, Print.
- Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*, Introduction. Routledge/Penguin. Print.
- Sartre, J.P. (1956). *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*. New York : Philosophical Library. Print.
- Scholte, J.A. and A. Schnabel. 2002. *Civil Society and Global Finance*. Routledge, London. Print.
- Schulte, P. L. (1996). A Definition of Constructivism. *Science Scope* 20 (30), 25-27.
- Schroeder, W.R. (1984). *Sartre and his Predecessors, The Self and the Other*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Print.
- Sending, O.J. and Neumann, I.B. 2006 'Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States and Power', *International Studies Quarterly* (50), 651-672.
- Seo, K., Kim, J.Y., & Yang, S.U. (2009). Global Activism and New Media: A Study of Transnational NGO's Online Public Relations. *Public Relations Review* (35), 123-126.
- Shohat, E. and Stam, R. (2002). 'Narrativizing Visual Culture: Towards a Polycentric Aesthetics' in Mirzoeff, N. (Ed.) *The Visual Culture Reader, Second Edition*. New York: Routledge. Print.
- Silverman, J. and Rader, D. (2006). *The World is a Text: Writing, Reading, and Thinking About Culture and its Contexts*. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall. Print.
- Simmons, P.J. (1998). Learning to Live with NGOs. *Foreign Policy* 112, p.82-96.
- Simon, D. (2006). 'Separated by common ground? Bringing (post)development and (post)colonialism together', *Geographical Journal* 172(1),10-21.

- Simpson, J. C., (1986, September 11). "Baby Boomers Have 60's Heritage, But Charities Say They're Cheap," *Wall Street Journal*, p. 33.
- Slater, D. (1998). "Analyzing cultural objects: Content Analysis and Semiotics", in C.Seale (ed.) *Researching Society and Culture*. London: Sage. Print.
- Smillie, I. (1995) *The Alms Bazaar. Altruism Under Fire: Non-profit Organisations and International Development*. London: IT Publications. Print.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. (1999). "Colonizing Knowledges". In: *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books Ltd, University of Otago Press. Print.
- Smith, M. (2004). Contradictions and Change? NGOs, Schools and the Public Faces of Development. *Journal of International Development* (16), 741-749.
- Sontag, S. (2003). *Regarding the pain of others*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. Print.
- Spivak, G. (1993) 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', available at:
http://www.mcgill.ca/files/crclaw-discourse/Can_the_subaltern_speak.pdf
- Statistics Canada. (2009). Population, Urban and Rural, by Province and Territory. *2006 Census of Population*. Statistics Canada. Ottawa, ON. Available online at:
<http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/l01/cst01/demo62a-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2009). Visible Minority Population, by Age Group. *2006 Census of Population*. Statistics Canada. Ottawa, ON. Available online at:
<http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/l01/cst01/demo50a-eng.htm>.
- Stiglitz, Joseph. (2003). "Broken Promises", in: J. Stiglitz (ed), *Globalization and its Discontents*, W.W. Norton & Company. Print.
- Tynjälä, P. (1999). Towards Expert Knowledge? A comparison between a constructivist and a traditional learning environment in university. University of Jyväskylä. Institute for Educational Research.
- Tapscott, Chris. (1995) "Changing Discourses in Development in South Africa" in: Crush, J. (1995). (ed) *The Power of Development* (Routledge). Print.
- UNDP (1995) Human Development Report: Gender and Human Development. New York: United Nations. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1995/chapters>.
- UNIFEM (2007) Facts & Figures on Women, Poverty & Economics. New York, United Nations. http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_poverty_economics/facts_figures.php.

- Van Der Gaag N and Nash C (1987) *Images of Africa: the UK Report*. Oxfam.
- Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) (2002) *The Live Aid Legacy: The Developing World Through British Eyes—a Research Report*. Available at: <http://www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0708/DOC1830.pdf>
Accessed 24 October 2011.
- Wade, R. (1993). Managing Trade: Taiwan and South Korea as Challenges to Economics and Political Science. *Comparative Politics*. 25 (2), 147-167.
- Water, R.D. (2010). The Use of Social Media by Nonprofit Organizations: An Examination from the Diffusion of Innovations Perspective. In Dasgupta, S. (Eds.), *Social Computing: Concepts, Methodologies, Tools, and Applications*. (1420-1432). Available Online at: <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/oculottawa/docDetail.action?docID=10356648>
- Waters, R.D, Burnett, E., Lamm, A., & Lucas, J. (2009). Engaging Stakeholders Through Social Networking: How Non-Profit Organizations are Using Facebook. *Public Relations Review* (35), 102-106.
- Wenders, W. (1997). "The truth of images: Two conversations with Peter W. Jansen," in Wim Wenders, *The Act of Seeing: Essays and Conversations*, Frankfurt: Verlag der Autoren, 1992 (English translation by Michael Hoffman, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1996/7:pp52-3).
- Wiebe, G. D. (1952). Merchandising Commodities and Citizenship on Television. *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Winter), 679-691.
- Williams, M. (1998). Aid, Sustainable Development, and the Environmental Crisis. *The International Journal for Peace Studies*. 3 (2). Selected pages available online at: http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol3_2/Williams.htm
- Wishart, J. (2008). Images and the 'Other': Motivations behind NGO Fundraising Imagery and their Impact on Public Perception. (Master's Dissertation). Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS, Canada.
- Young, R. 2001 'Postcolonialism', Chapter 5 in *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction* (Basil Blackwell).

NGO Websites Consulted:

| | |
|--|--|
| www.worldvision.ca | www.wrcanada.org |
| www.plancanada.ca | www.worldhope.ca |
| www.oxfam.ca | www.usc-canada.org |
| www.care.ca | www.kairoscanada.org |
| www.savethechildren.ca | www.freethechildren.com |

Appendix:

Images Selected for World Vision Canada and Labeled Description



Photo 1: Close up of girl day dreaming



Photo 2: Child writing on chalkboard



Photo 3: Girl smiling at camera



Photo 4: Woman hugging baby



Photo 5: Village slum and child



| | |
|--|--|
|  <p>Photo 7: Girls drinking from fountain</p> | <p>Photo 6: Woman with younger girls</p>  <p>Photo 8: Mother holding naked child</p> |
|  <p>Photo 9: Child walking in the street</p> |  <p>Photo 10: Children with fruit crop</p> |

Images Selected for Save the Children Canada and Labeled Description

| | |
|--|--|
|  <p>Photo 1: Child alone with rice bowl</p> |  <p>Photo 2: Child carrying heavy blankets</p> |
|--|--|



Photo 3: Child with naked baby



Photo 4: Chair of the Board



Photo 5: Girl with braids looking at camera



Photo 6: Girl looks at camera with chin down



Photo 7: Boy looks over the city



Photo 8: Mother looks down at sick child



Photo 9: Girls in school with hand raised



Photo 10: Naked child being fed

Images Selected for Plan Canada and Labeled Description



Photo 1: Traditional band singing in East Timor



Photo 2: White women amongst children in Asia



Photo 3: Children looking at camera



Photo 4: CEO Photo



Photo 5: Girl staring at camera



Photo 6: Children with goats



Photo 7: Lisa Ray picture



Photo 8: Girls with water cans



Photo 9: Girl giving the peace sign



Photo 10: Women sitting around shot from below

Images Selected for Oxfam Canada and Labeled Description



Photo 1: Woman from Afghanistan



Photo 2: People on bikes



Photo 3: G8 Leaders in Paris



Photo 4: Afghan women and girls



Photo 5: Children in Africa



Photo 6: Woman in rice field



Photo 7: Women working in field



Photo 8: Girl smiling for camera



Photo 9: Woman in refugee camp with baby



Photo 10: Pakistan women shopping

Images Selected for Care Canada and Labeled Description



Photo 1: Women standing for camera



Photo 2: Kids at well



Photo 3: Children looking at camera



Photo 4: Women in traditional clothing



Photo 5: Woman with child, poverty in background



Photo 6: Girl in Lesotho-people begging in background



Photo 7: Women smiling at camera in home



Photo 8: Woman holding sign over head



Photo 9: Woman with child



Photo 10: Woman skiing down the hill

Images Selected for World Hope Canada and Labeled Description



Photo 1: Boys at school in uniform



Photo 2: Girl at well in Sierre Leone



Photo 3: Smiling girl straw in background



Photo 4: Boys posing in a group, sad



Photo 5: Girls sitting together on bench



Photo 6: Girl smiling at camera



Photo 7: Girls together in house in Ukraine



Photo 8: Woman smiling holding gourds in home



Photo 9: Girl with eyes down, starving child



Photo 10: Men with buckets of water on head

Images Selected for World Relief Canada and Labeled Description



Photo 1: Woman feeding family



Photo 2: Child pulling weight



Photo 3: Construction worker in Haiti



Photo 4: Boy holding the world



Photo 5: Woman and child



Photo 6: Woman with child on back



Photo 7: CEO of organization



Photo 8: crowd of children cheering



Photo 9: busy crowd scene woman carrying on head



Photo 10: women holding a bowl

Images Selected for Kairos Canada and Labeled Description



Photo 1: Man interviewing another



Photo 2: Group protesting at Queen's Park



Photo 3: Head shot of female minister



Photo 4: Aboriginal woman protesting in Ottawa



Photo 5: Aboriginal woman with child on back



Photo 6: Aboriginal women in front of sign



Photo 7: People protesting against Tar Sands



Photo 8: Group of people at a Senator's office



Photo 9: Woman in Kairos T Shirt



Photo 10: People protesting in Northern Canada

Images Selected for Free the Children Canada and Labeled Description



Photo 1: Nina from Vampire diaries



Photo 2: Boys eating on the street



Photo 3: Children at school smiling holding supplies



Photo 4: Woman writing on chalkboard



Photo 5: Child holding bag of seeds



Photo 6: Man speaking to children



Photo 7: Woman sitting on porch of nice house



Photo 8: Children in classroom



Photo 9: Girls from Haiti hugging



Photo 10: Girl in Ecuador carrying branches

Images Selected for USC Canada and Labeled Description



BORN: NOV 28, 1909

Photo 1: Founder of USC pictured



Photo 2: Men holding veggies over head



Photo 3: Man carrying plants over head



Photo 4: Women getting water from a well



Photo 5: Women standing beside dirt wall



Photo 6: Boys with baskets on head



Photo 7: Women digging in the ground



Photo 8: Women with bike for fundraiser

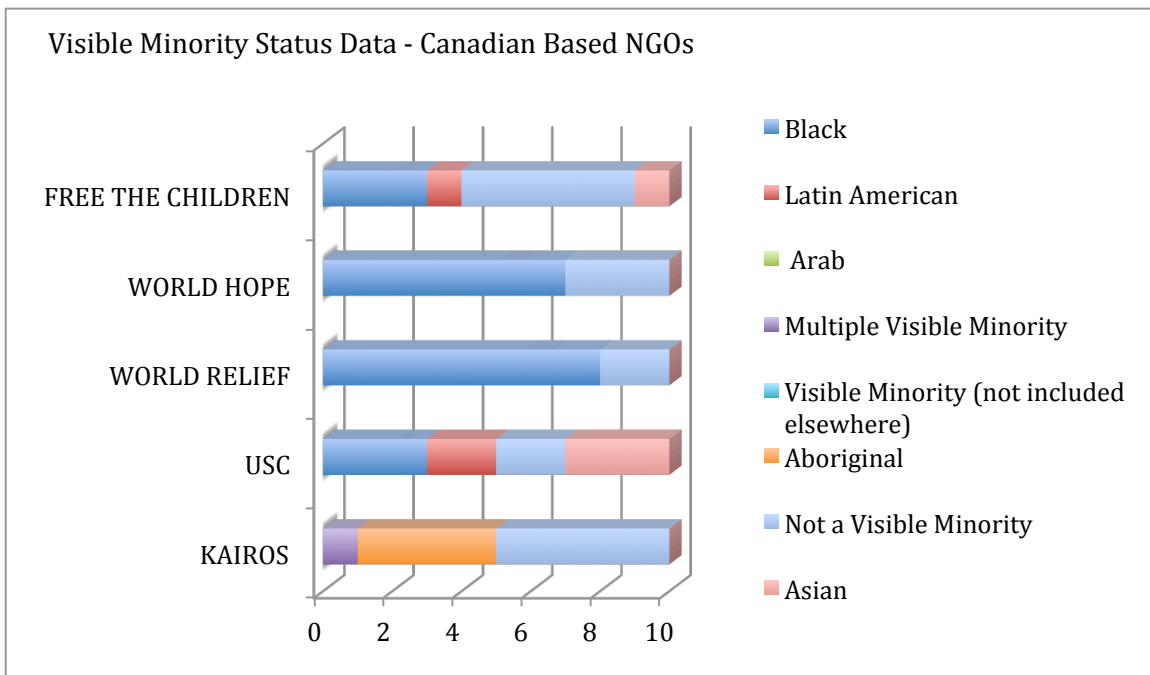
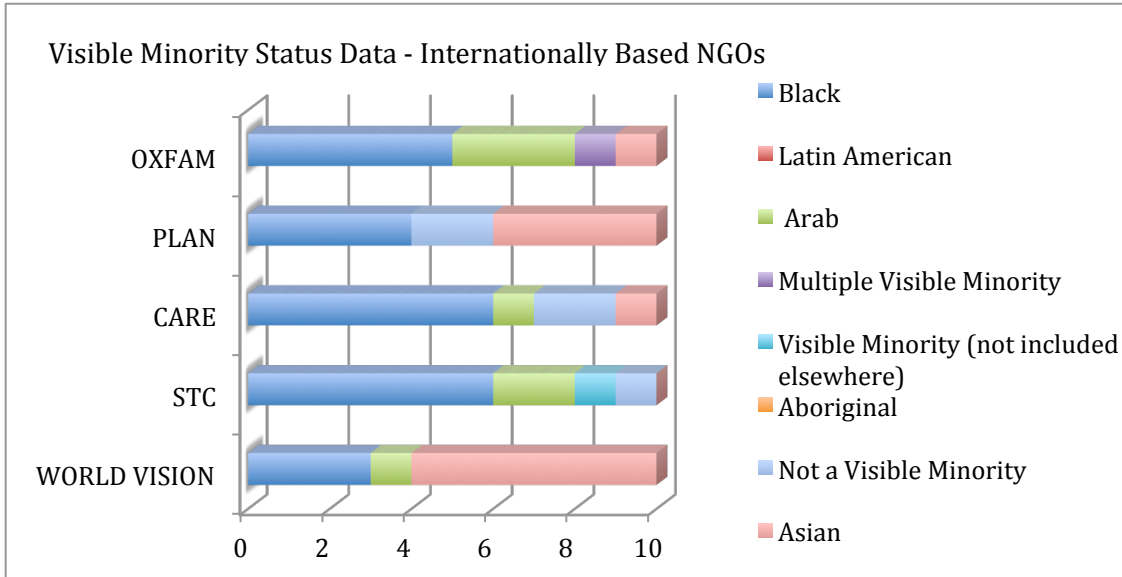


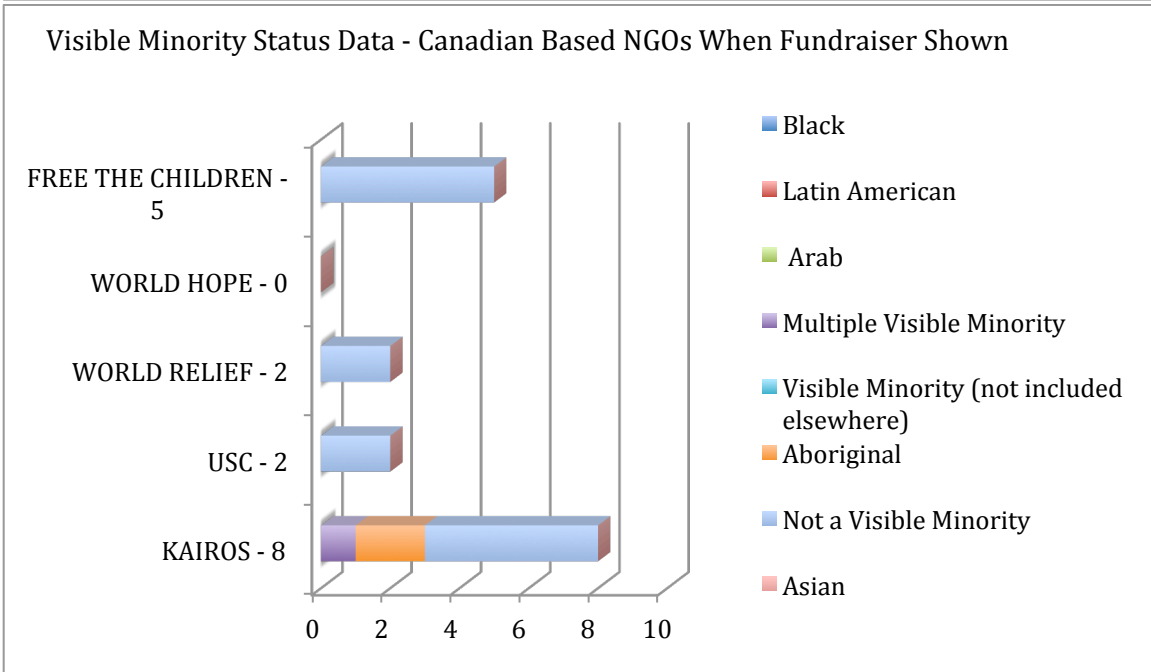
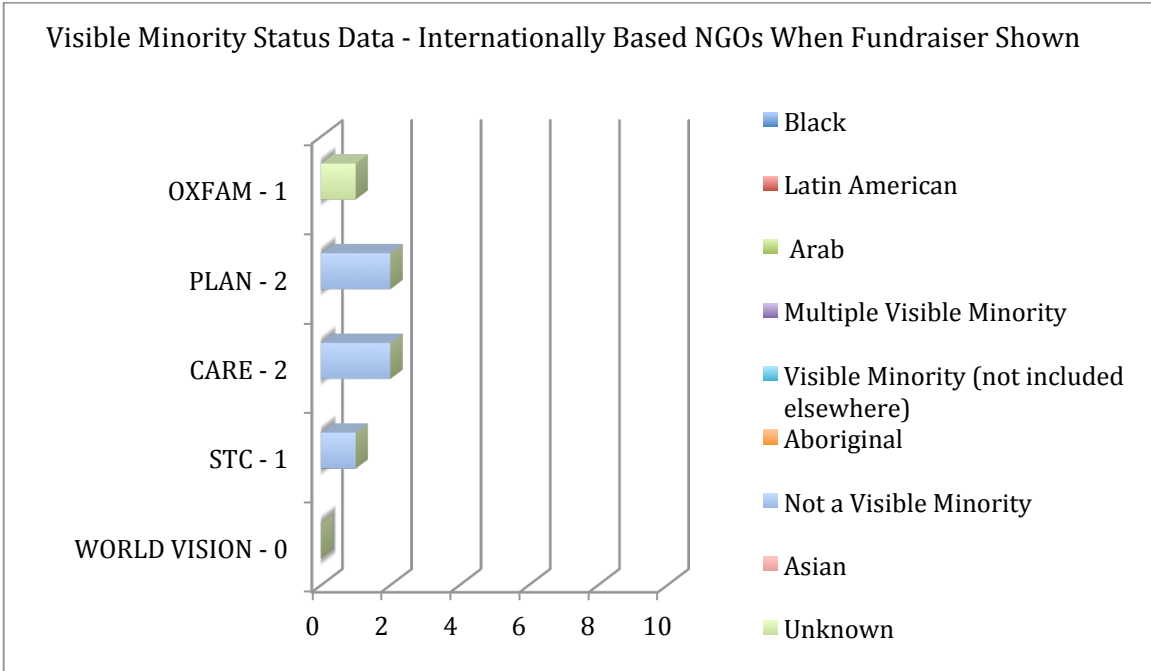
Photo 9: Man throwing seeds into field

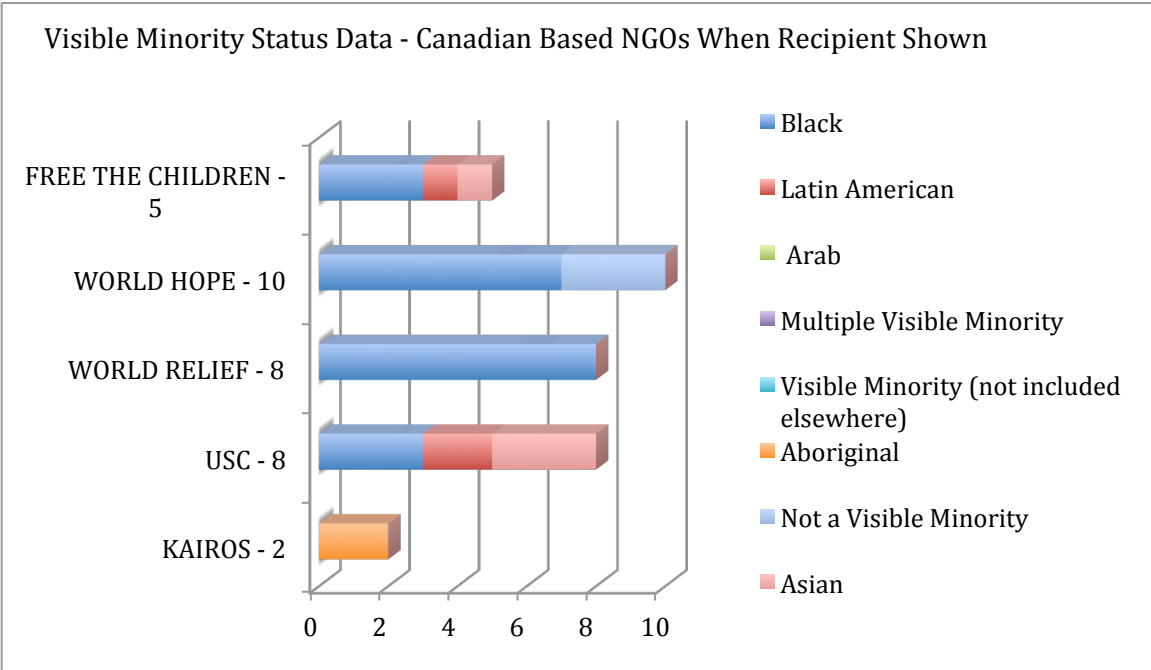
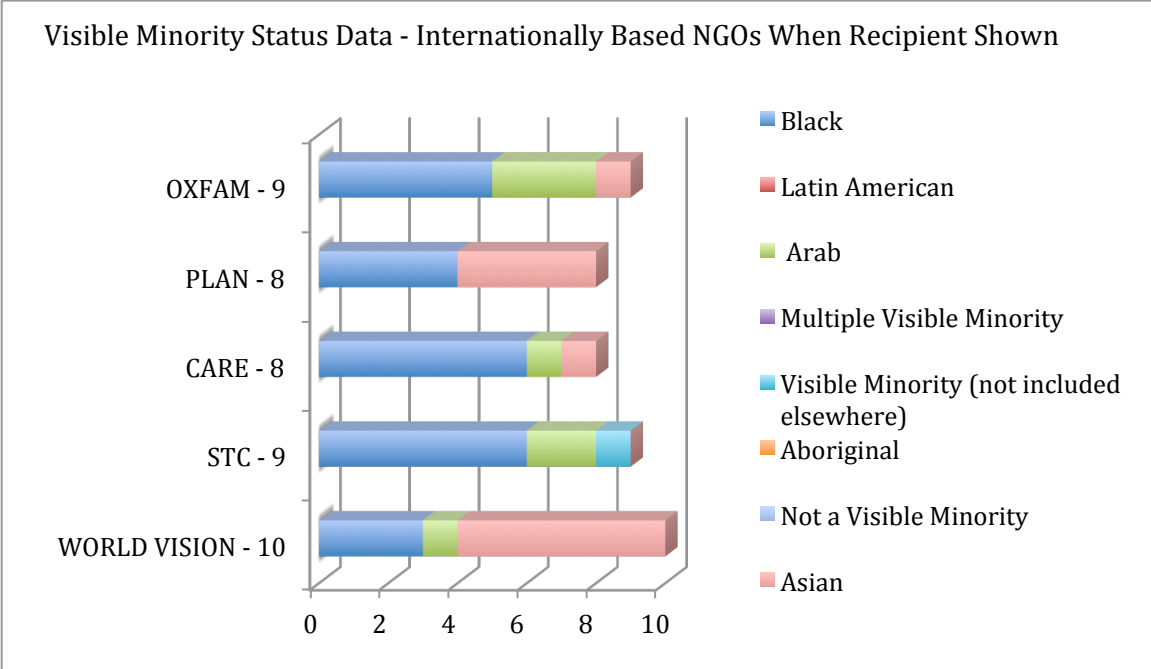


Photo 10: Children walking towards camera

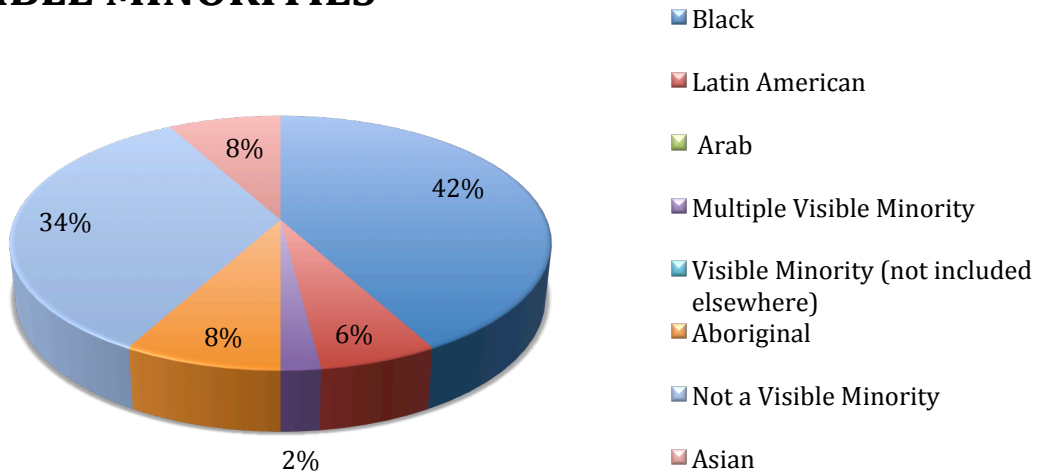
Describing the Subject:



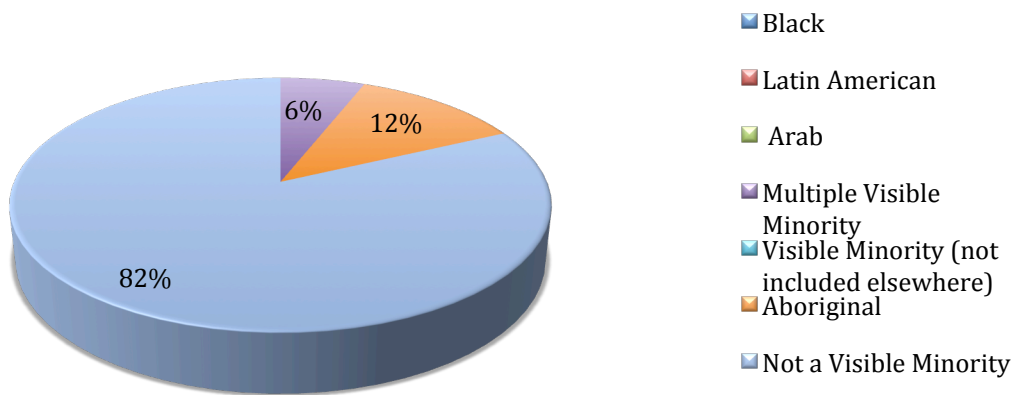




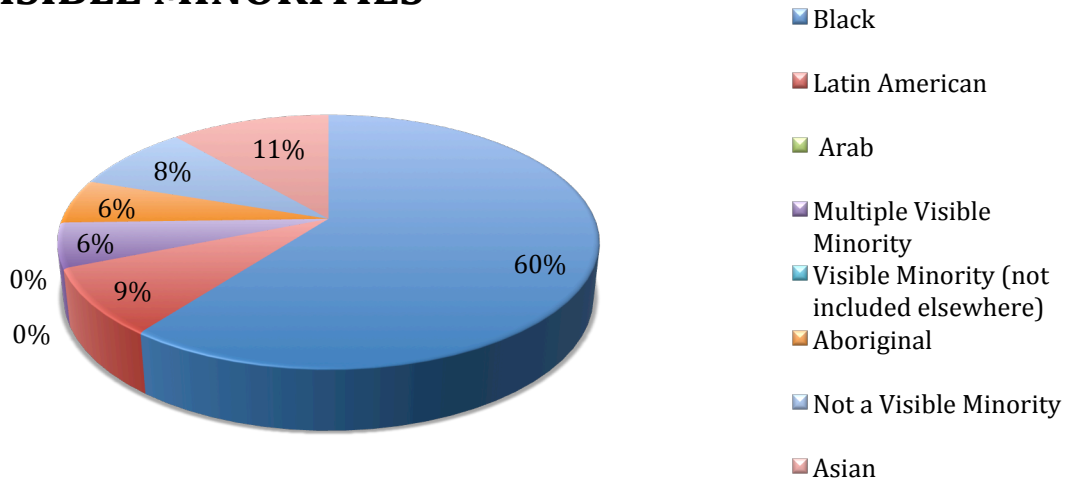
VISIBLE MINORITIES Canadian Based NGOs

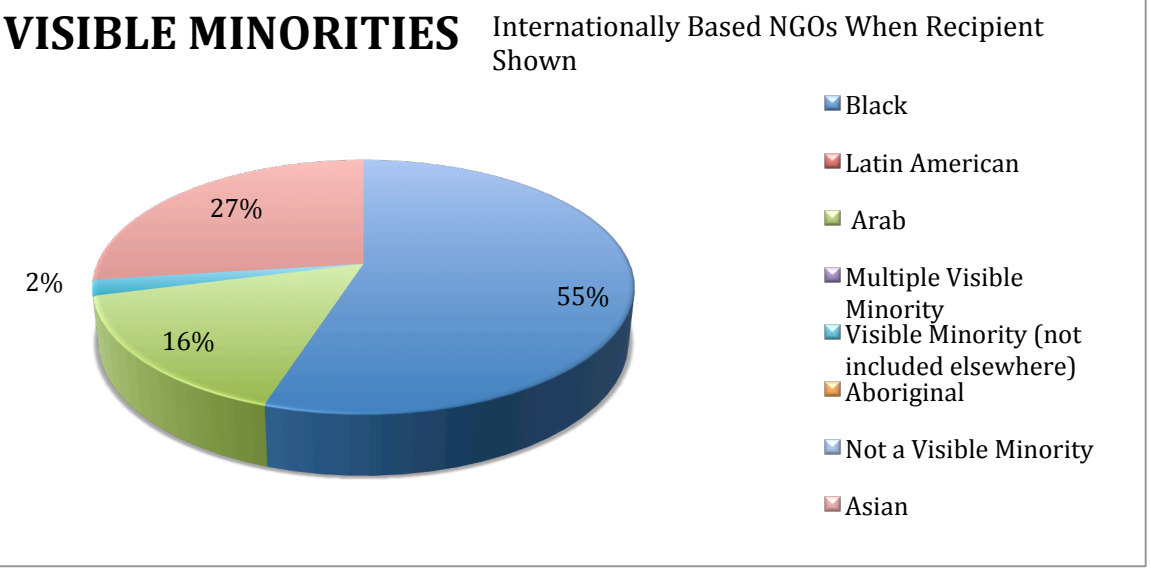
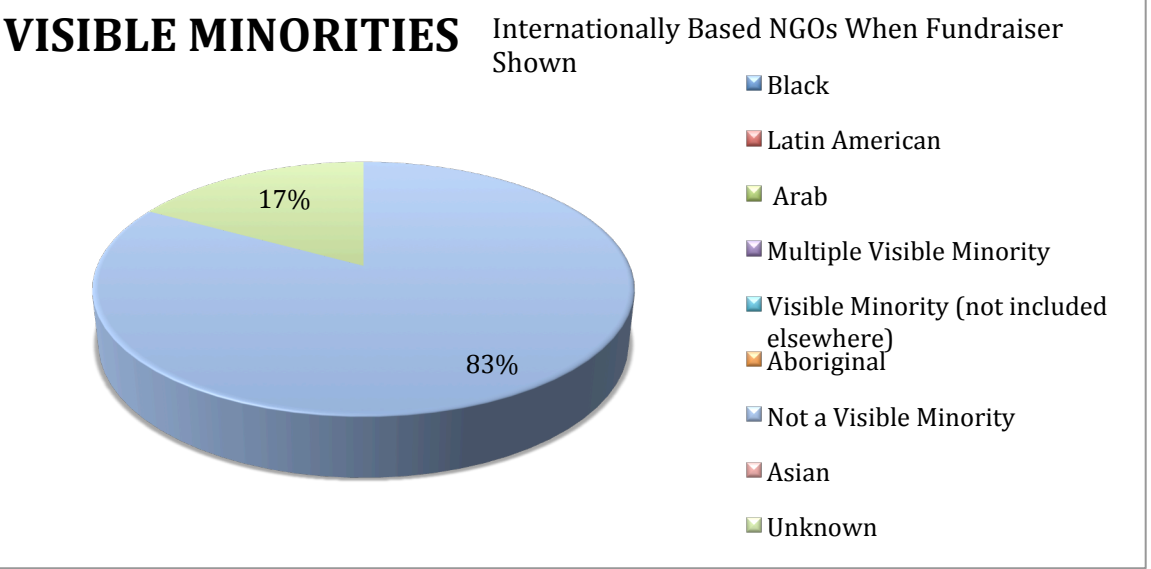
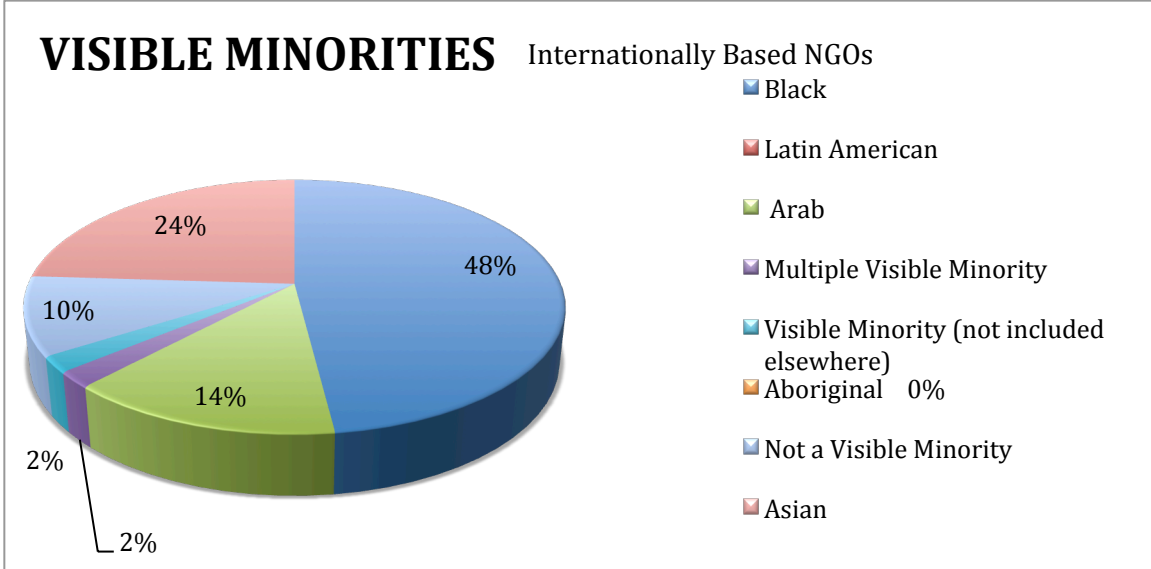


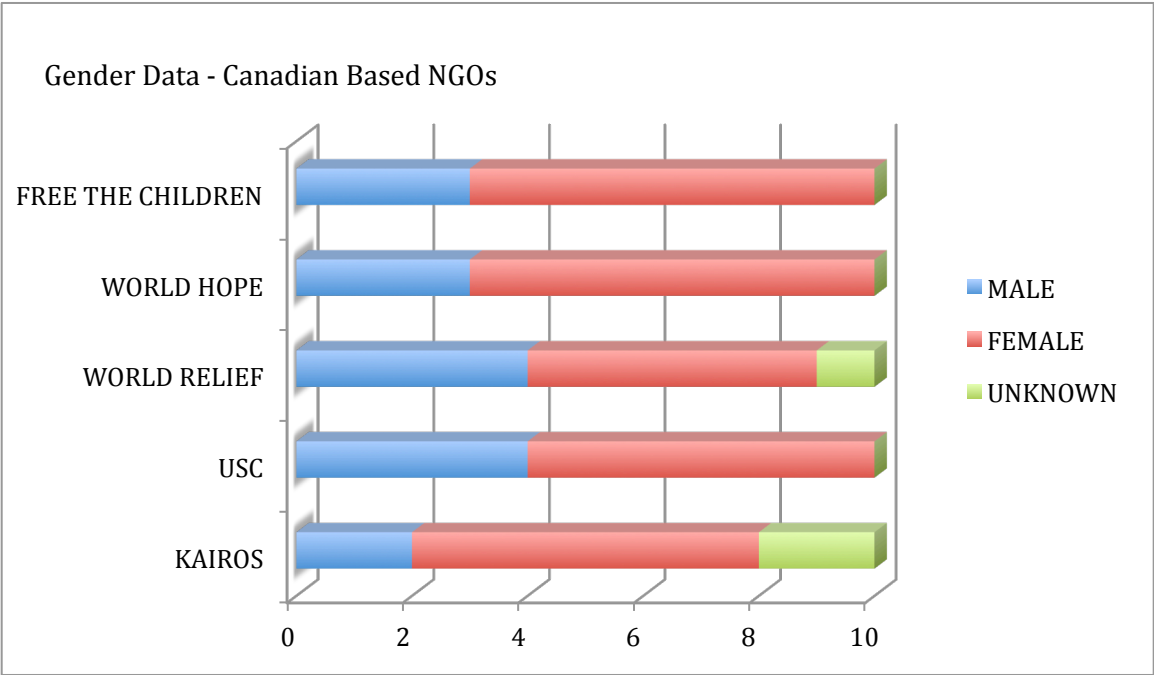
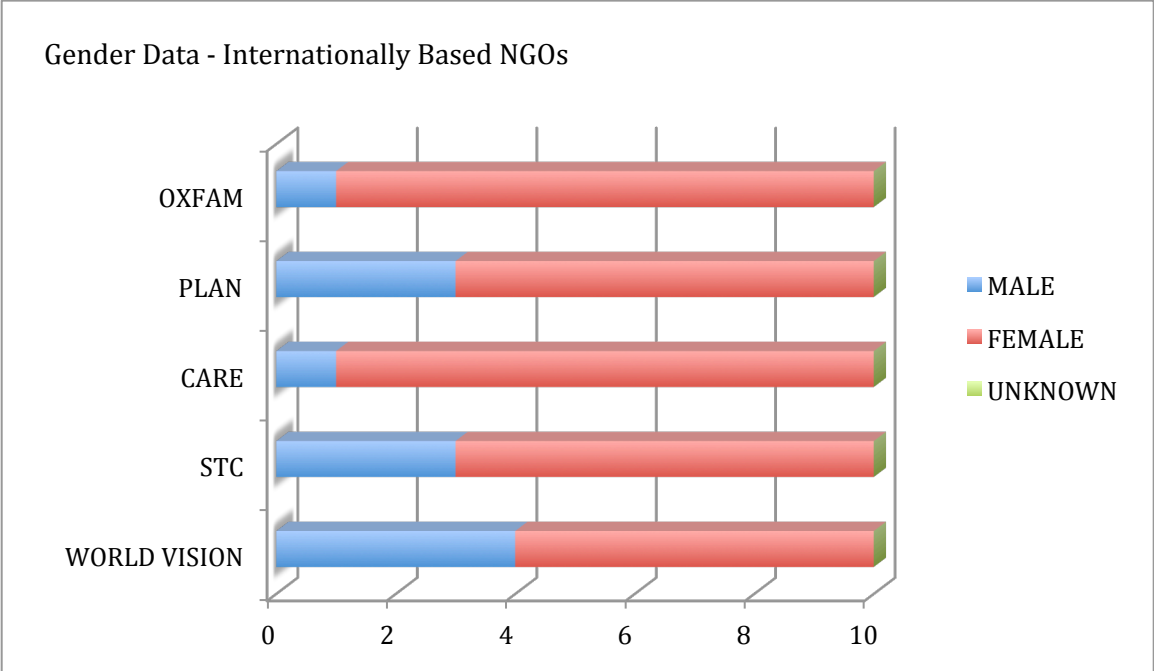
VISIBLE MINORITIES Canadian Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown

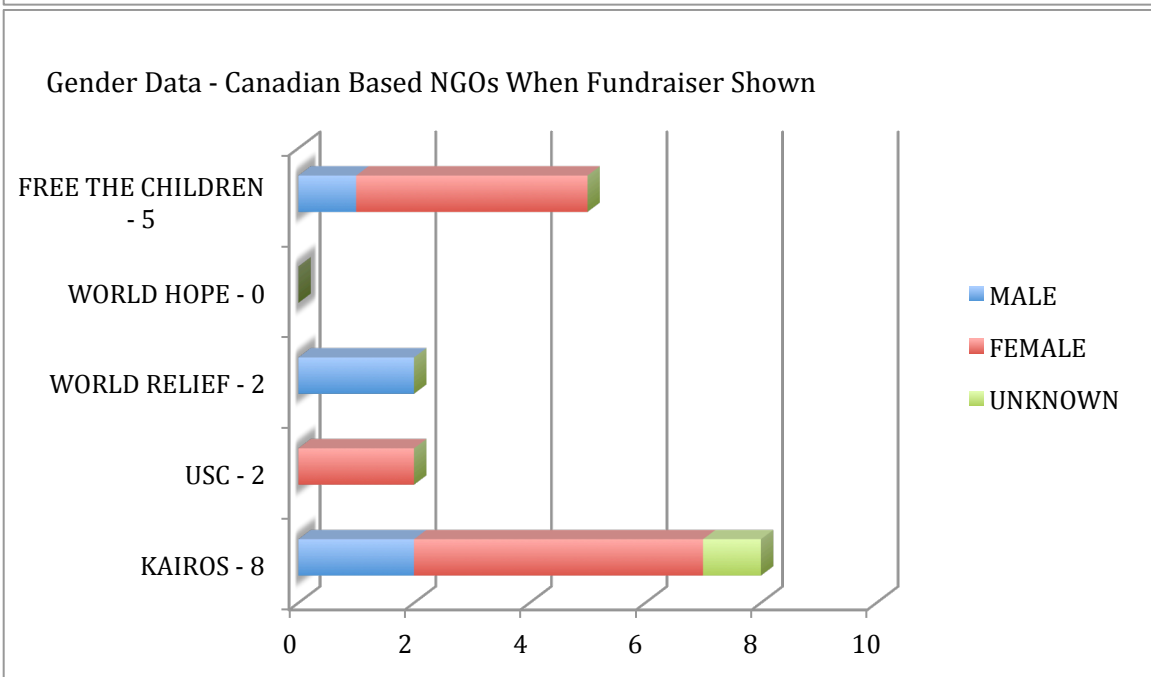
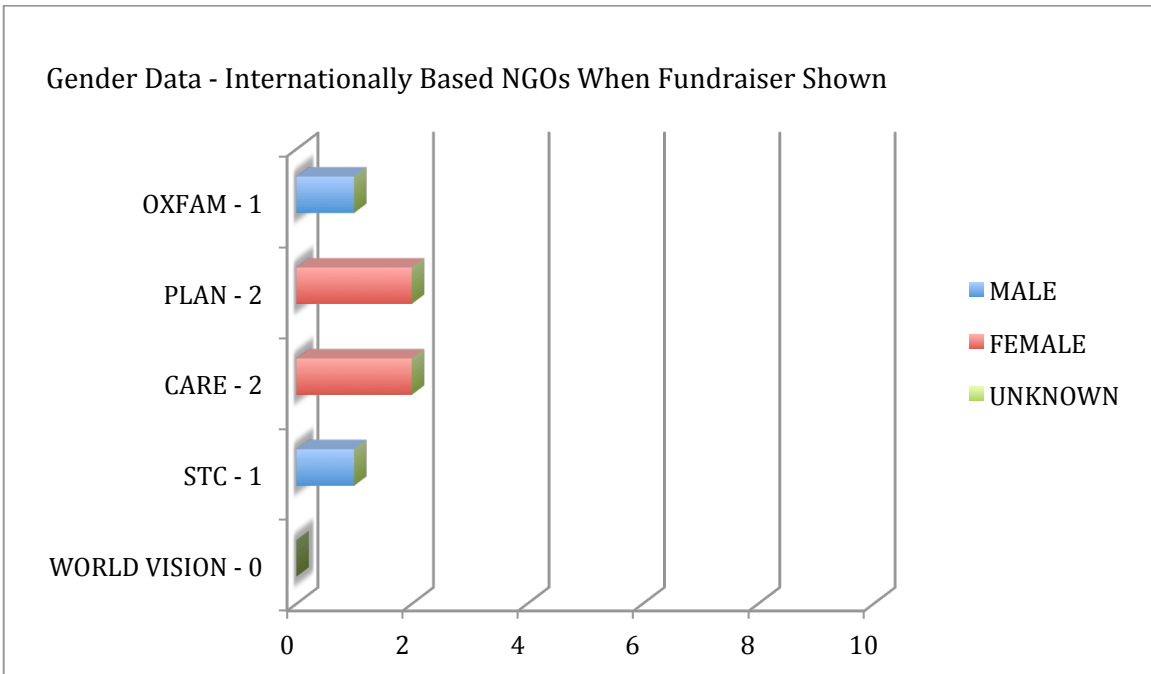


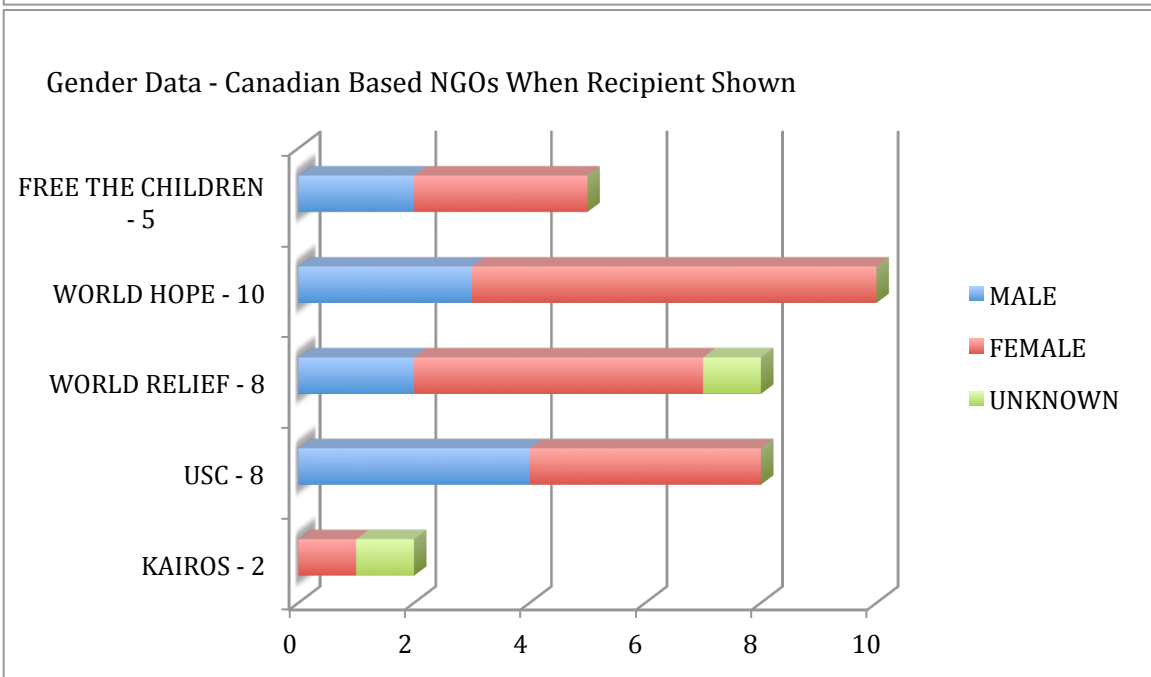
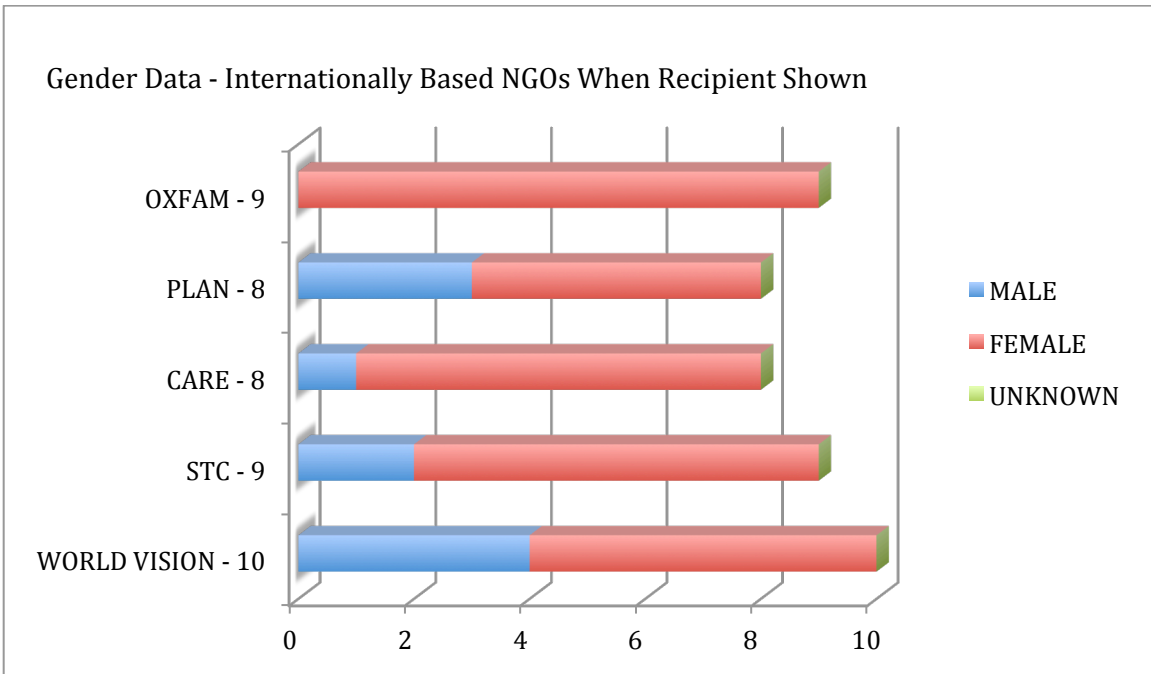
VISIBLE MINORITIES Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



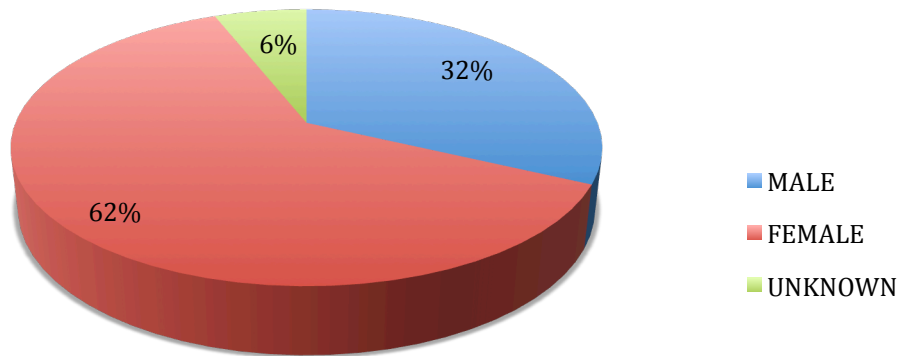






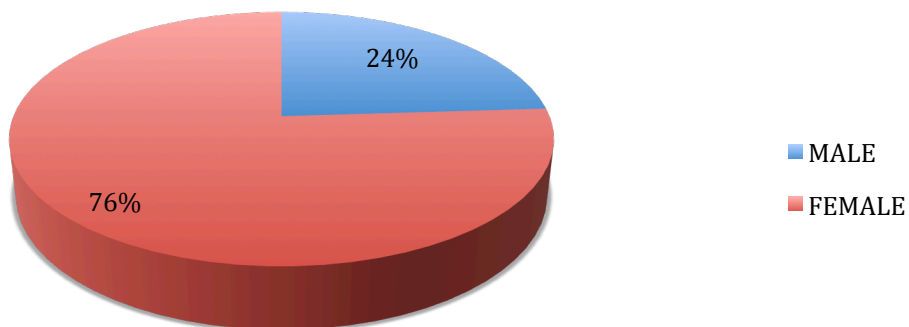


GENDER Canadian Based NGOs

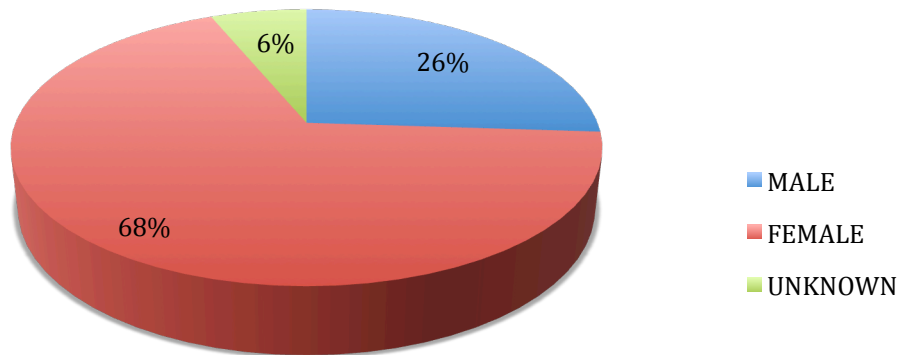


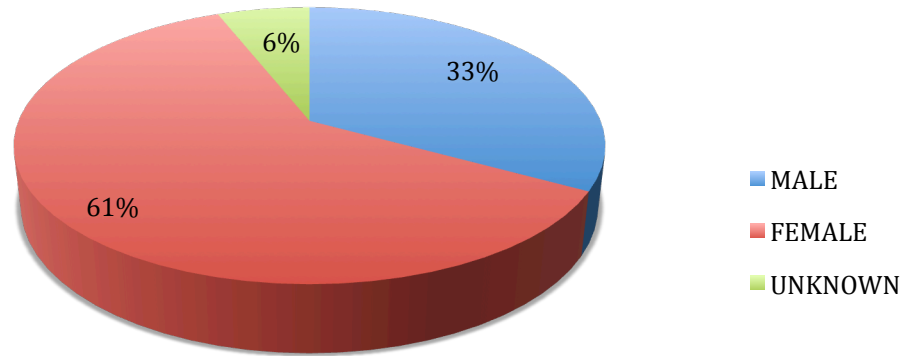
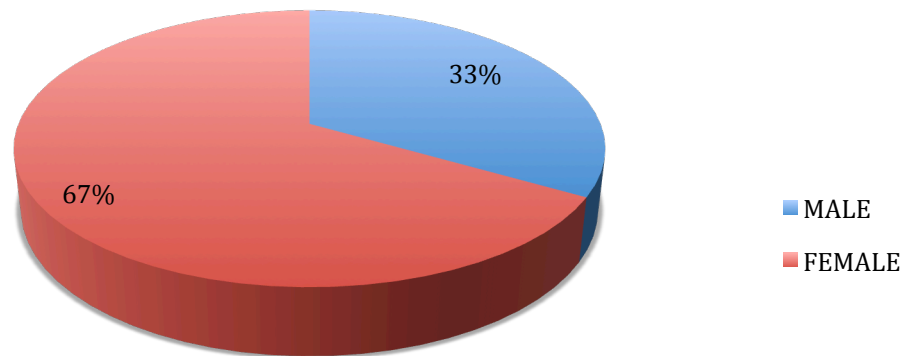
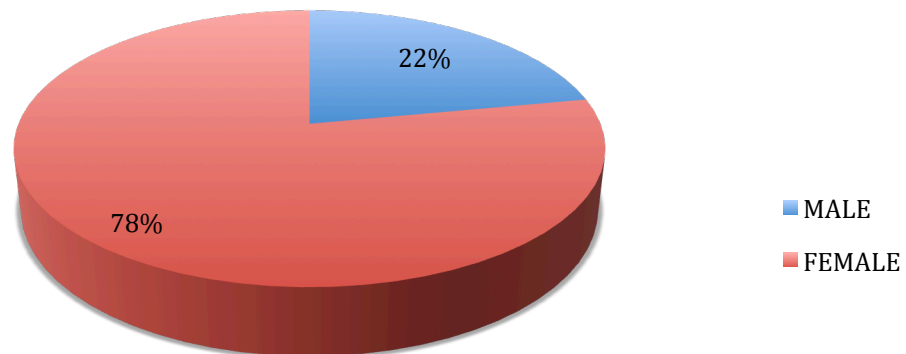
GENDER

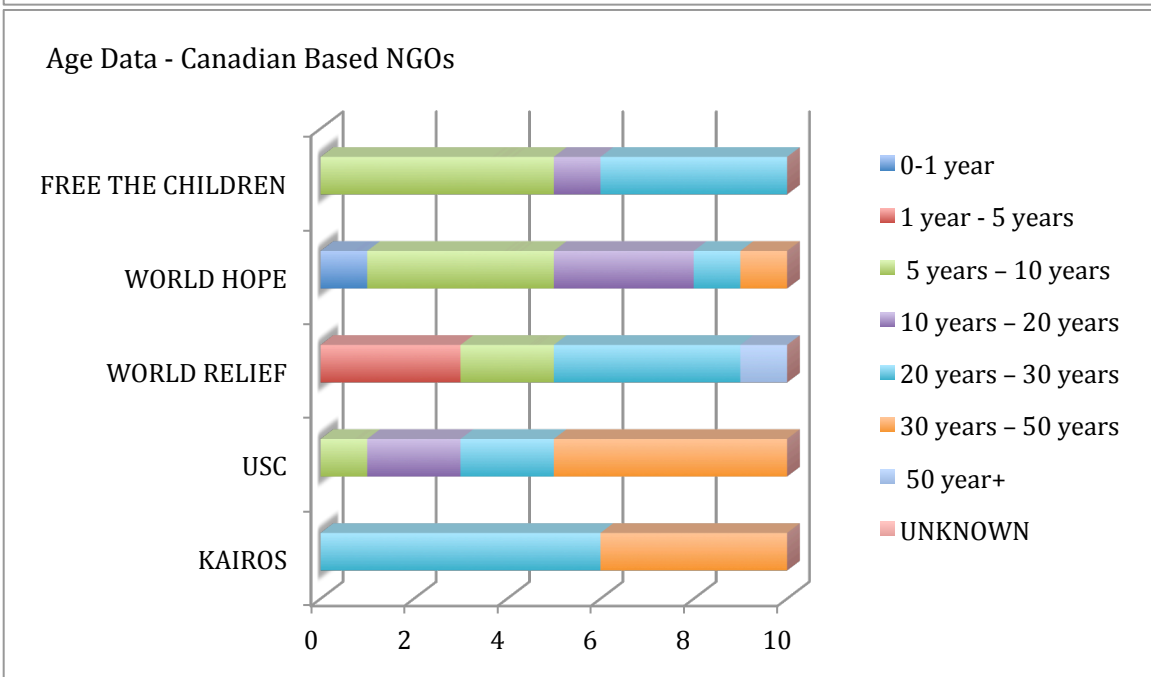
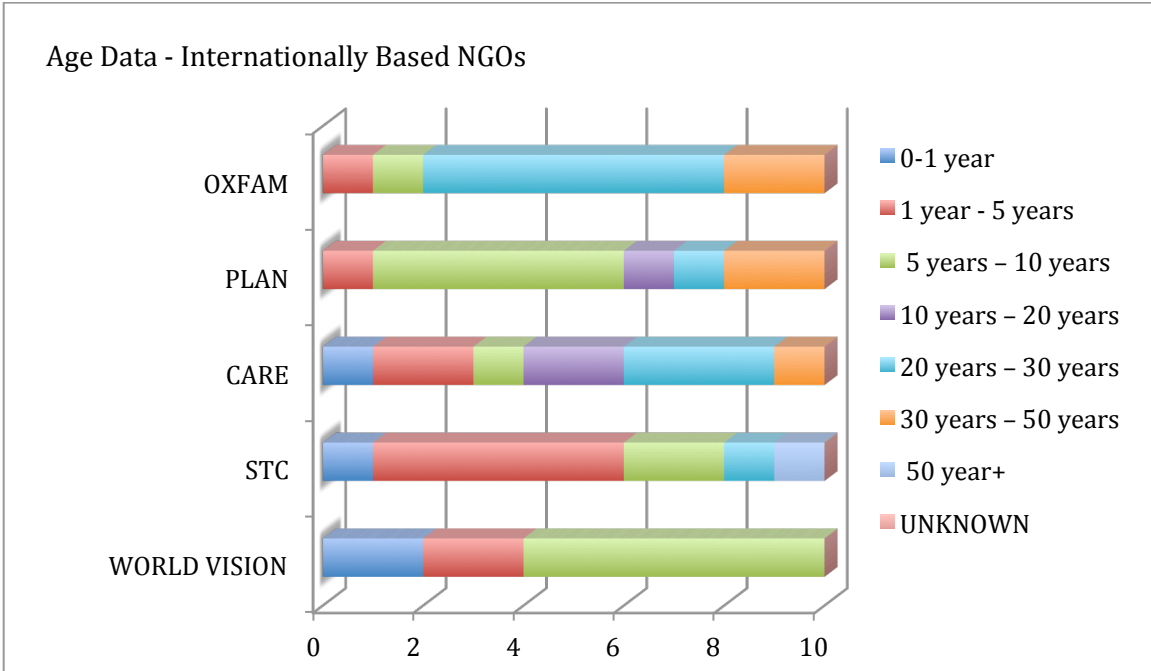
Internationally Based NGOs

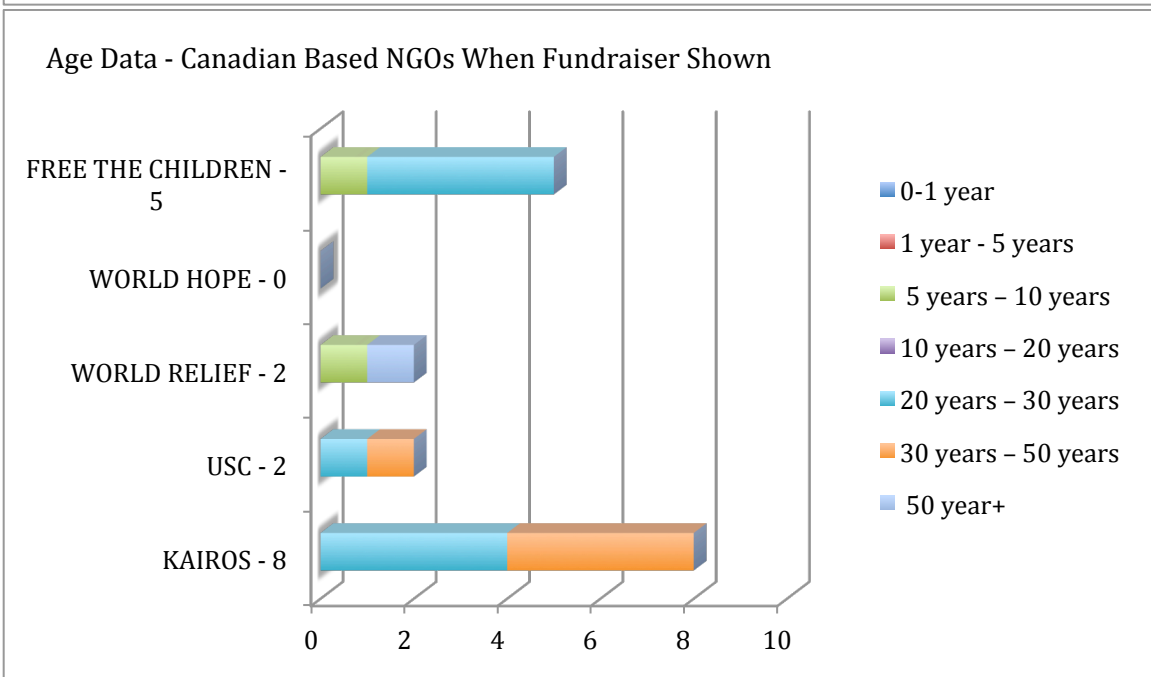
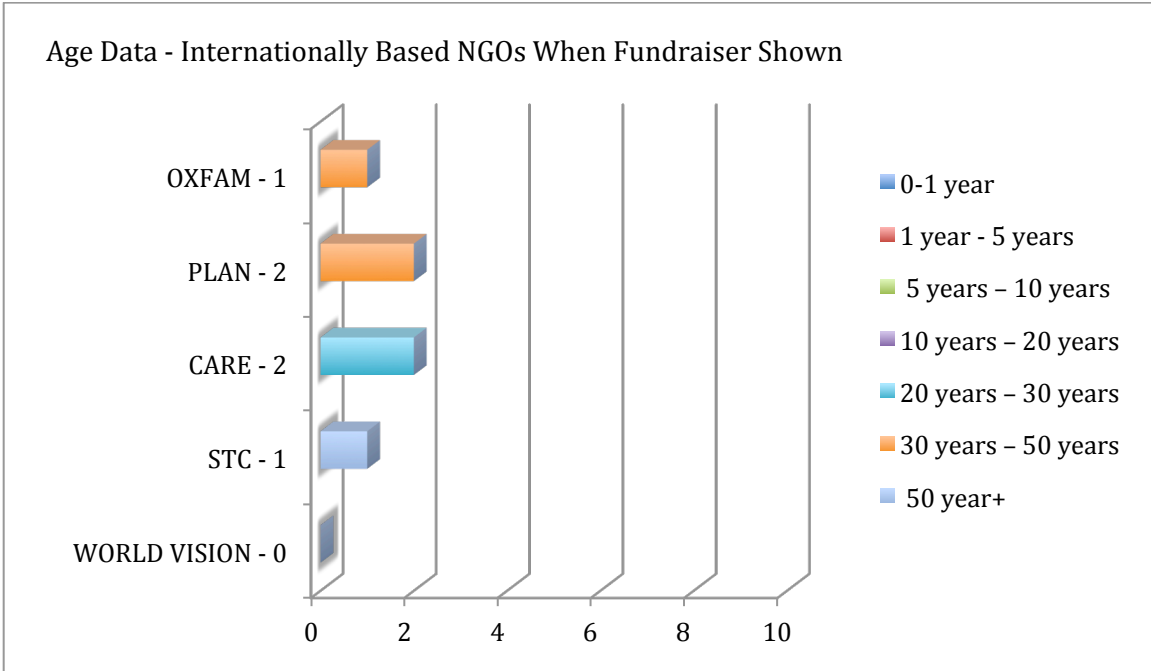


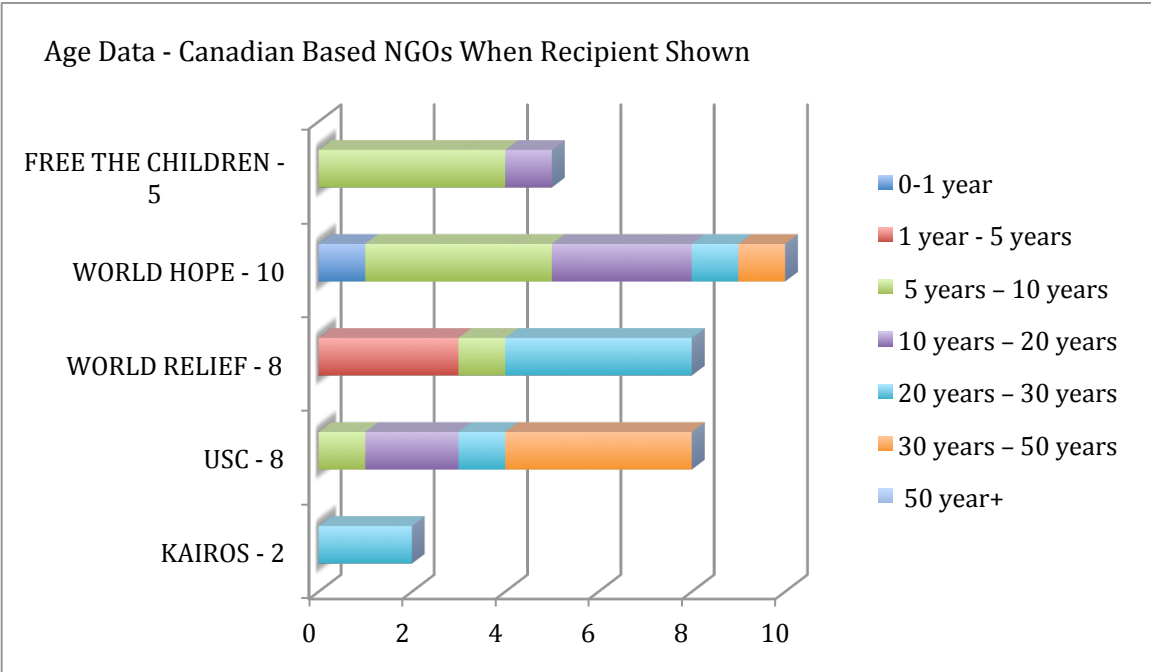
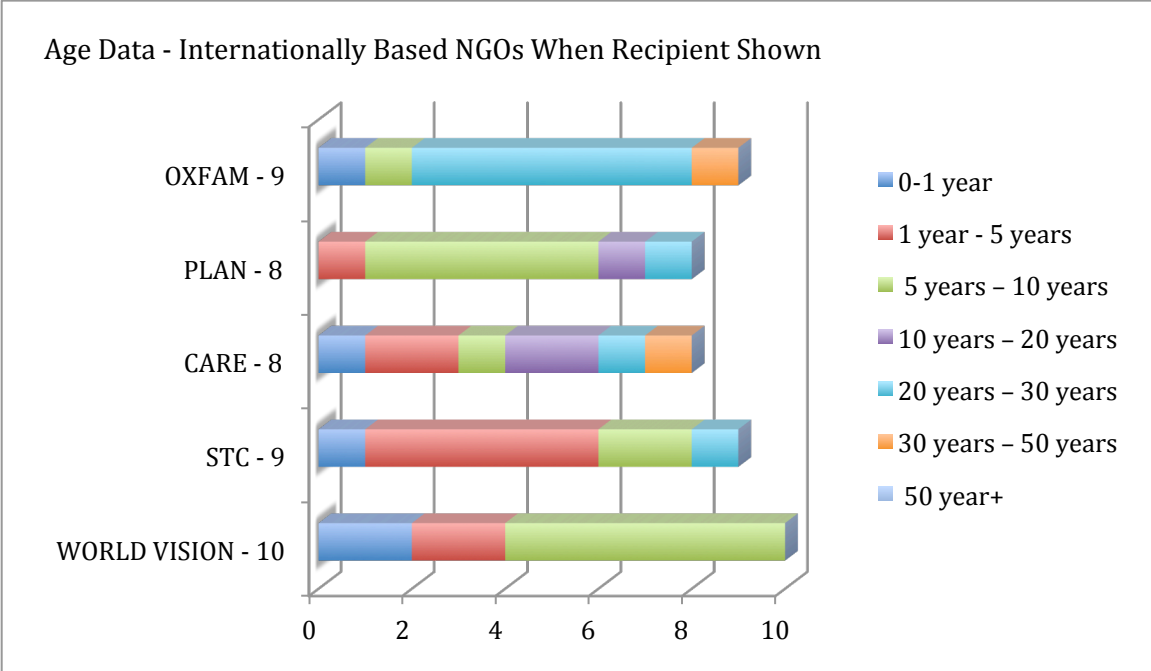
GENDER Canadian Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



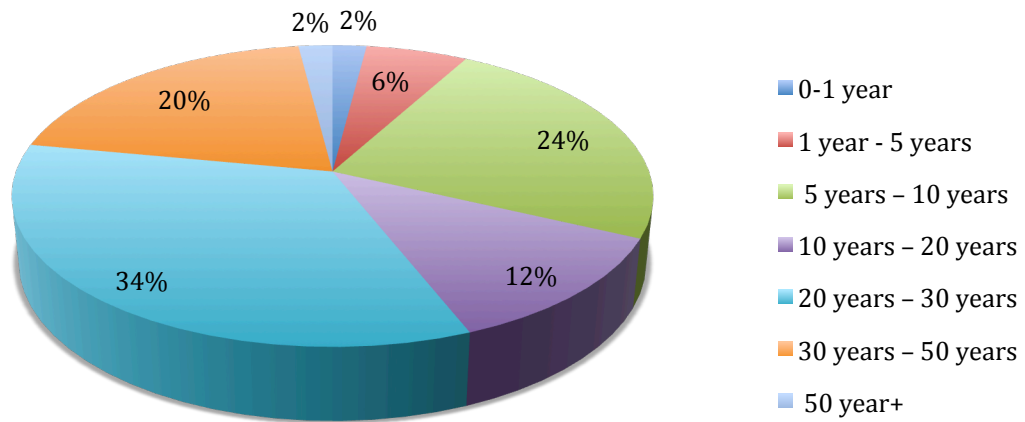
GENDER Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown**GENDER** Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown**GENDER** Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



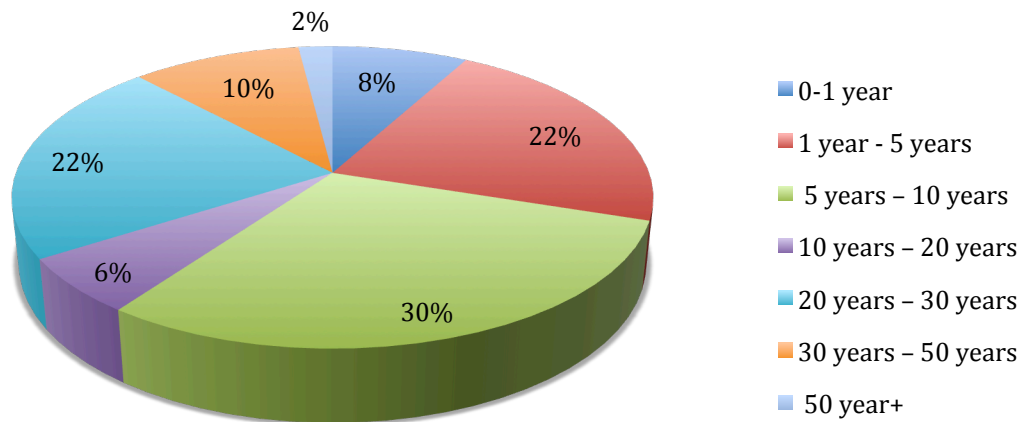




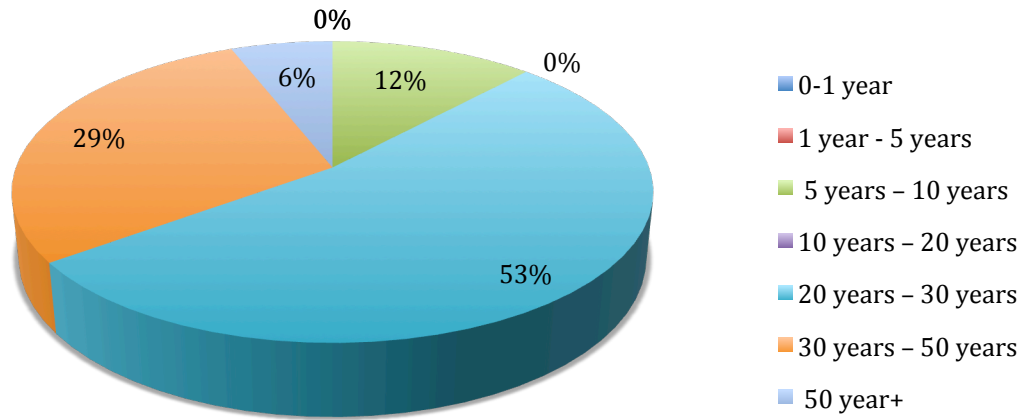
AGE Canadian Based NGOs



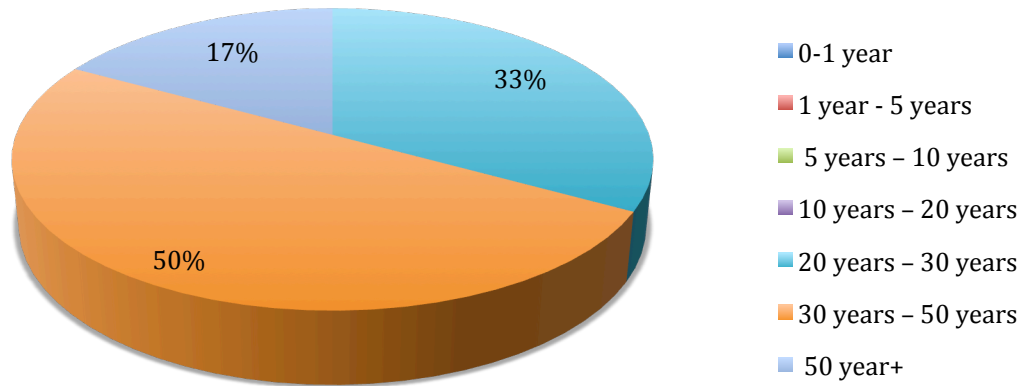
AGE Internationally Based NGOs



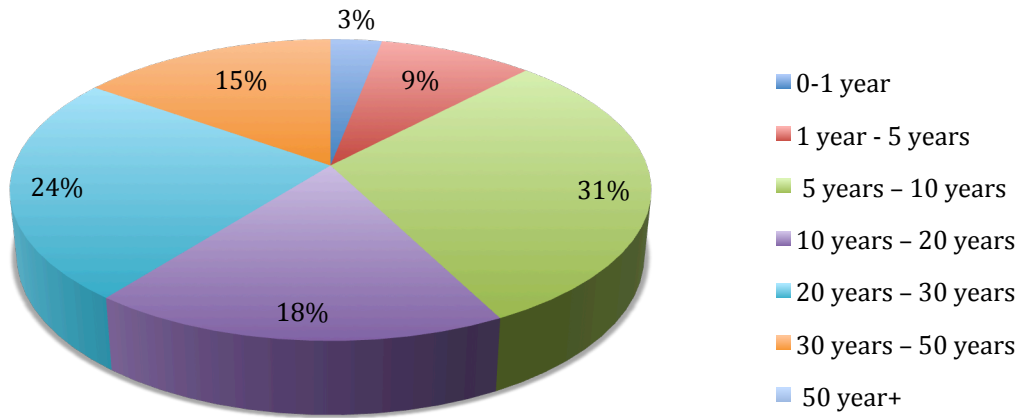
AGE Canadian Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



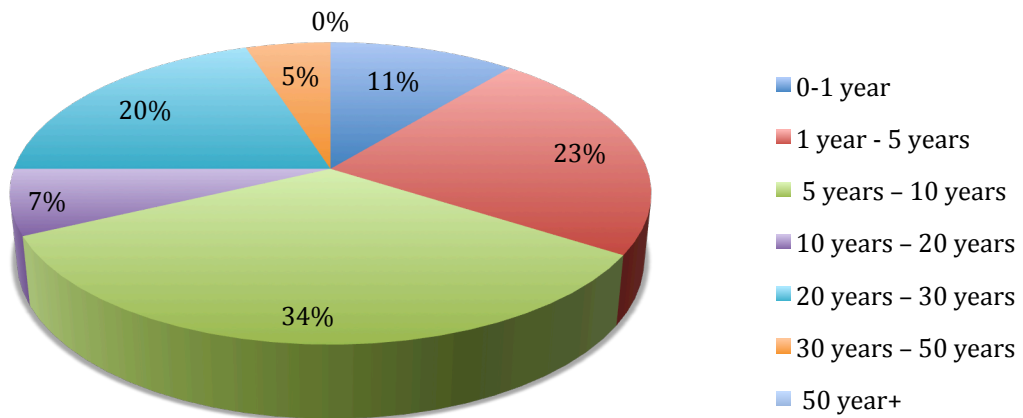
AGE Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown

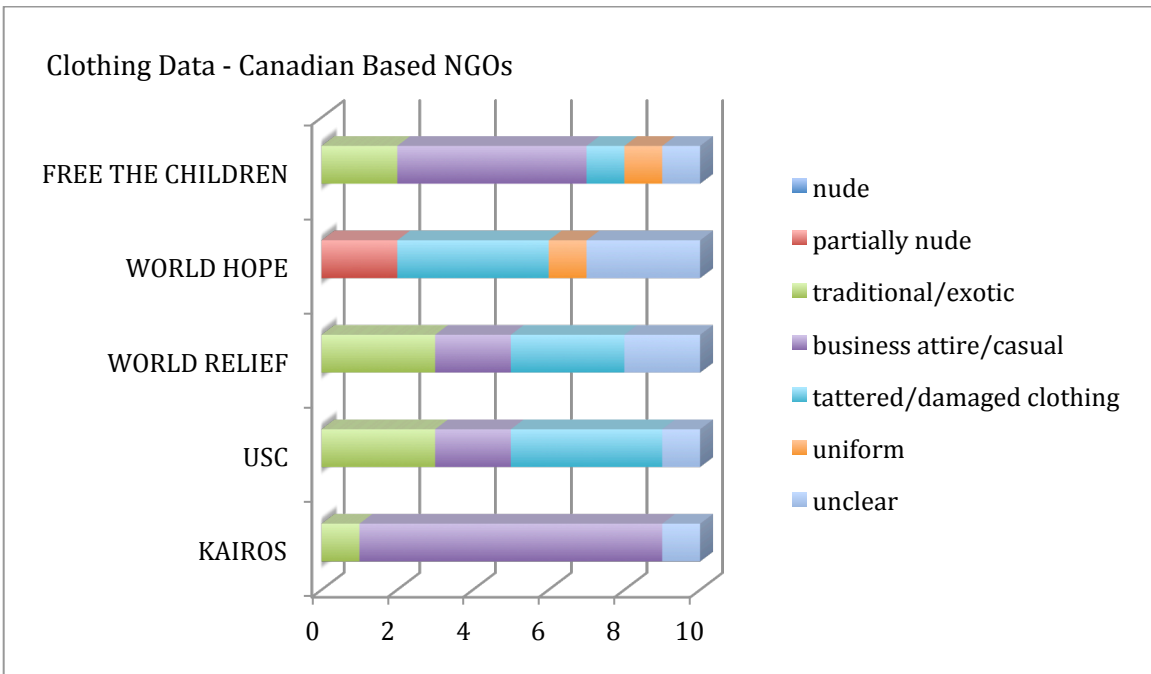
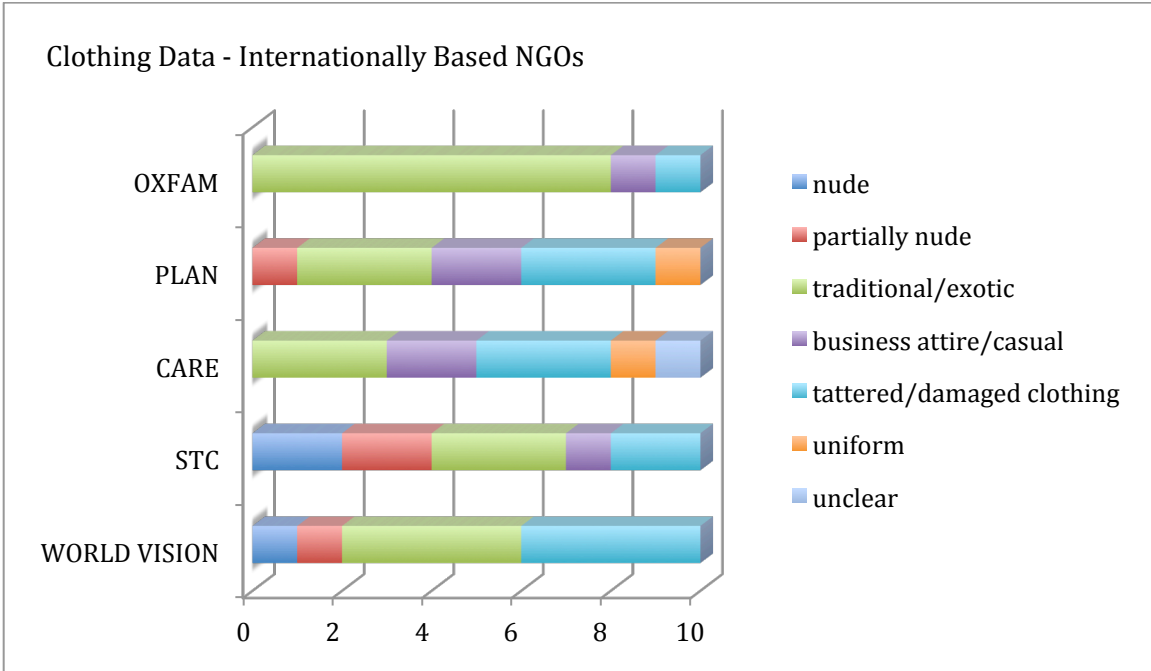


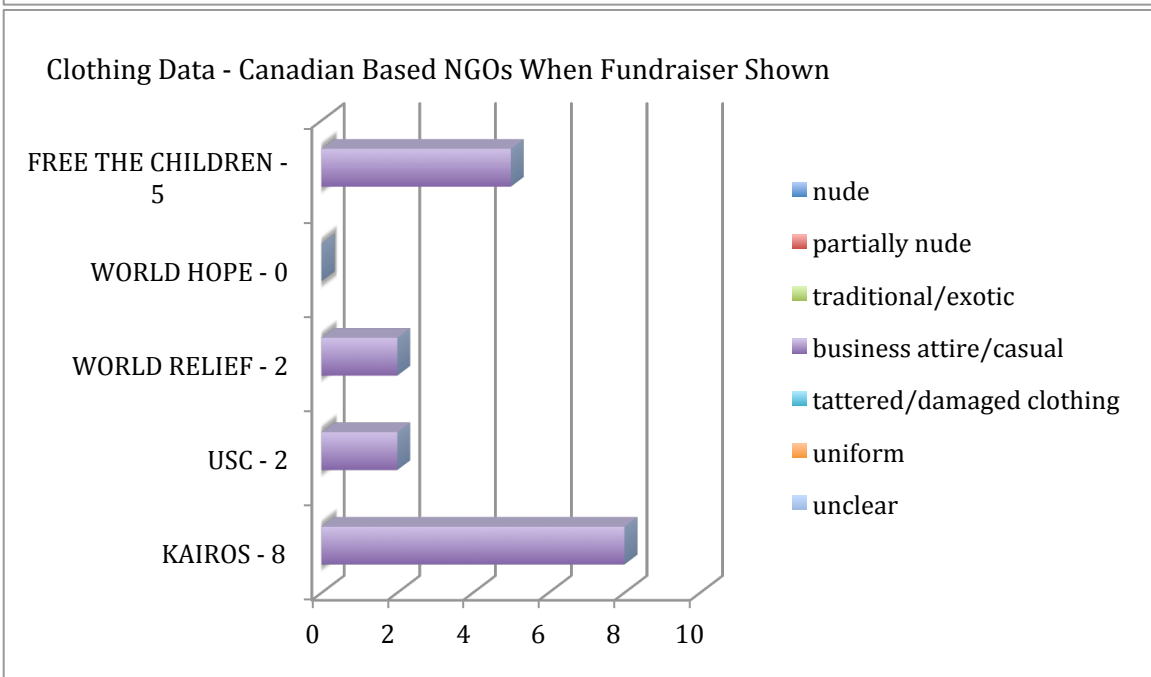
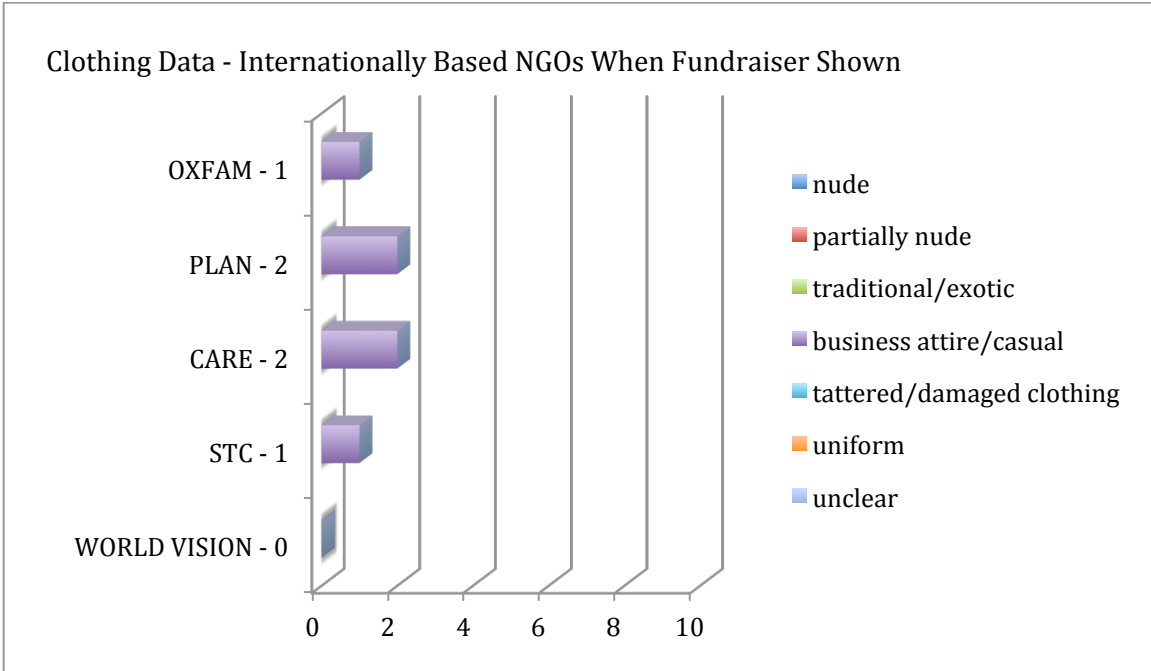
AGE Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown

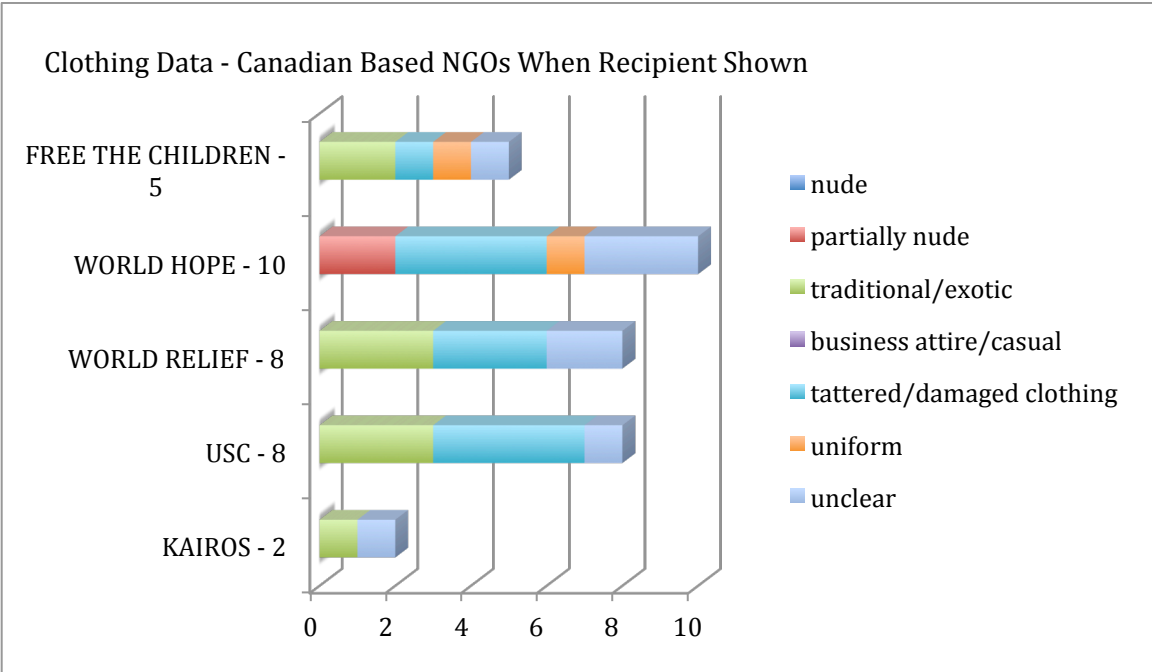
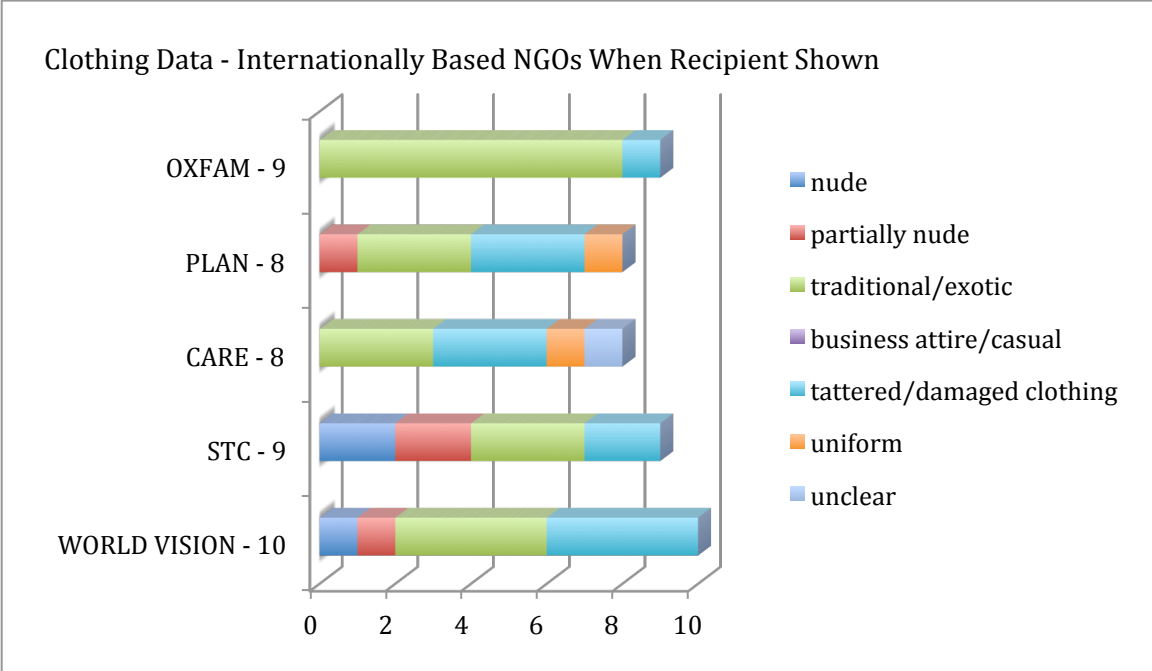


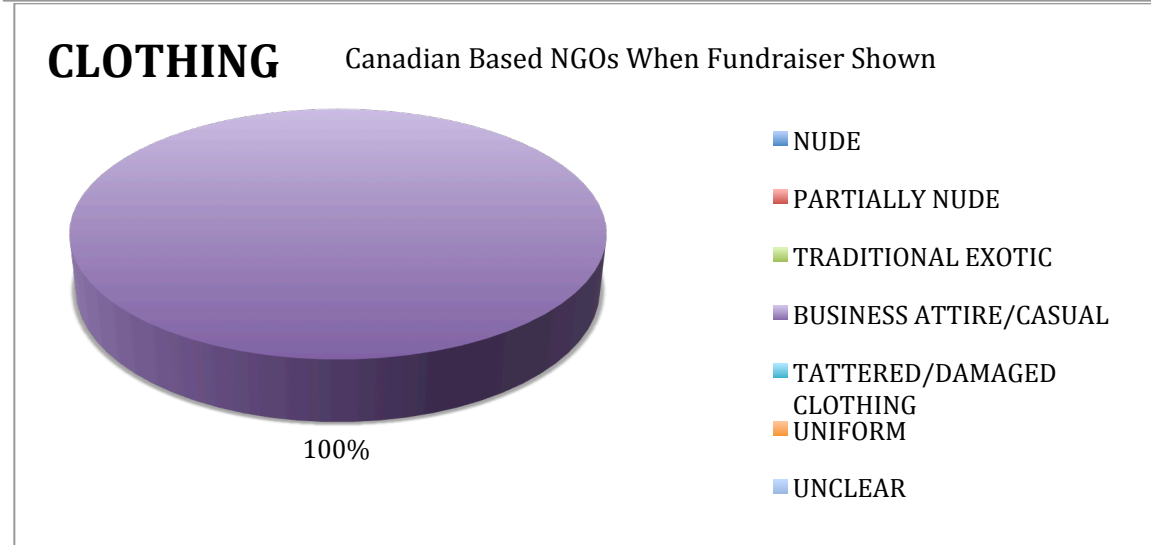
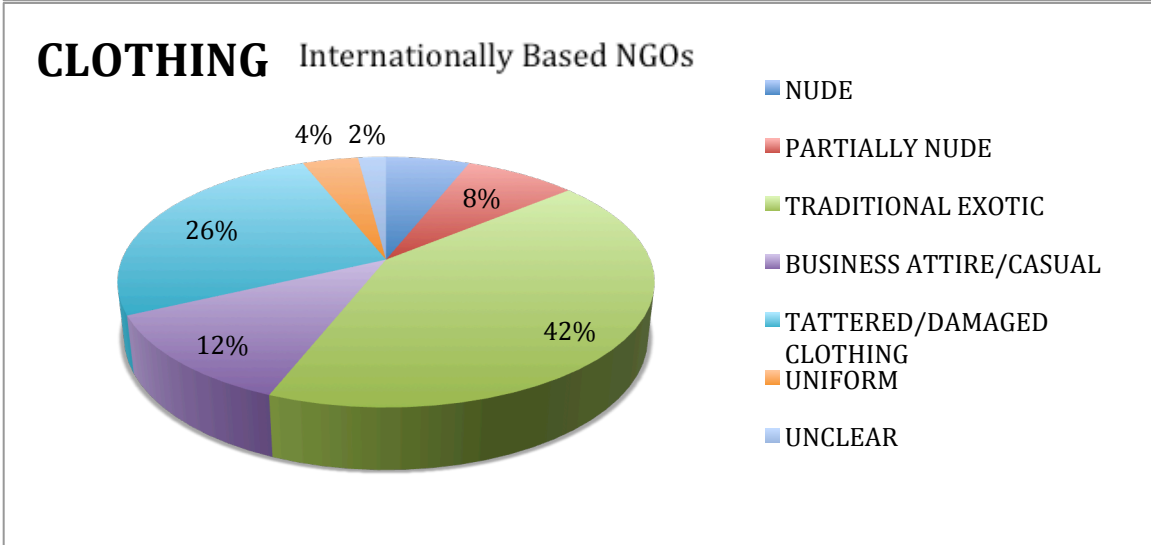
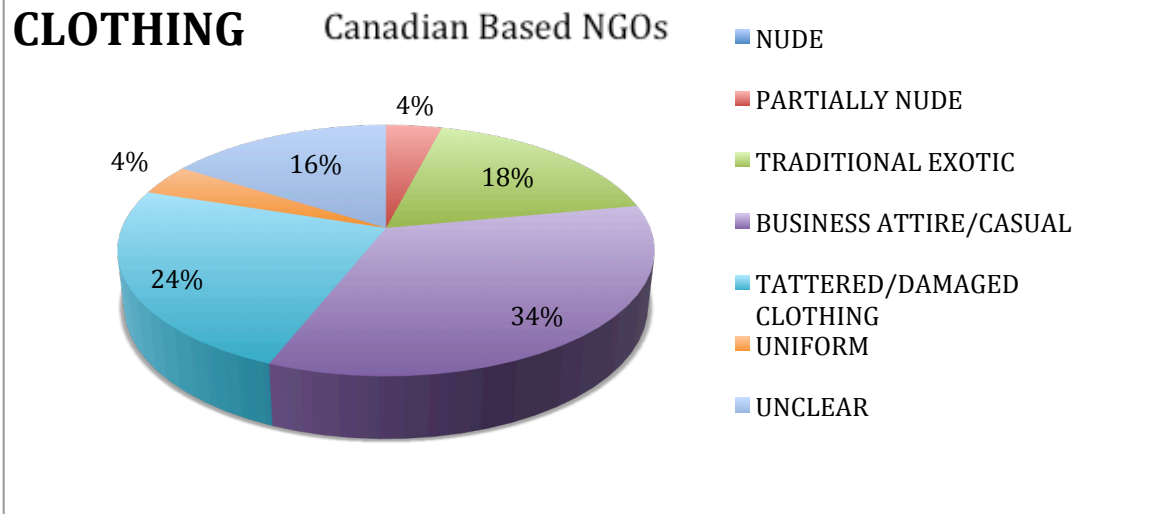
AGE Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient Shown

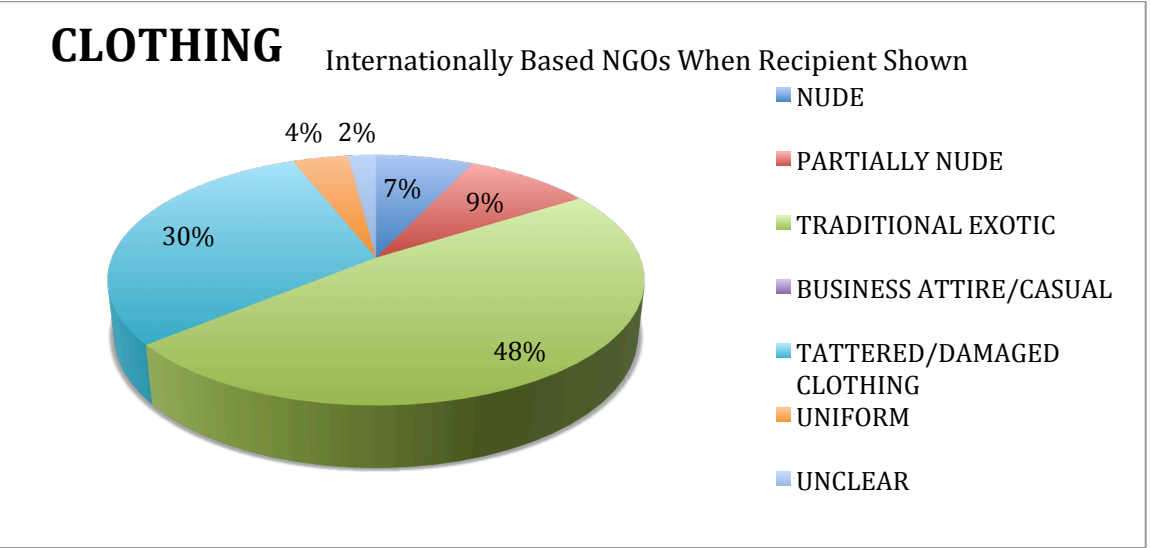
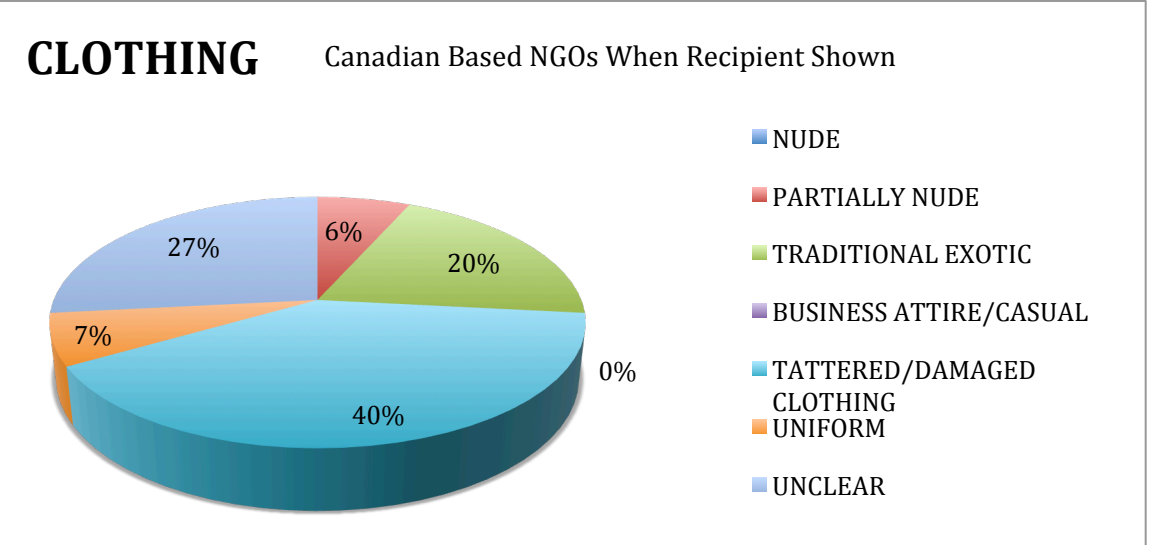
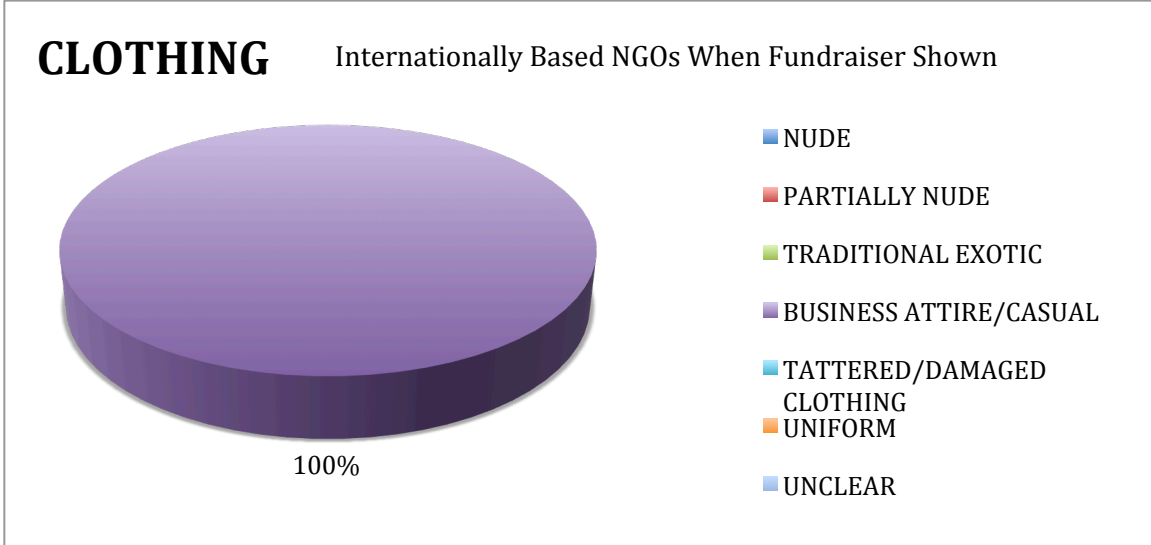




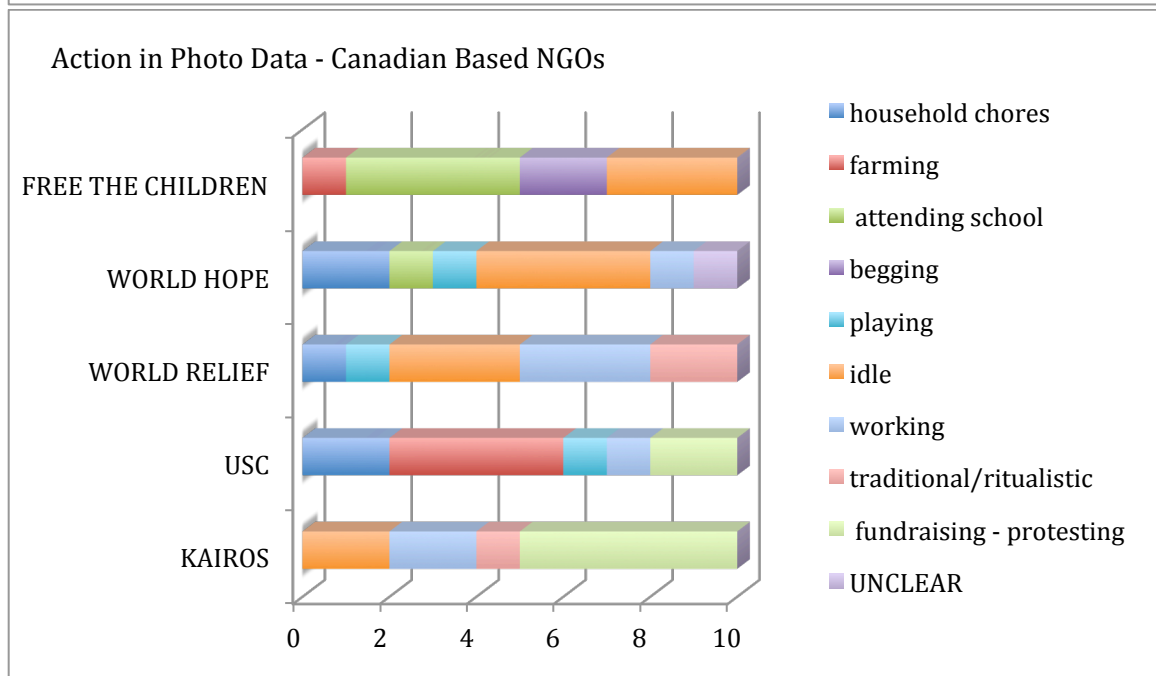
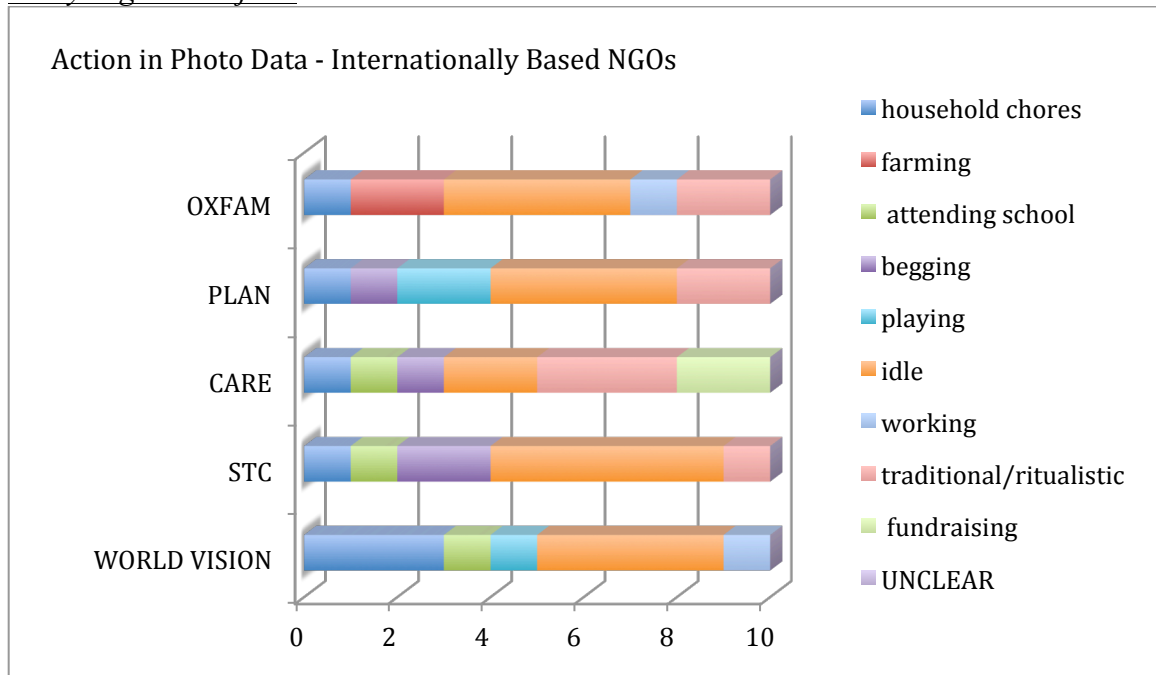


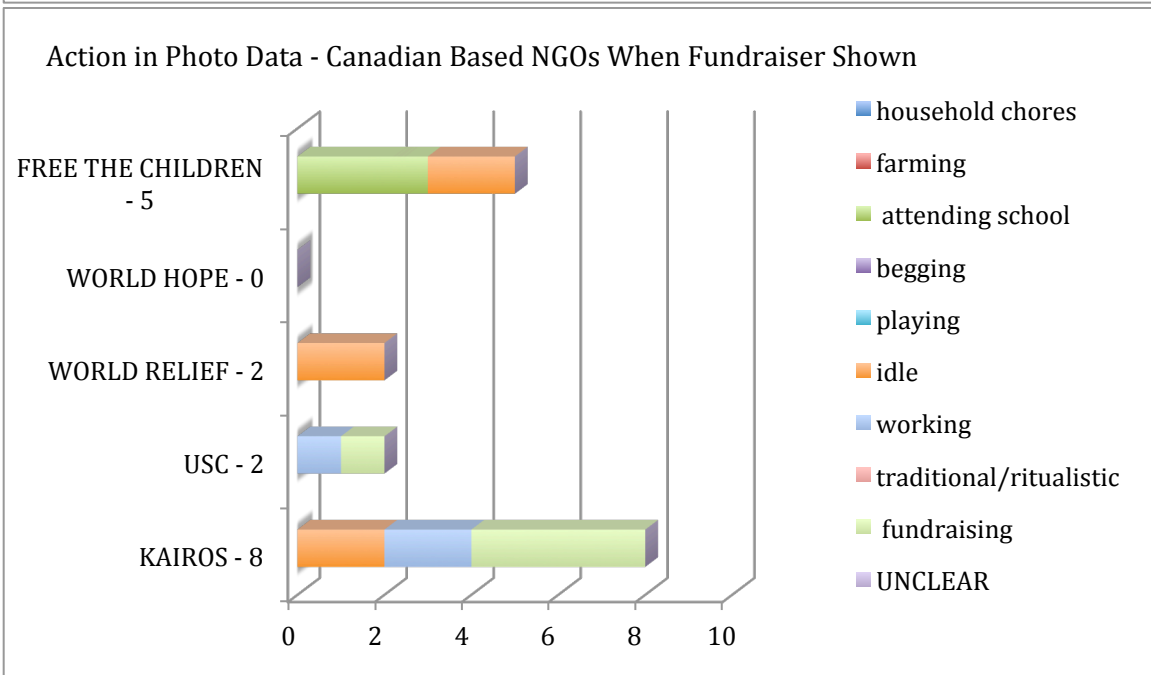
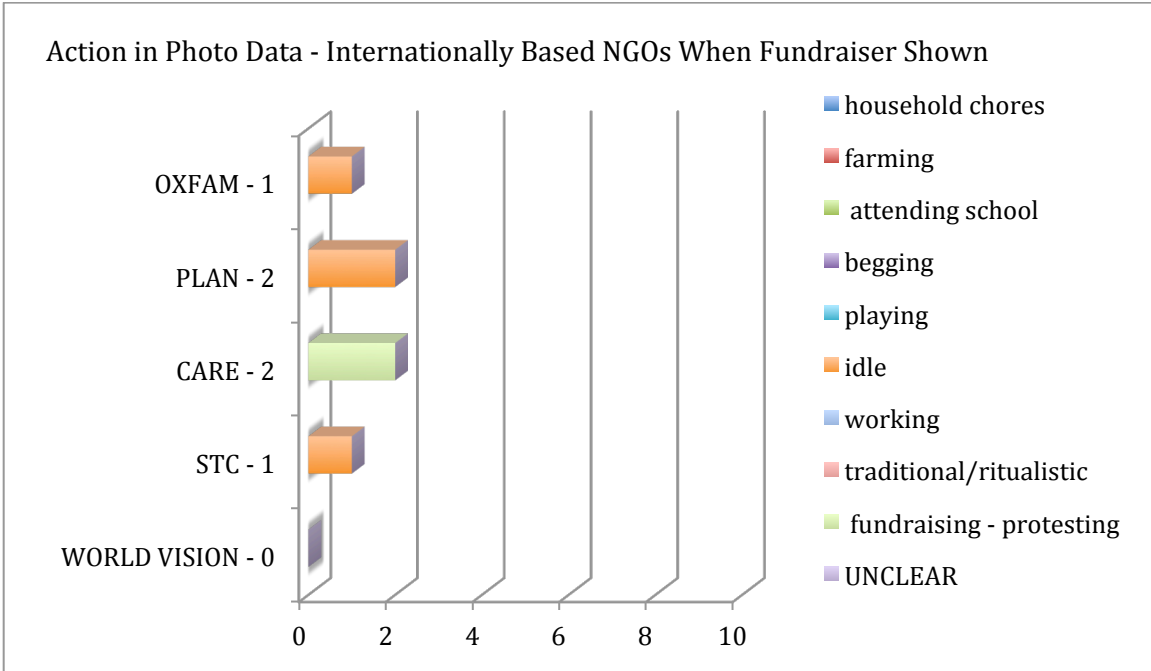


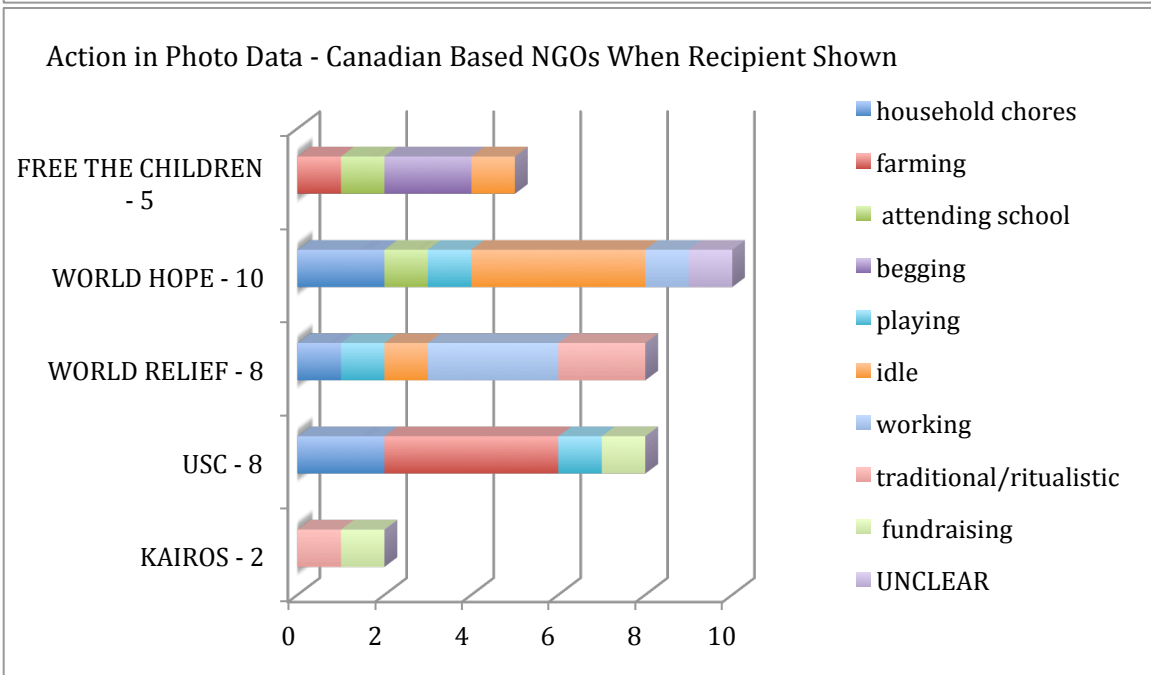
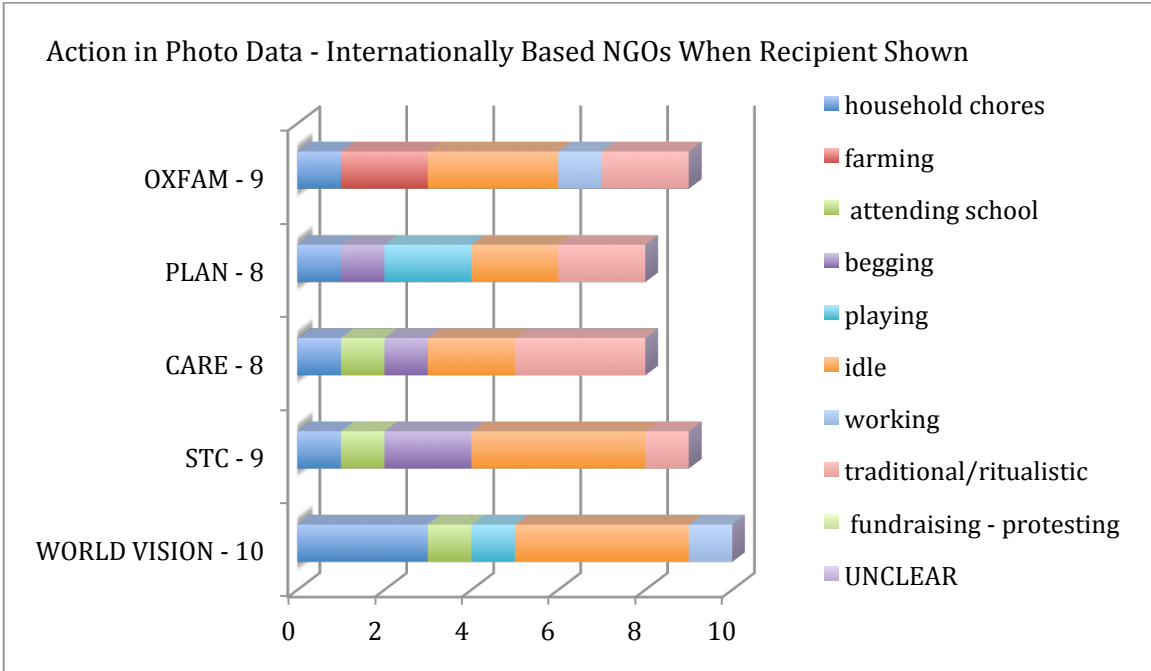




Analyzing the Subject:

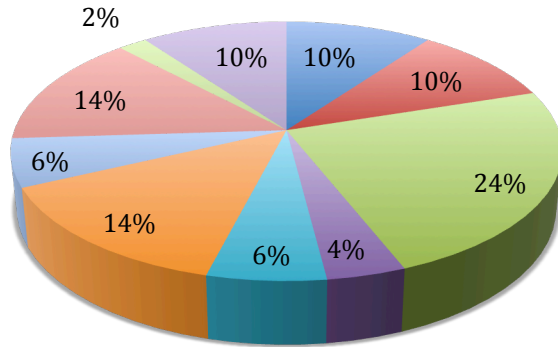






ACTION IN PHOTO

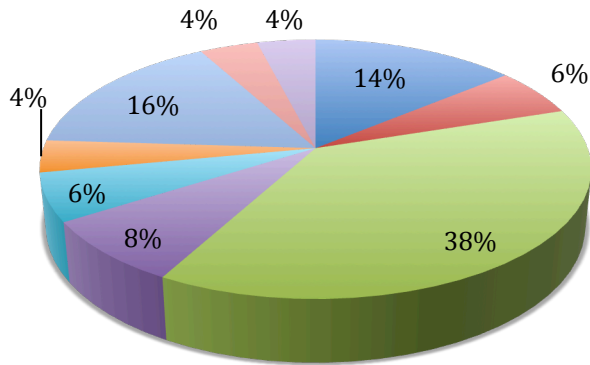
Canadian Based NGOs



- HOUSEHOLD CHORES
- ATTENDING SCHOOL
- IDLE
- BEGGING
- PLAYING
- WORKING
- TRADITIONAL/RITUALISTIC
- FUNDRAISING-PROTEST
- UNCLEAR
- FARMING

ACTION IN PHOTO

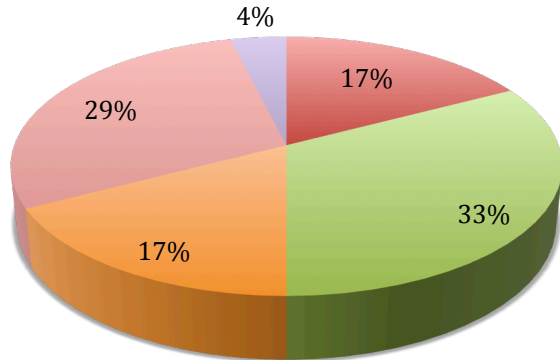
Internationally Based NGOs



- HOUSEHOLD CHORES
- ATTENDING SCHOOL
- IDLE
- BEGGING
- PLAYING
- WORKING
- TRADITIONAL/RITUALISTIC
- FUNDRAISING-PROTEST
- UNCLEAR 0%
- FARMING

ACTION IN PHOTO

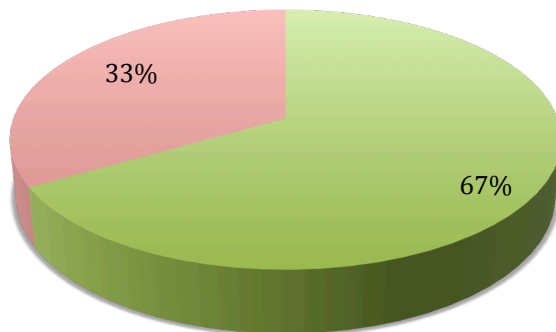
Canadian Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



- HOUSEHOLD CHORES
- ATTENDING SCHOOL
- IDLE
- BEGGING
- PLAYING
- WORKING
- TRADITIONAL/RITUALISTIC
- FUNDRAISING-PROTEST
- UNCLEAR
- FARMING

ACTION IN PHOTO

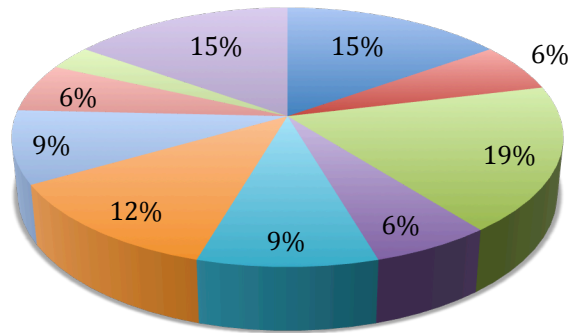
Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



- HOUSEHOLD CHORES
- ATTENDING SCHOOL
- IDLE
- BEGGING
- PLAYING
- WORKING
- TRADITIONAL/RITUALISTIC
- FUNDRAISING-PROTEST
- UNCLEAR

ACTION IN PHOTO

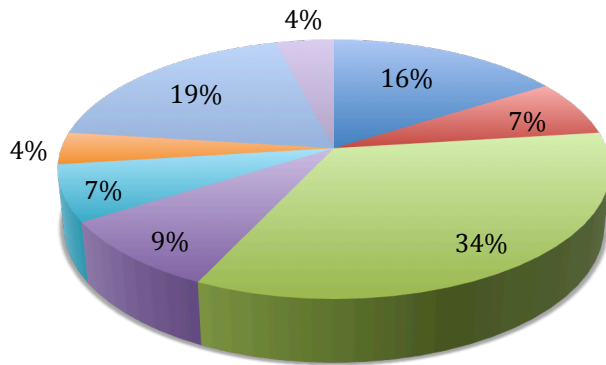
Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



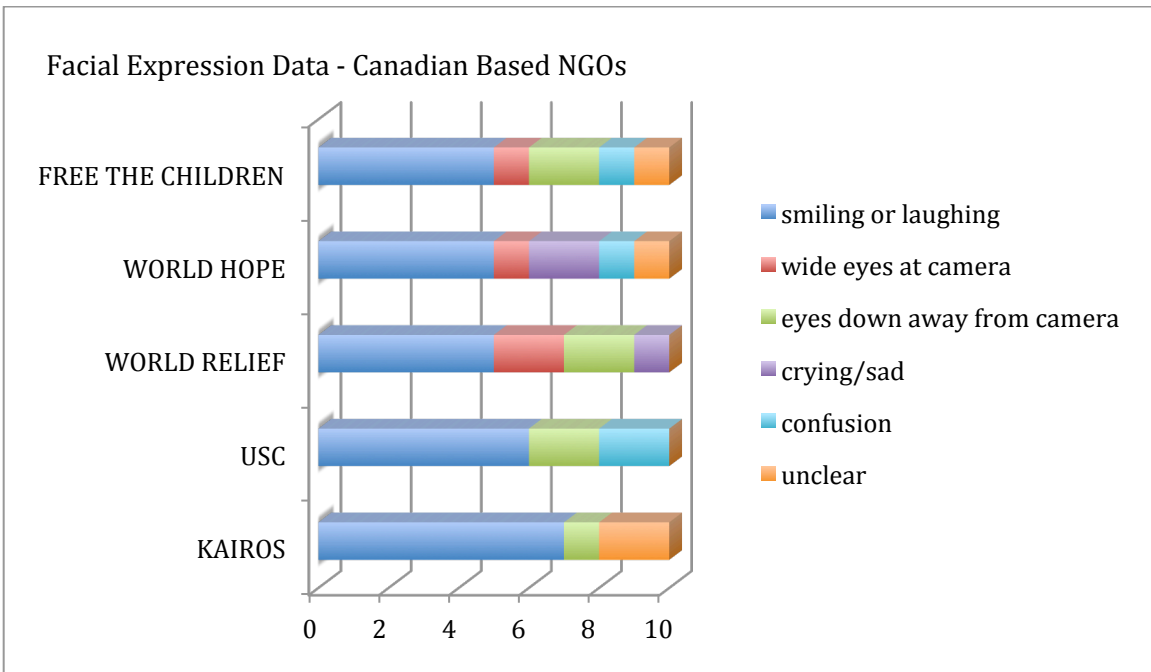
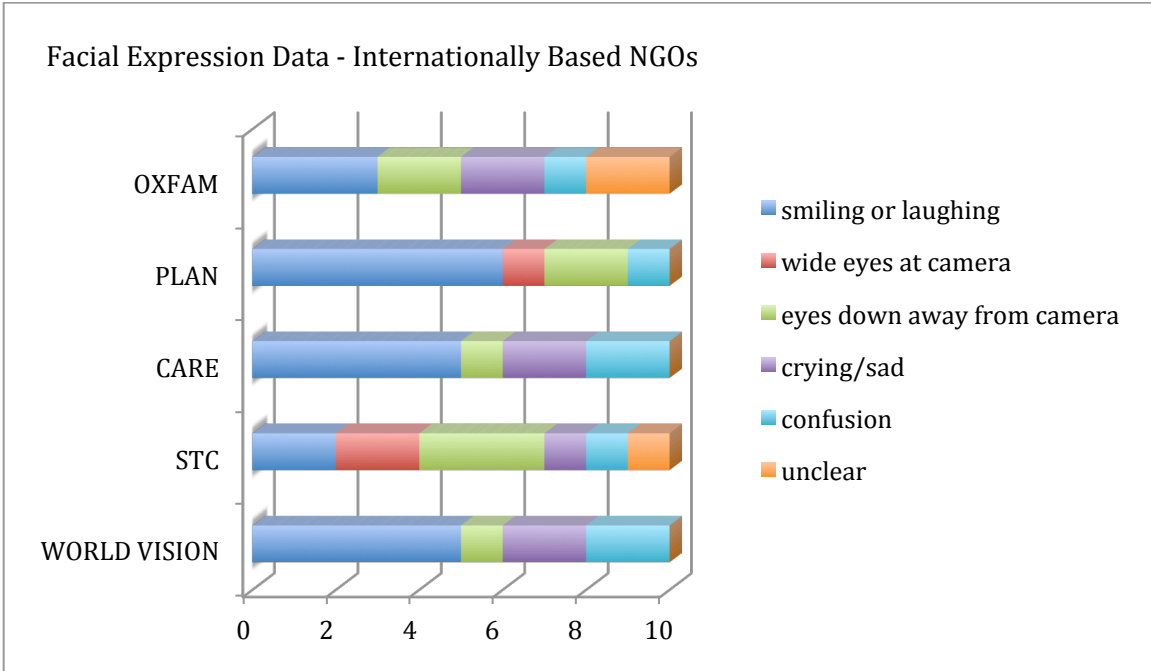
- HOUSEHOLD CHORES
- ATTENDING SCHOOL
- IDLE
- BEGGING
- PLAYING
- WORKING
- TRADITIONAL/RITUALISTIC
- FUNDRAISING-PROTEST
- UNCLEAR
- FARMING

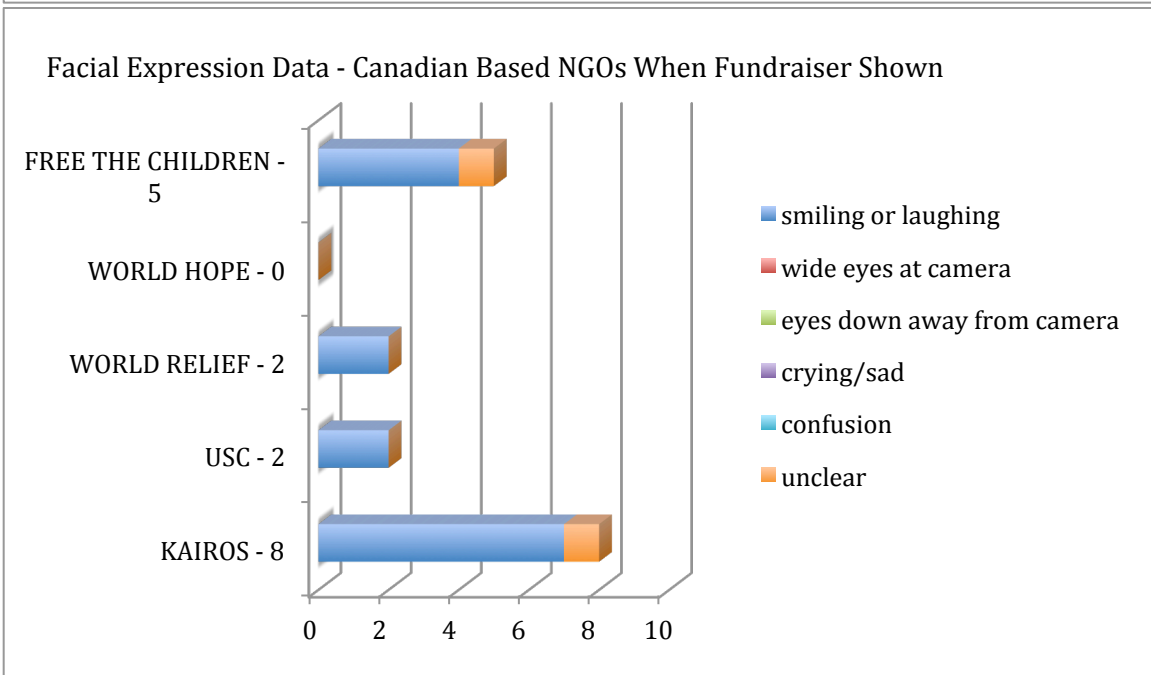
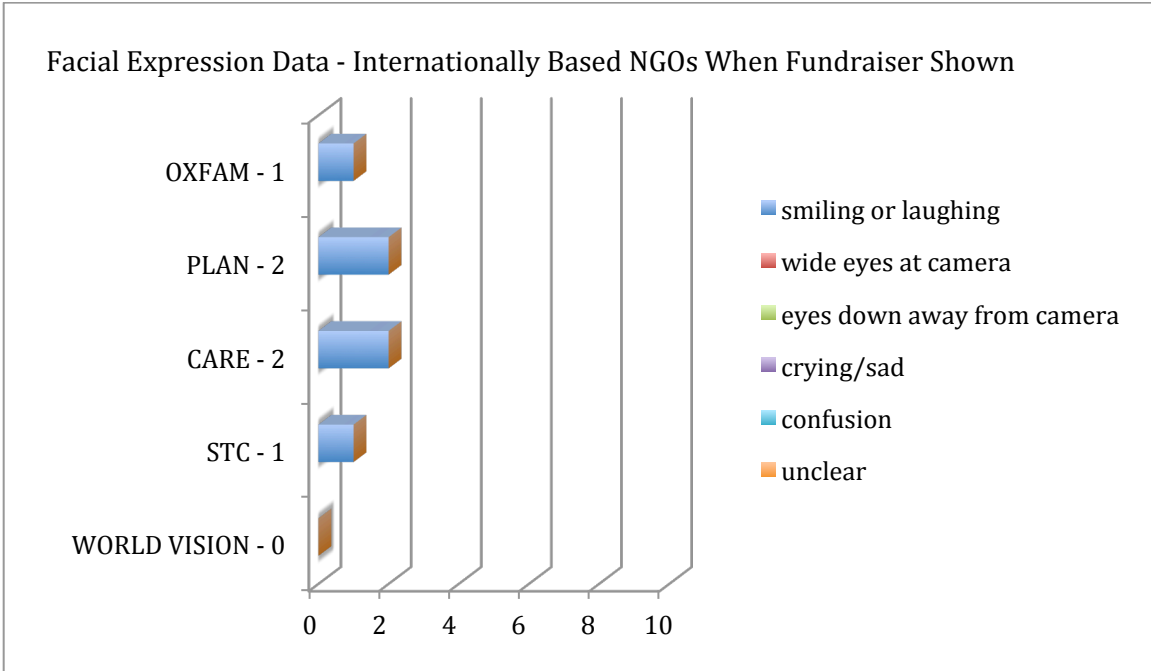
ACTION IN PHOTO

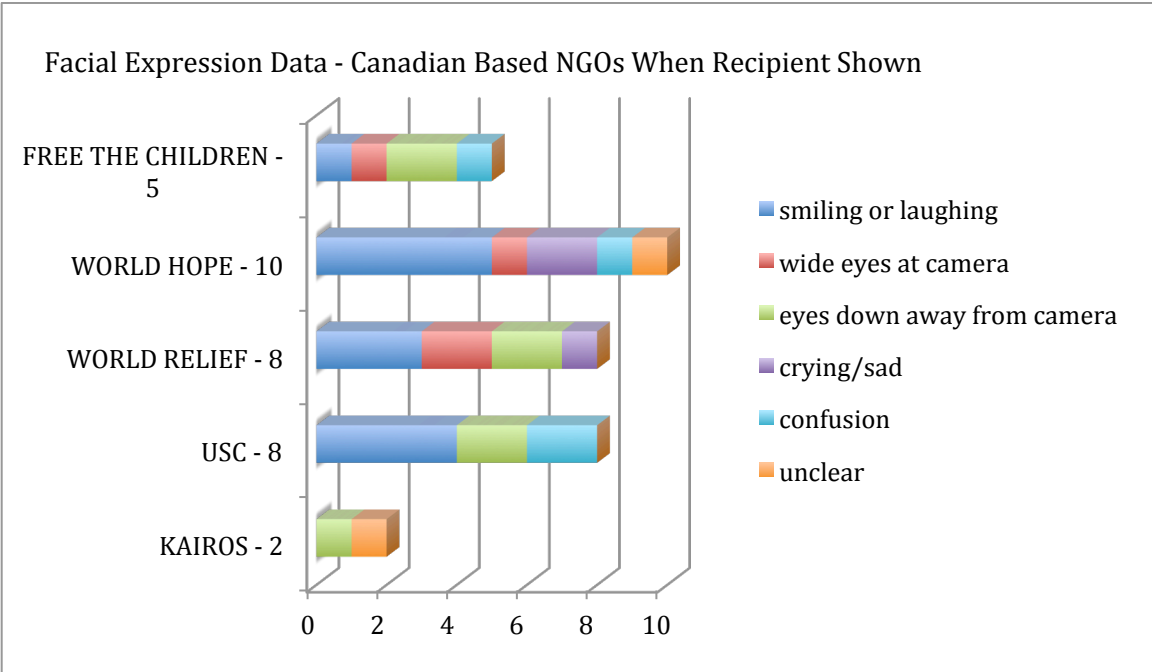
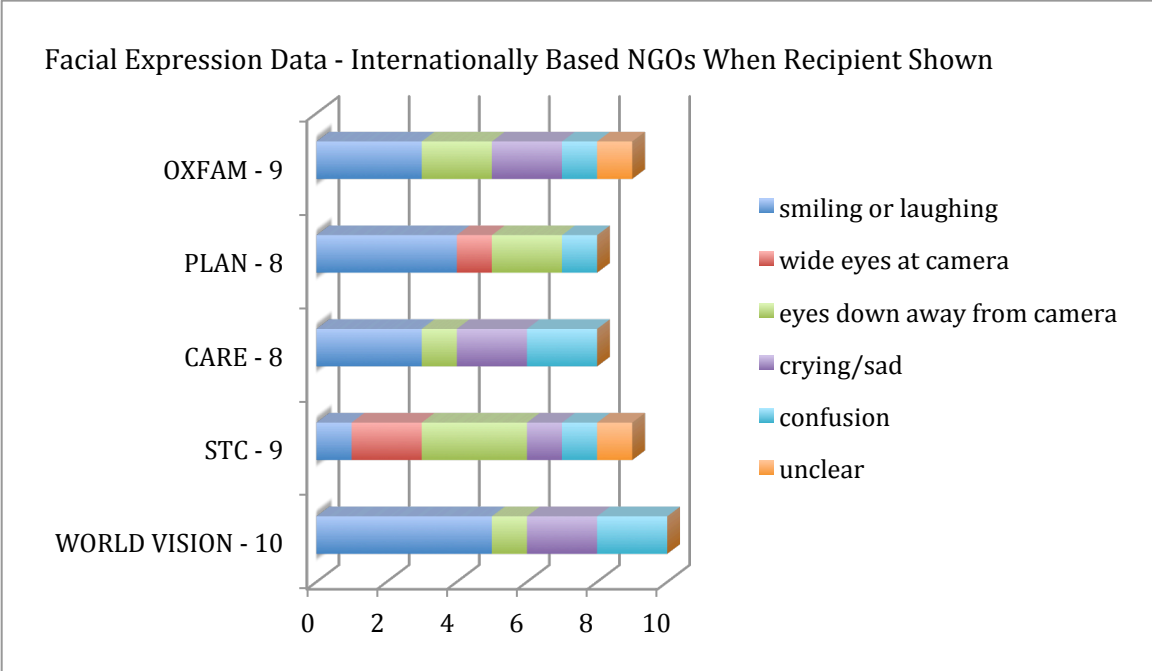
Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



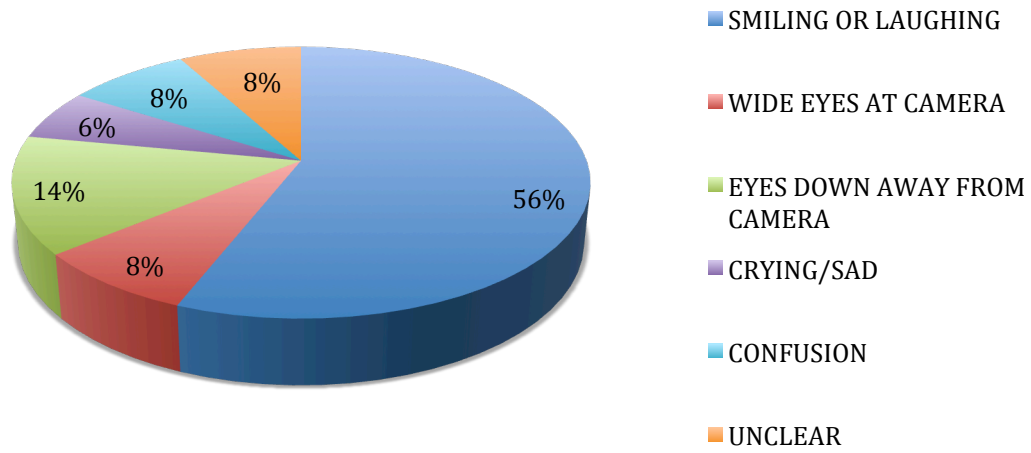
- HOUSEHOLD CHORES
- ATTENDING SCHOOL
- IDLE
- BEGGING
- PLAYING
- WORKING
- TRADITIONAL/RITUALISTIC
- FUNDRAISING-PROTEST
- UNCLEAR
- FARMING



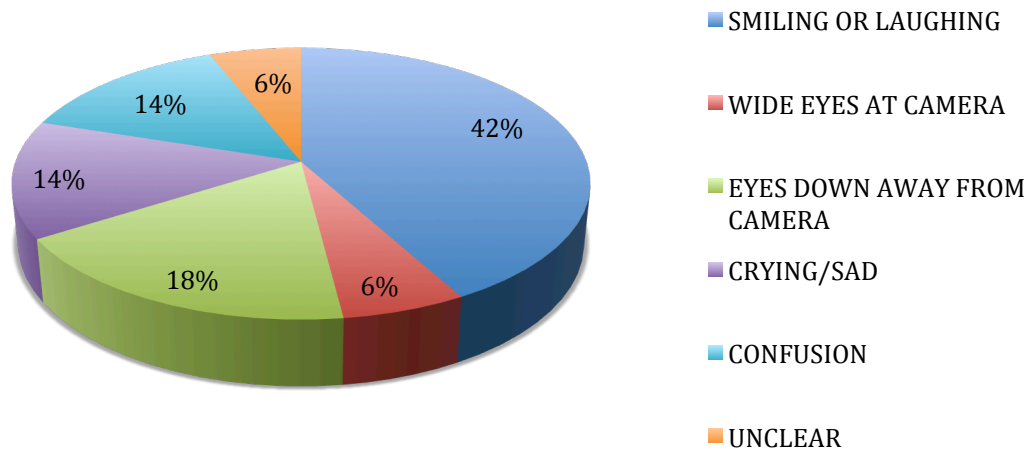




FACIAL EXPRESSION Canadian Based NGOs

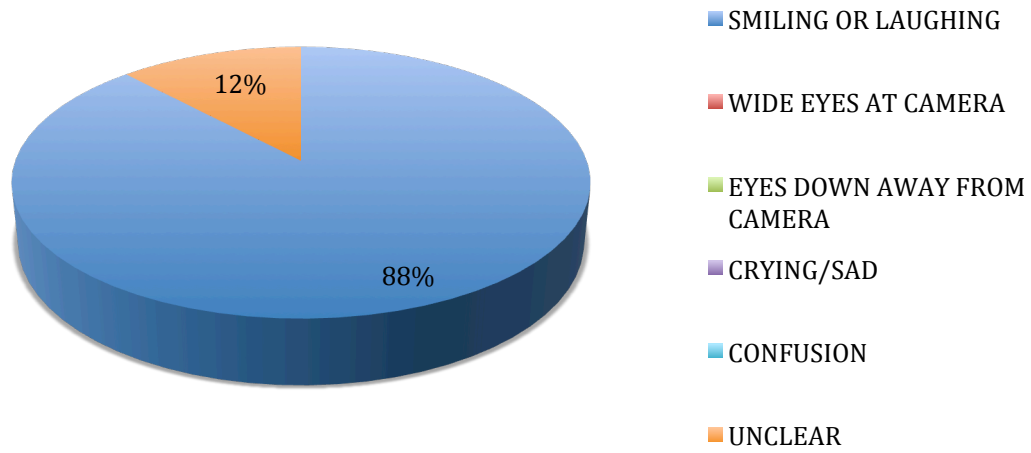


FACIAL EXPRESSION Internationally Based NGOs



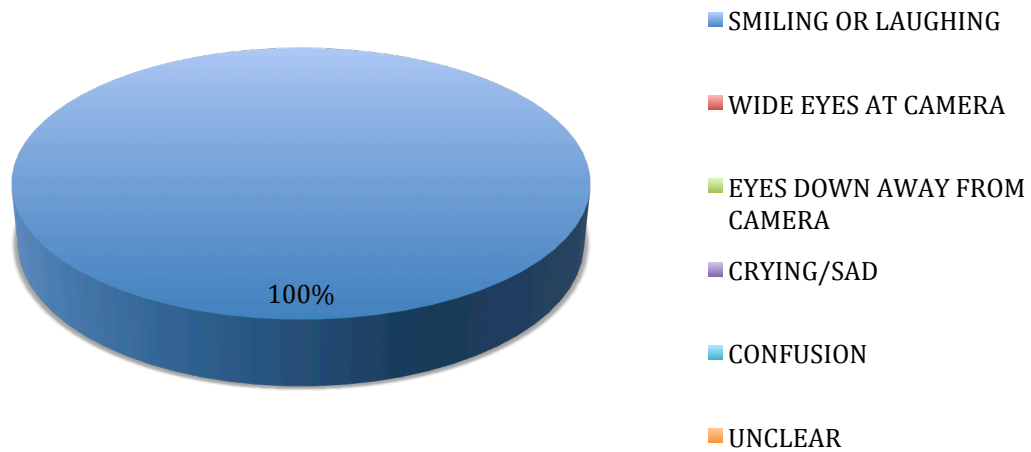
FACIAL EXPRESSION

Canadian Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



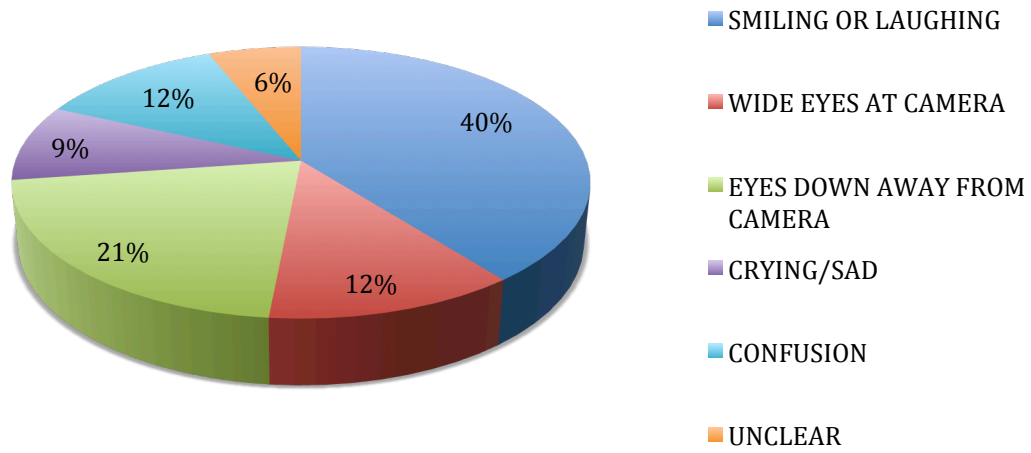
FACIAL EXPRESSION

Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



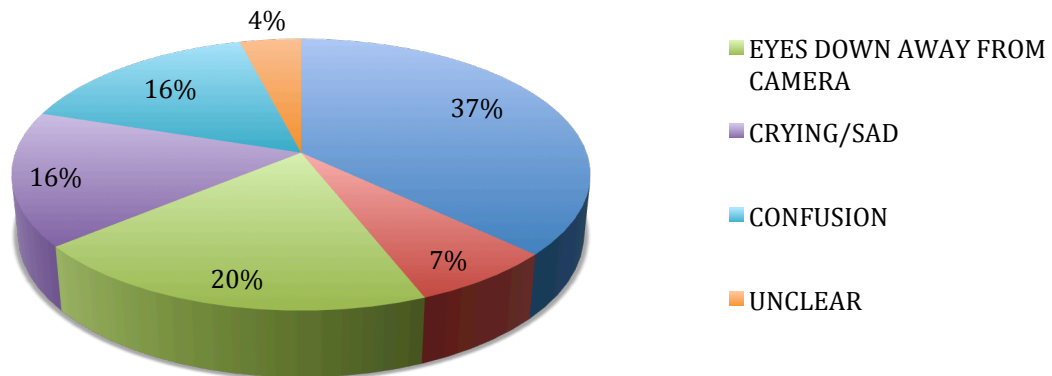
FACIAL EXPRESSION

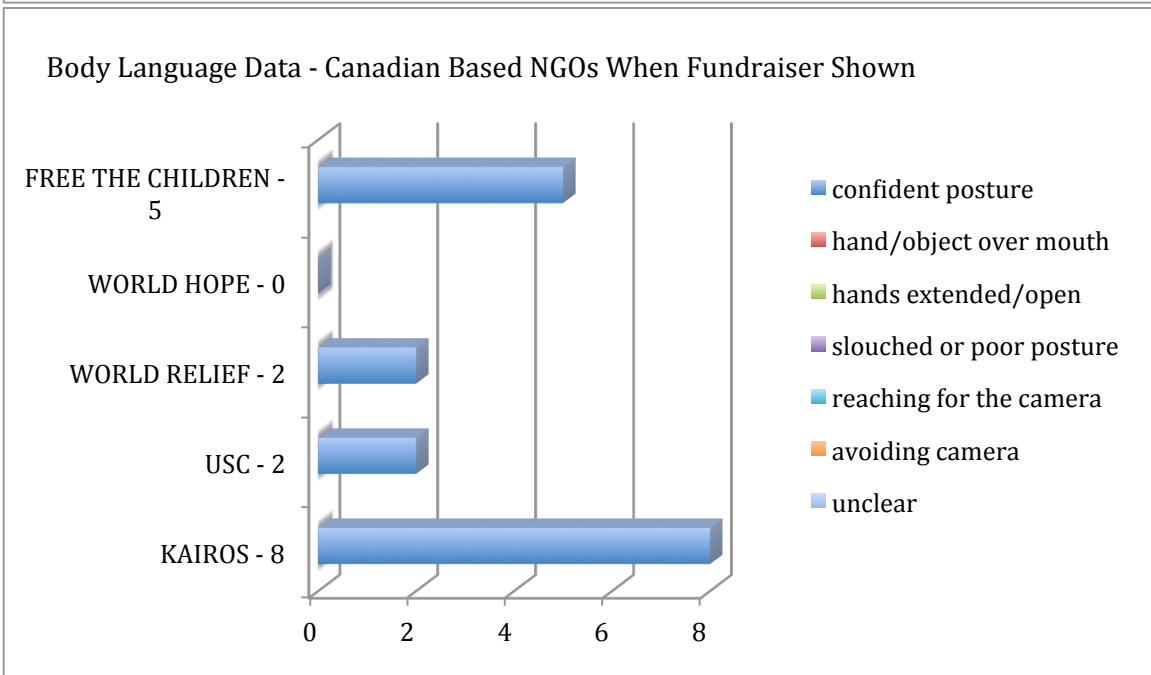
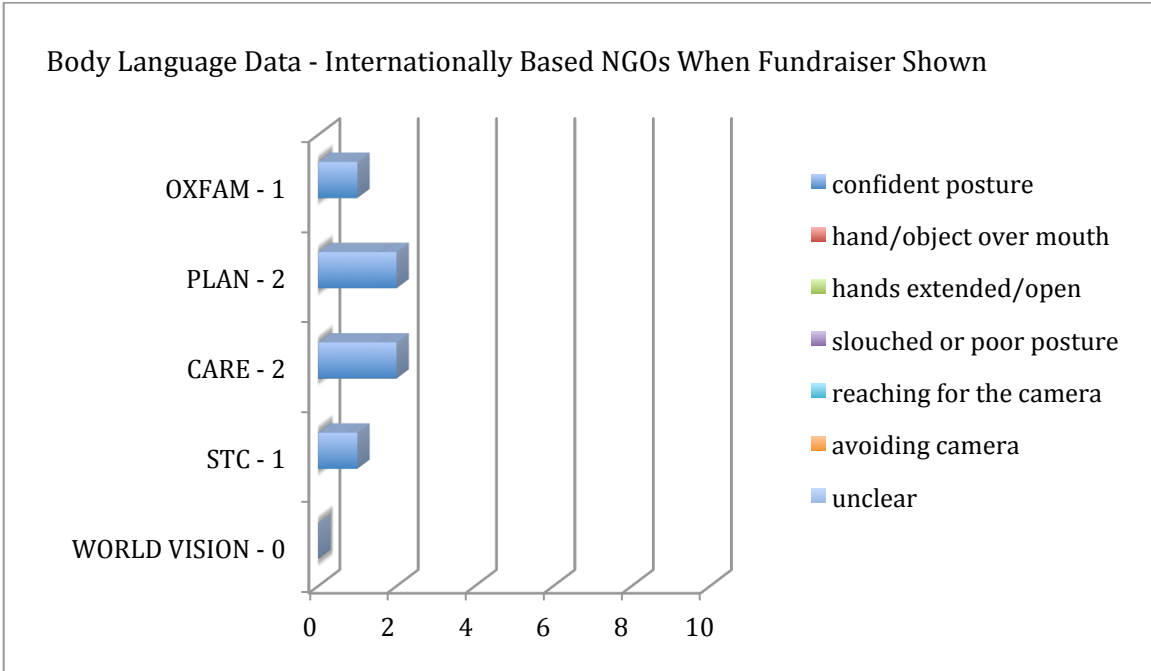
Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown

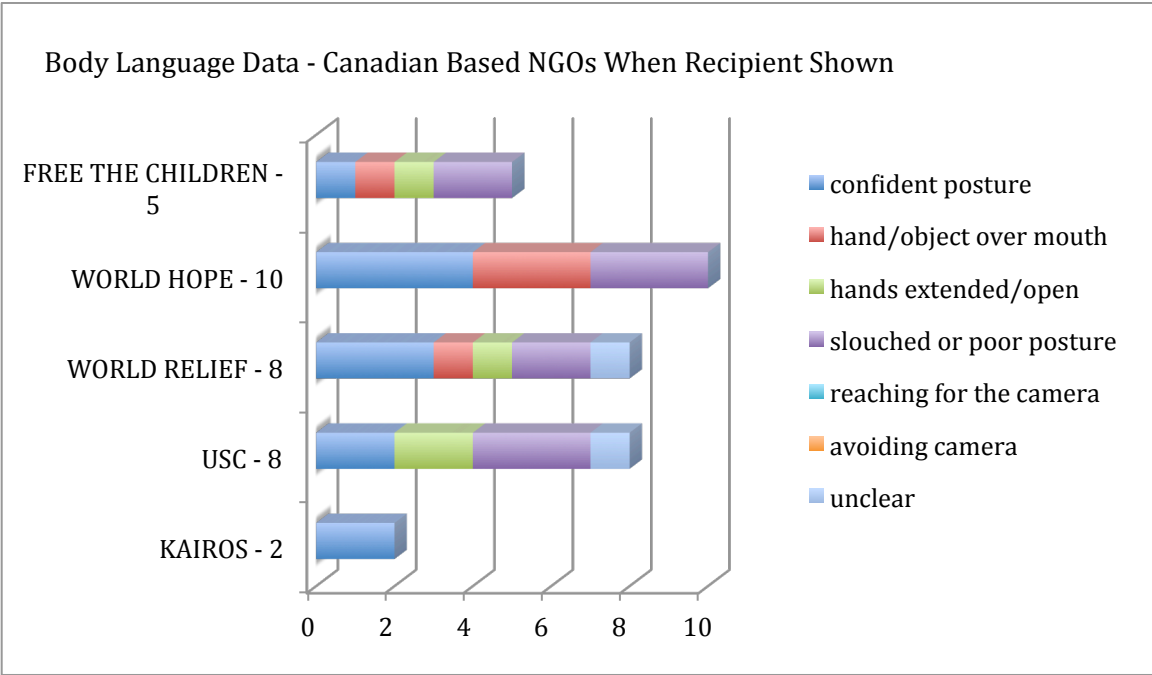
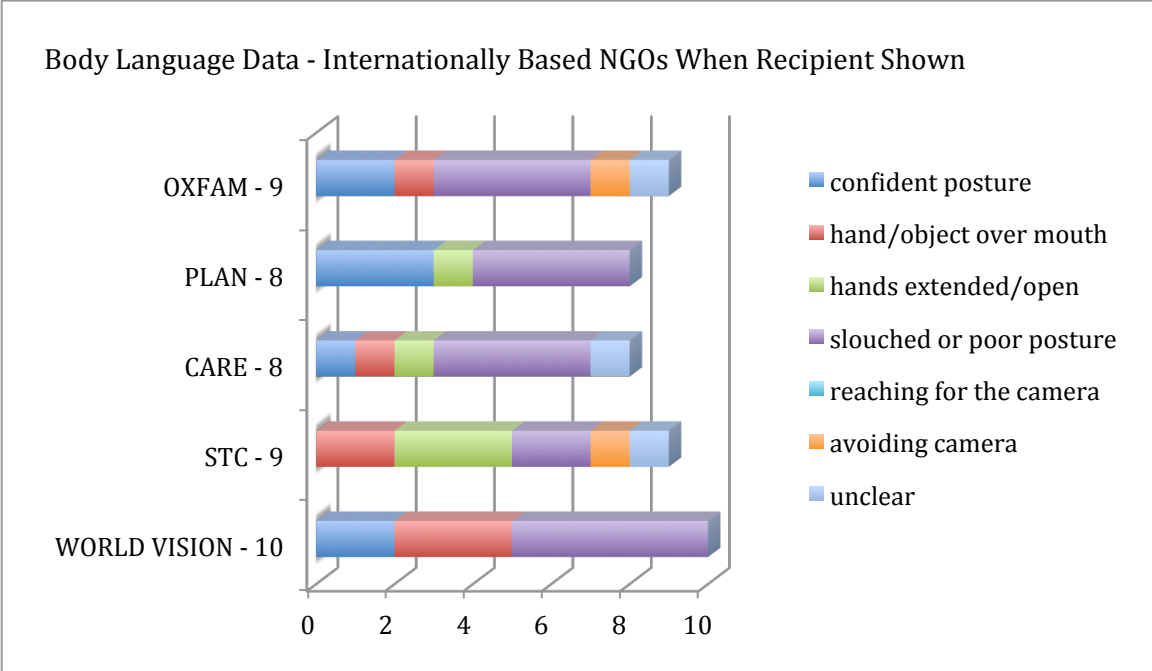


FACIAL EXPRESSION

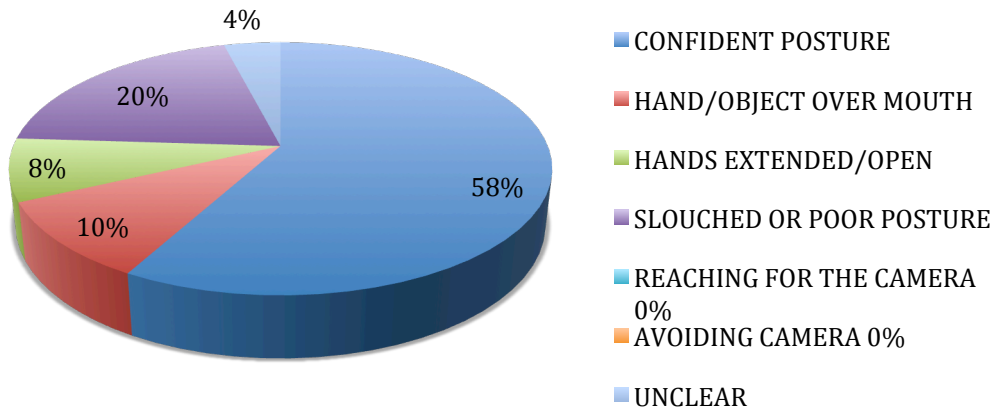
Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



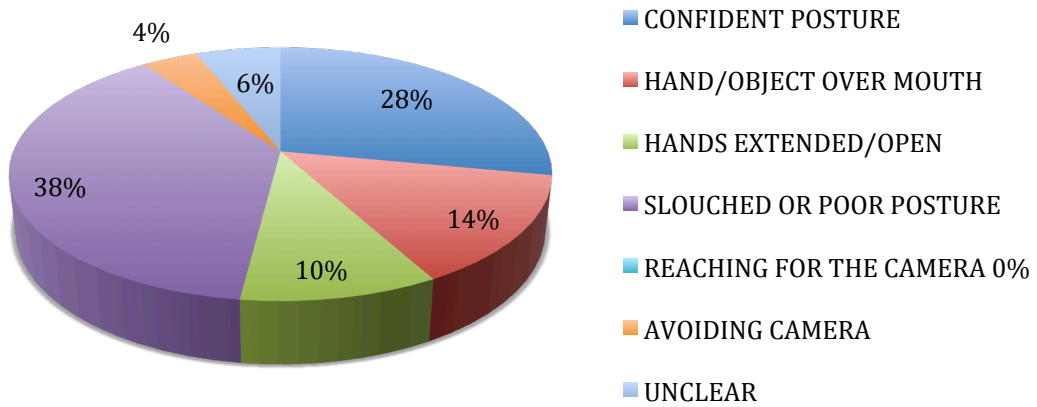




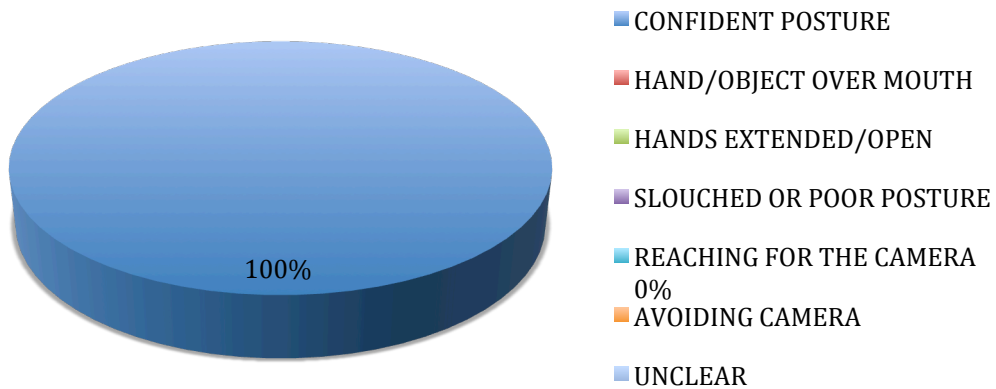
BODY LANGUAGE Canadian Based NGOs



BODY LANGUAGE Internationally Based NGOs

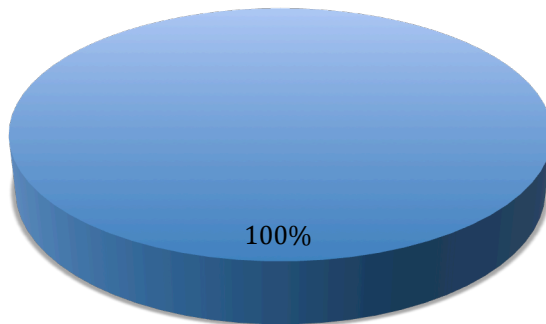


BODY LANGUAGE Canadian Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



BODY LANGUAGE

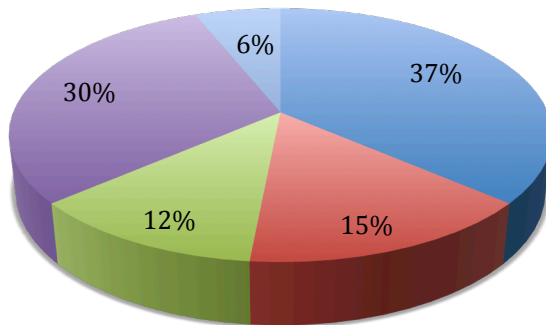
Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



- CONFIDENT POSTURE
- HAND/OBJECT OVER MOUTH
- HANDS EXTENDED/OPEN
- SLOUCHED OR POOR POSTURE
- REACHING FOR THE CAMERA
- AVOIDING CAMERA
- UNCLEAR

BODY LANGUAGE

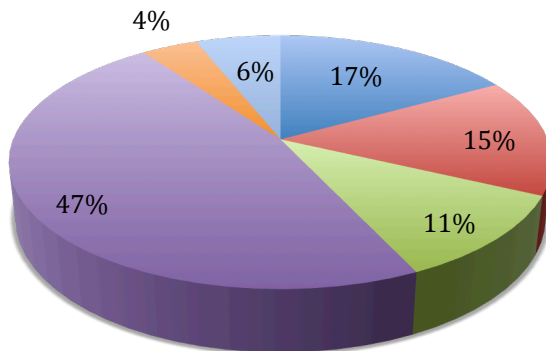
Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



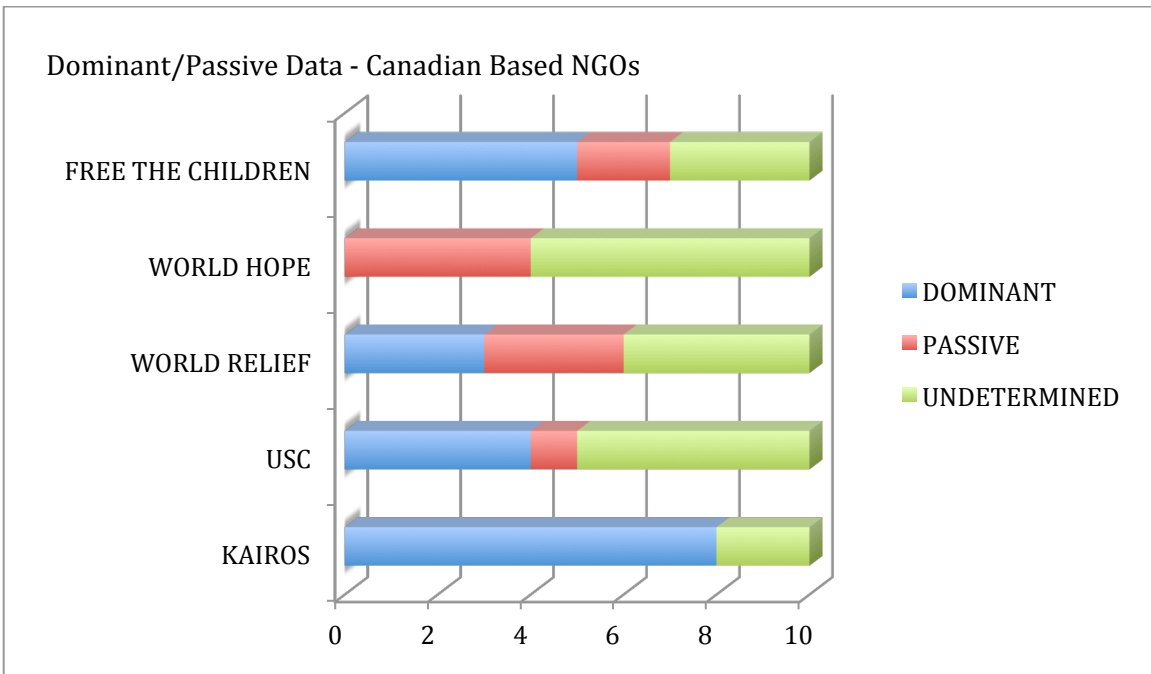
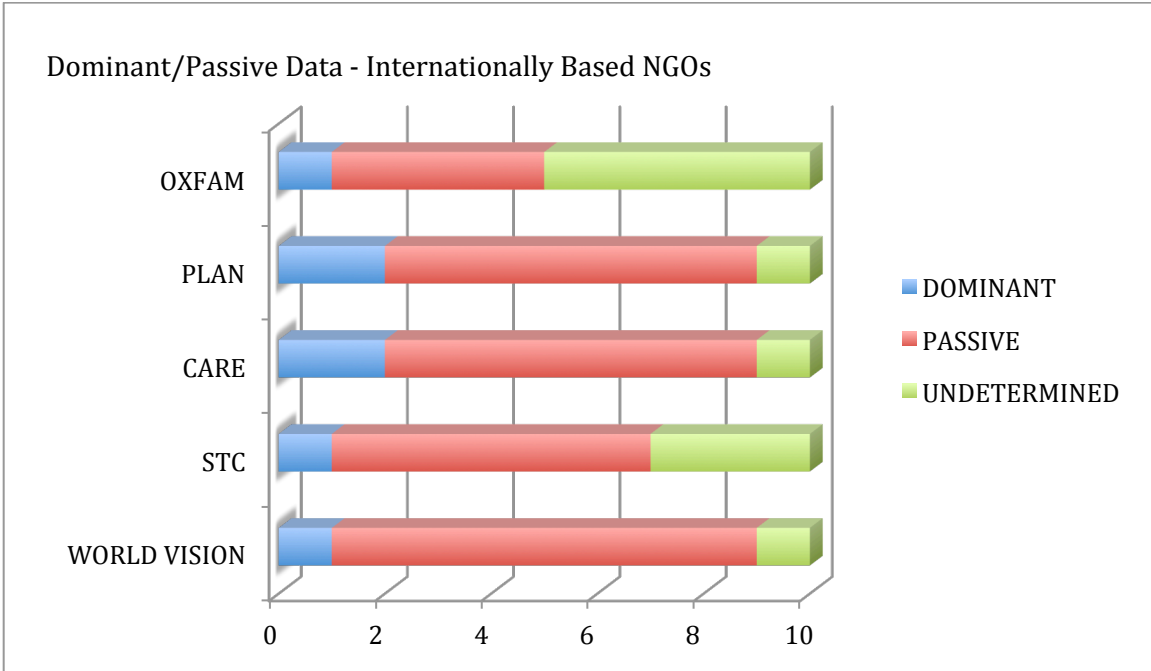
- CONFIDENT POSTURE
- HAND/OBJECT OVER MOUTH
- HANDS EXTENDED/OPEN
- SLOUCHED OR POOR POSTURE
- REACHING FOR THE CAMERA
- AVOIDING CAMERA
- UNCLEAR

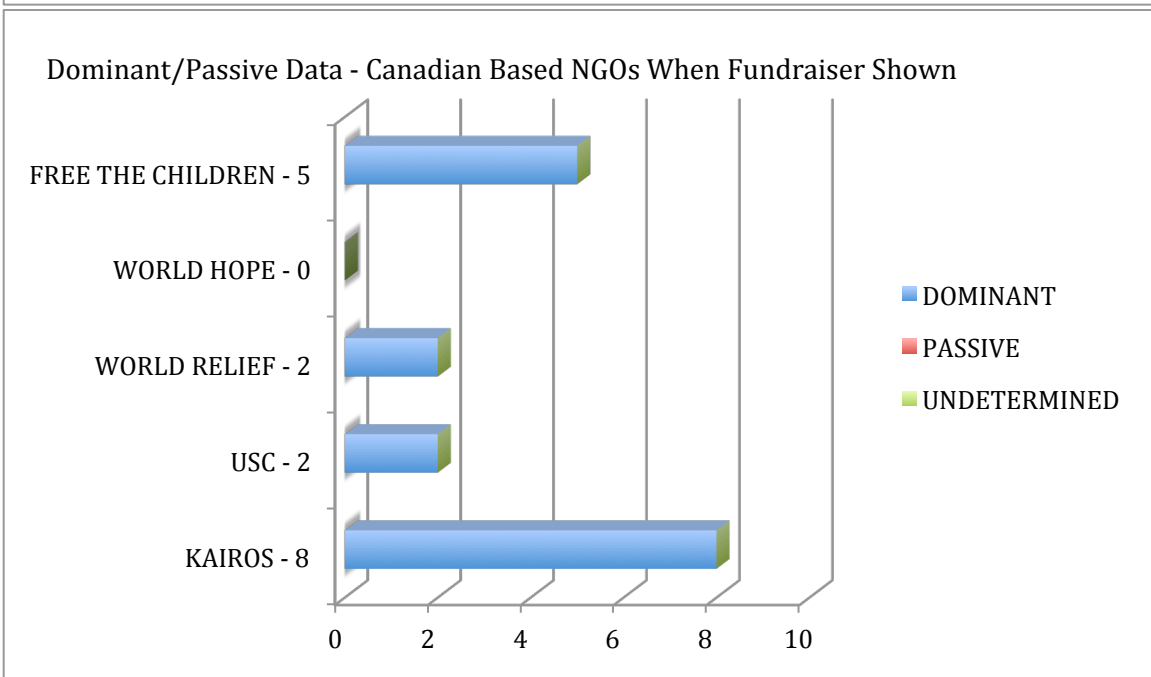
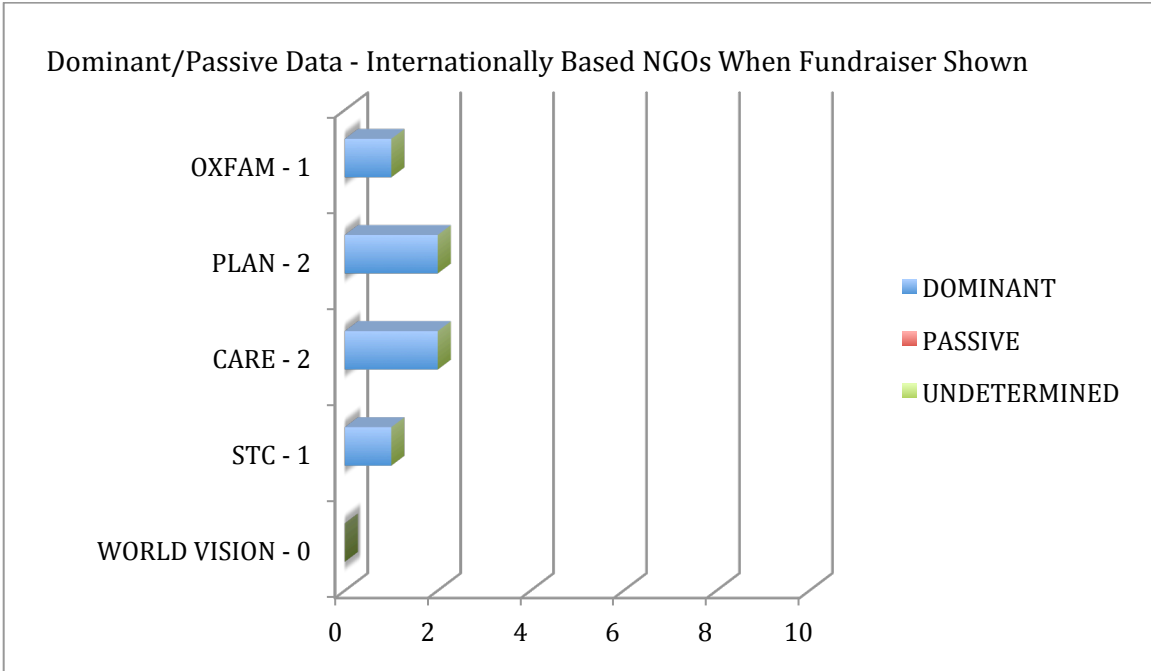
BODY LANGUAGE

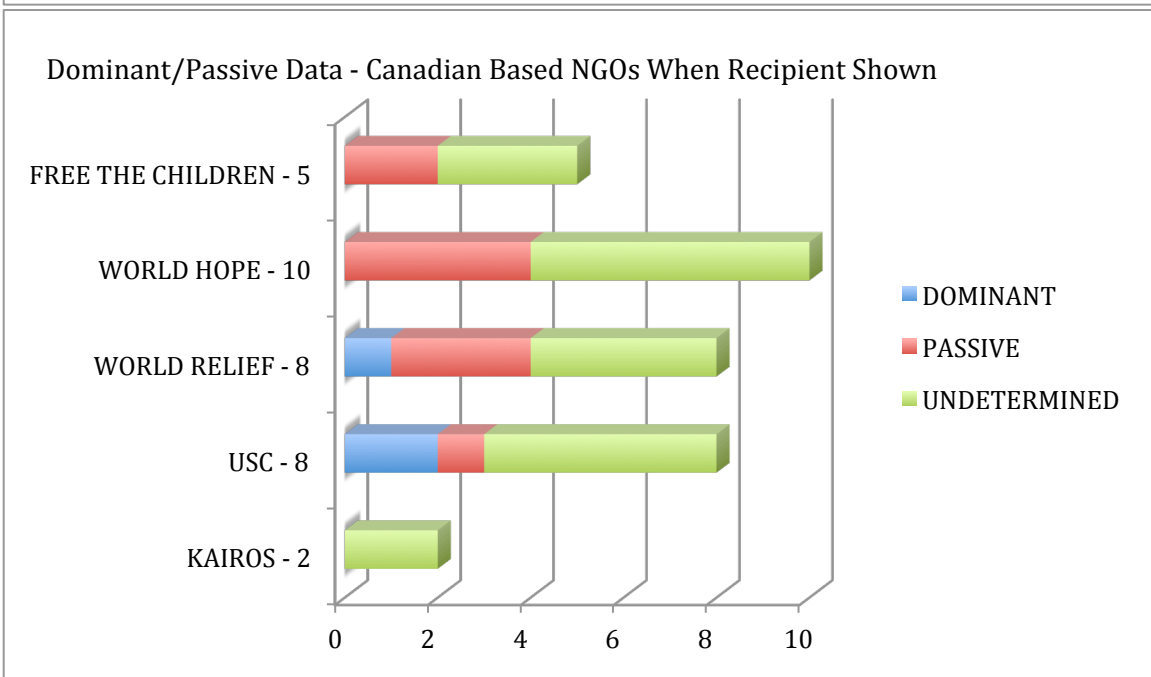
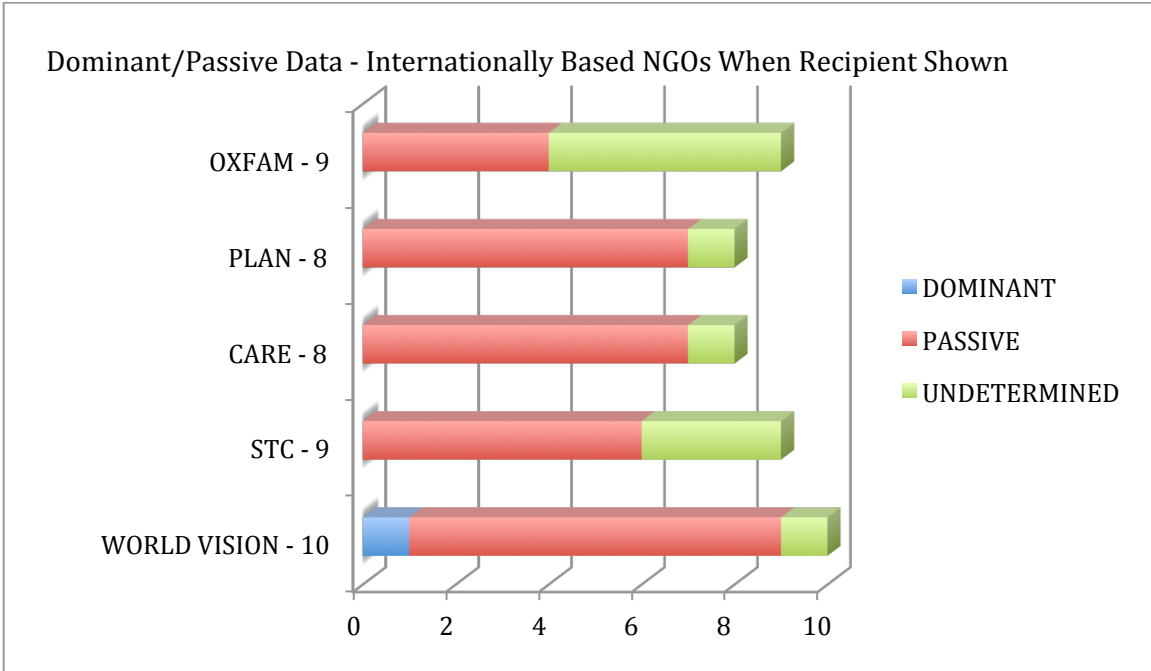
Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient Shown

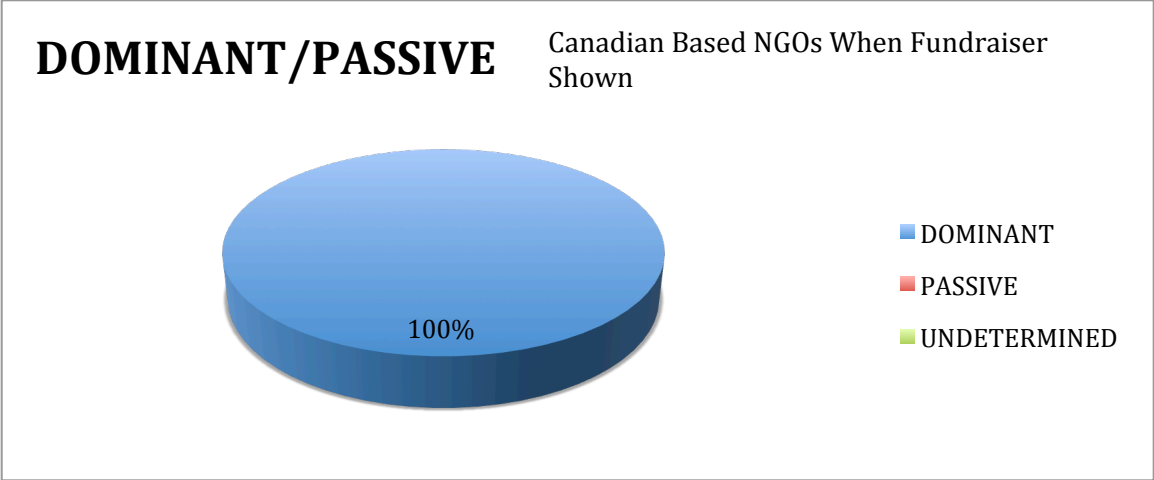
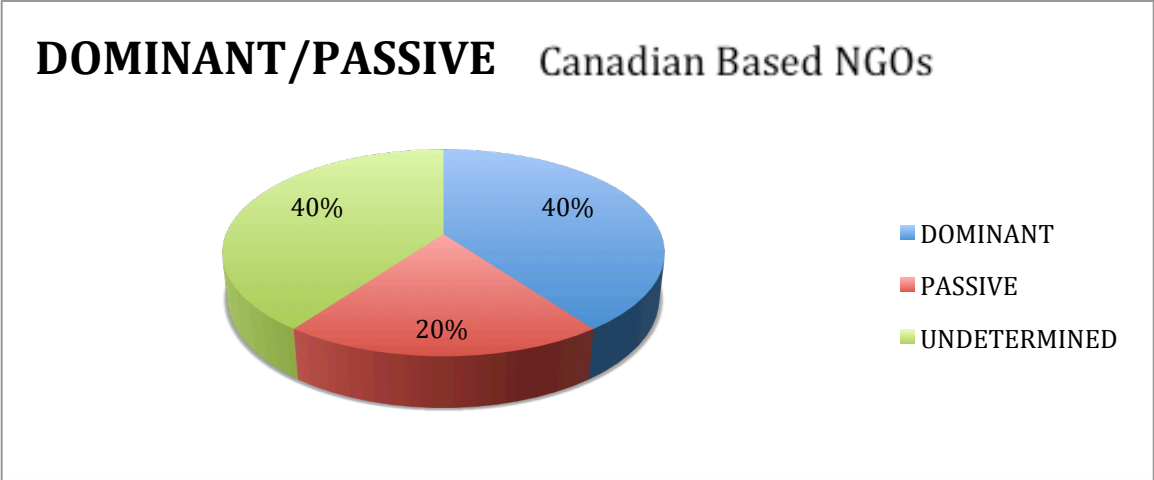
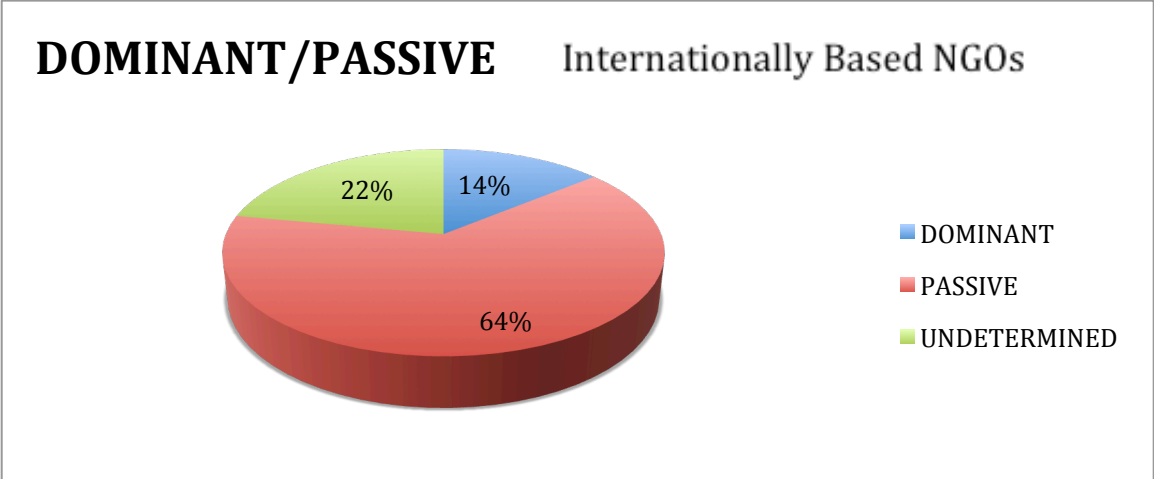


- CONFIDENT POSTURE
- HAND/OBJECT OVER MOUTH
- HANDS EXTENDED/OPEN
- SLOUCHED OR POOR POSTURE
- REACHING FOR THE CAMERA
- AVOIDING CAMERA
- UNCLEAR



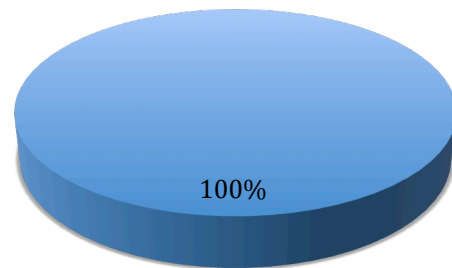






DOMINANT/PASSIVE

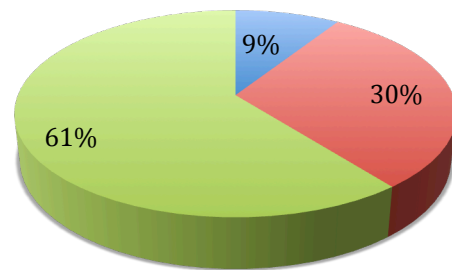
Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



■ DOMINANT
 ■ PASSIVE
 ■ UNDETERMINED

DOMINANT/PASSIVE

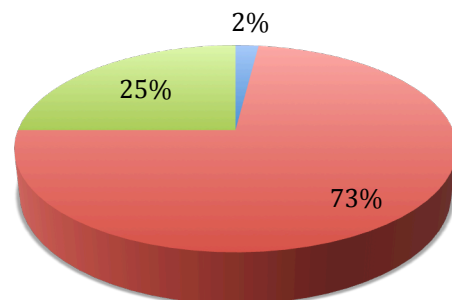
Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



■ DOMINANT
 ■ PASSIVE
 ■ UNDETERMINED

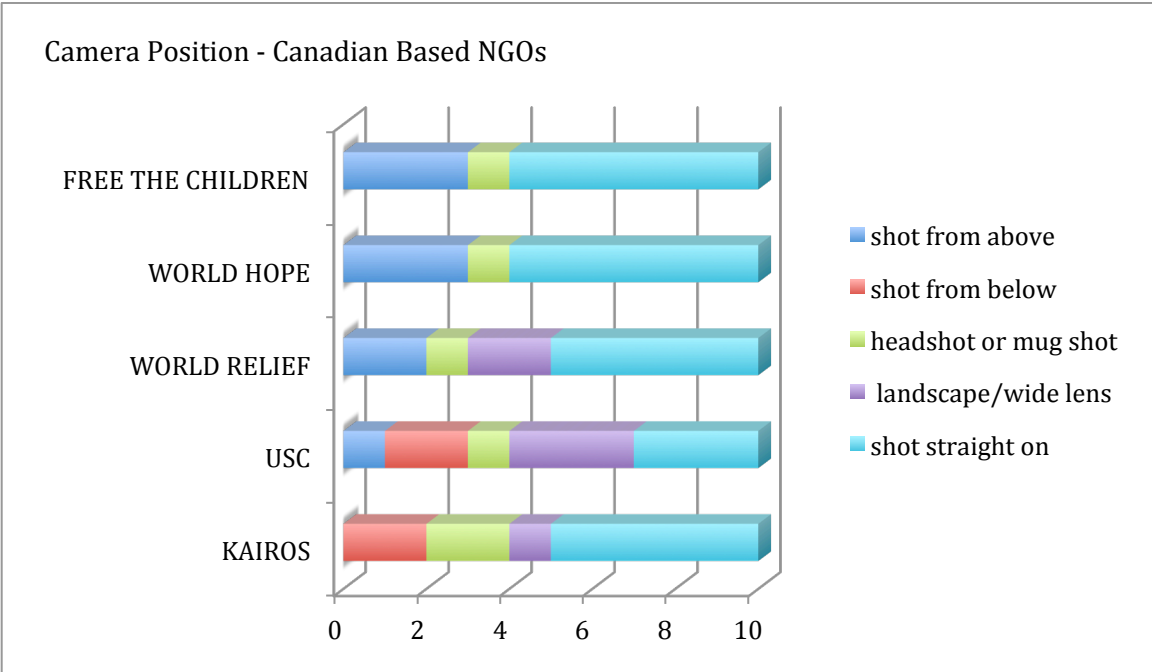
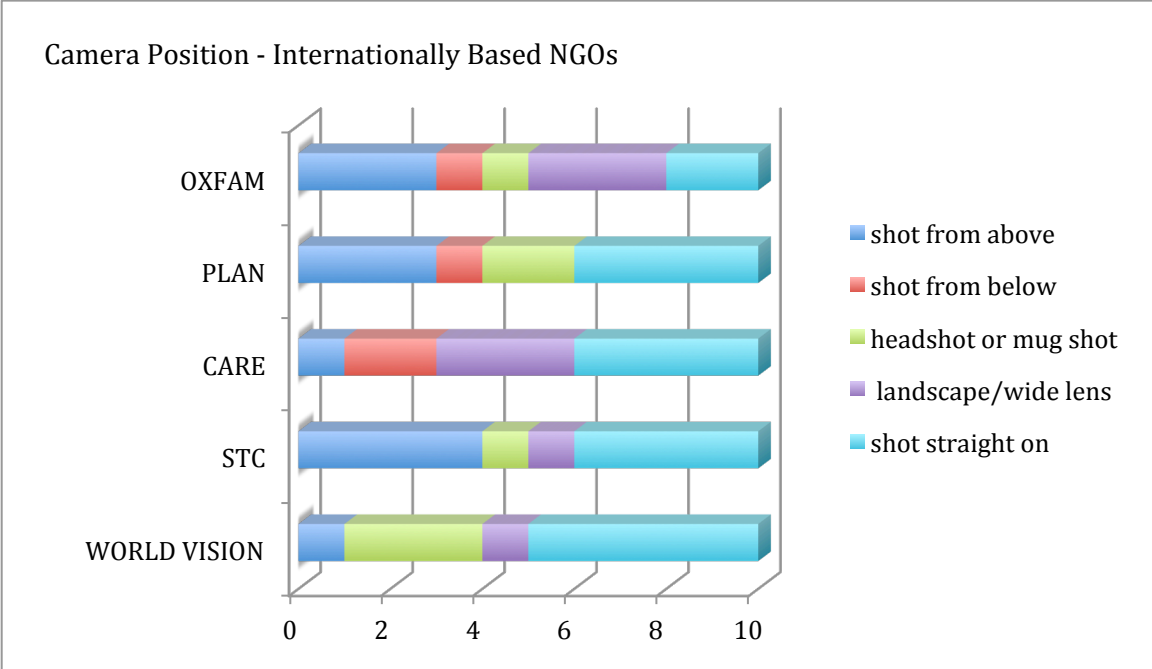
DOMINANT/PASSIVE

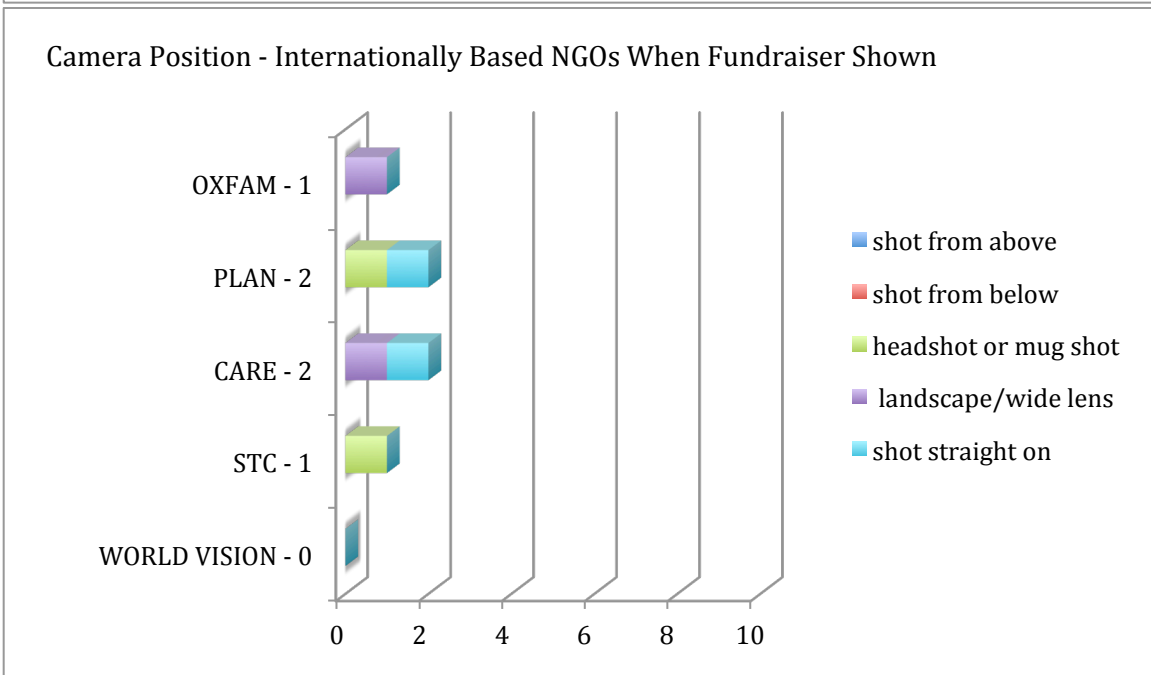
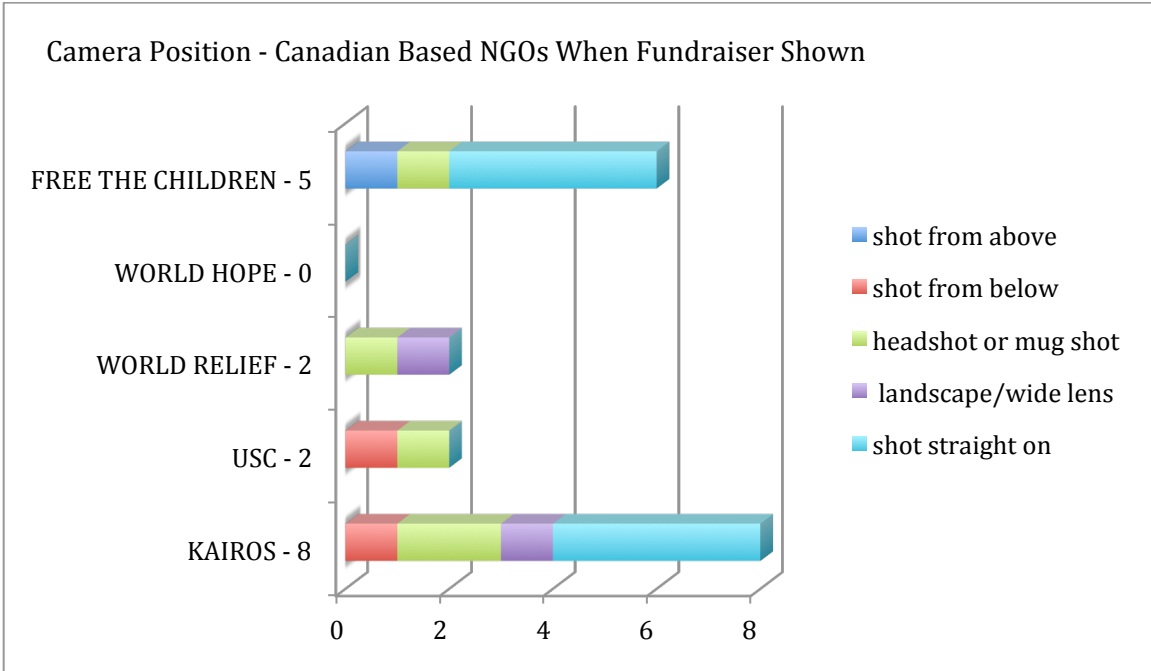
Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient Shown

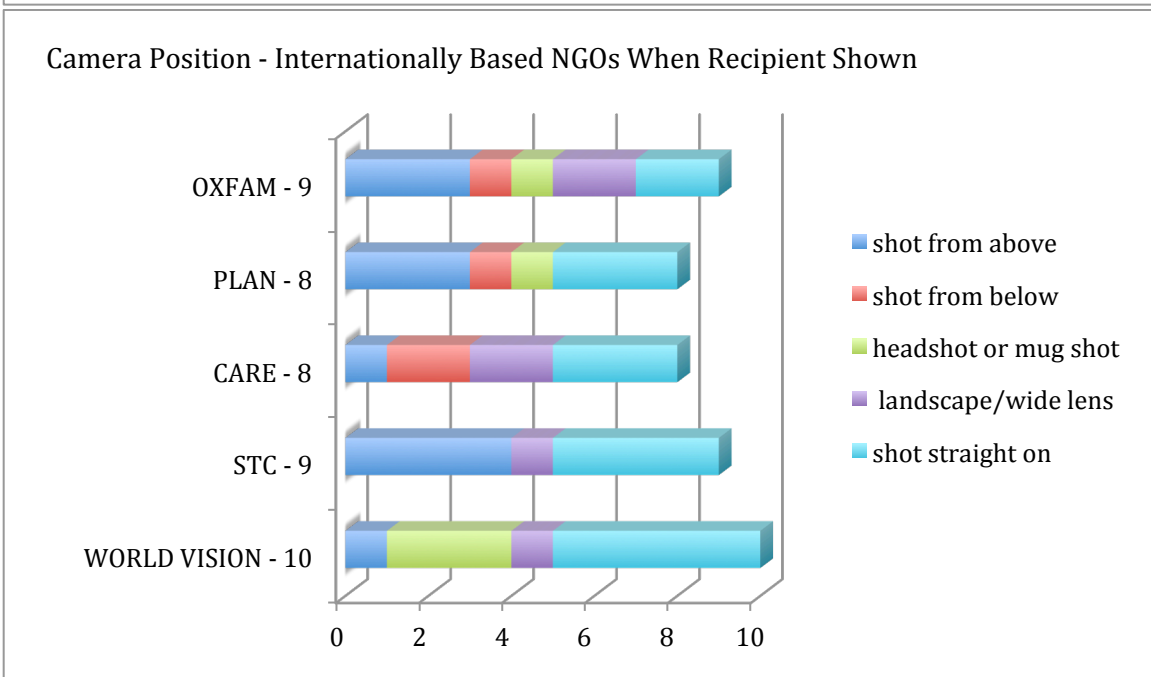
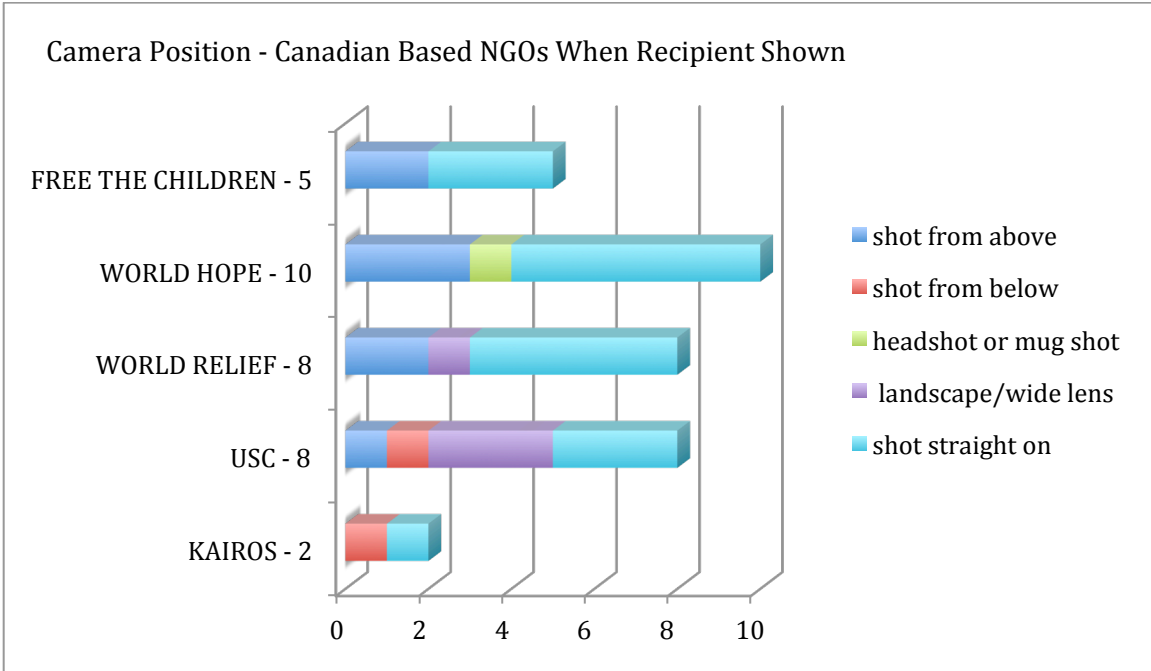


■ DOMINANT
 ■ PASSIVE
 ■ UNDETERMINED

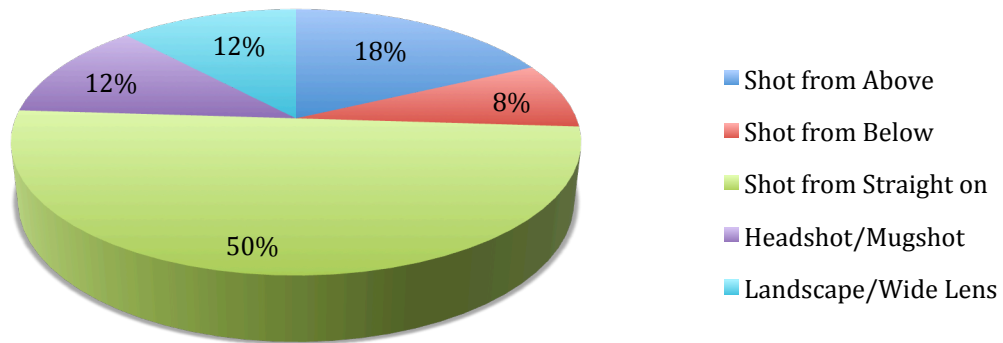
Describing the Context:



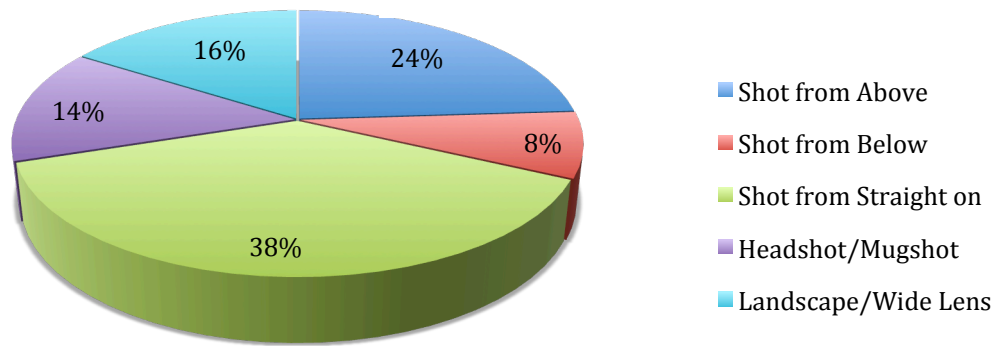




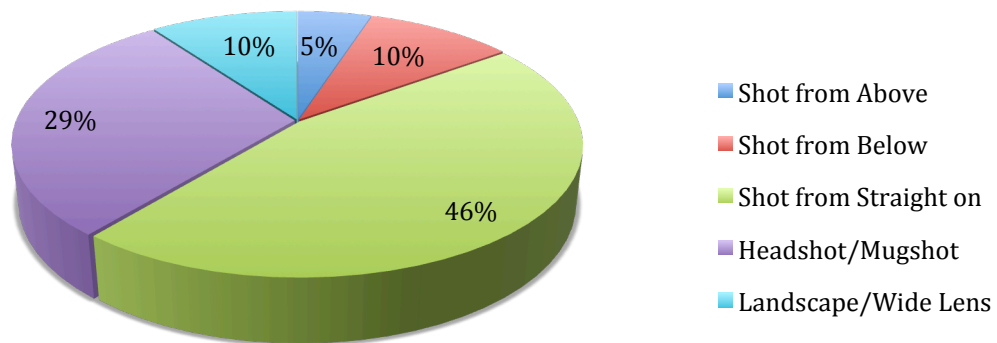
CAMERA POSITION Canadian Based NGOs



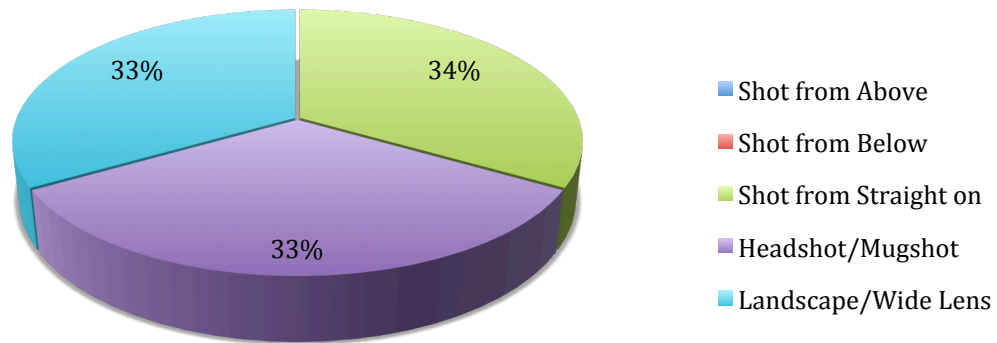
CAMERA POSITION Internationally Based NGOs



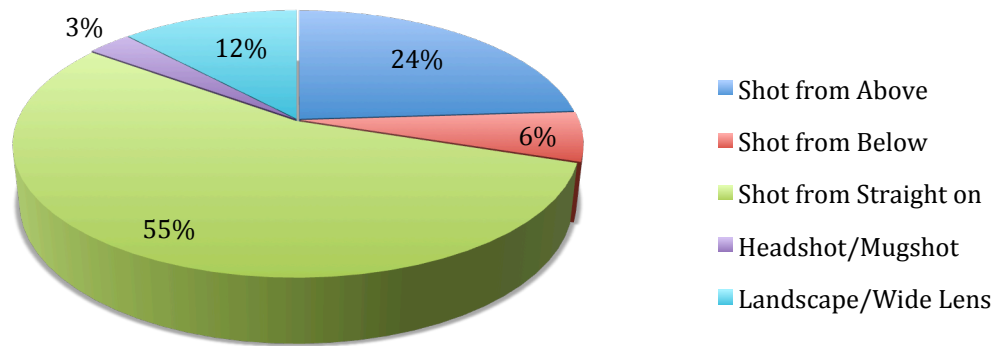
CAMERA POSITION Canadian Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



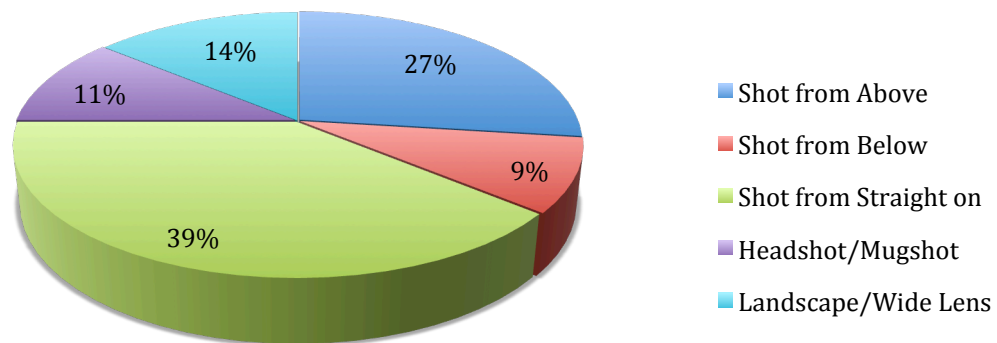
CAMERA POSITION Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



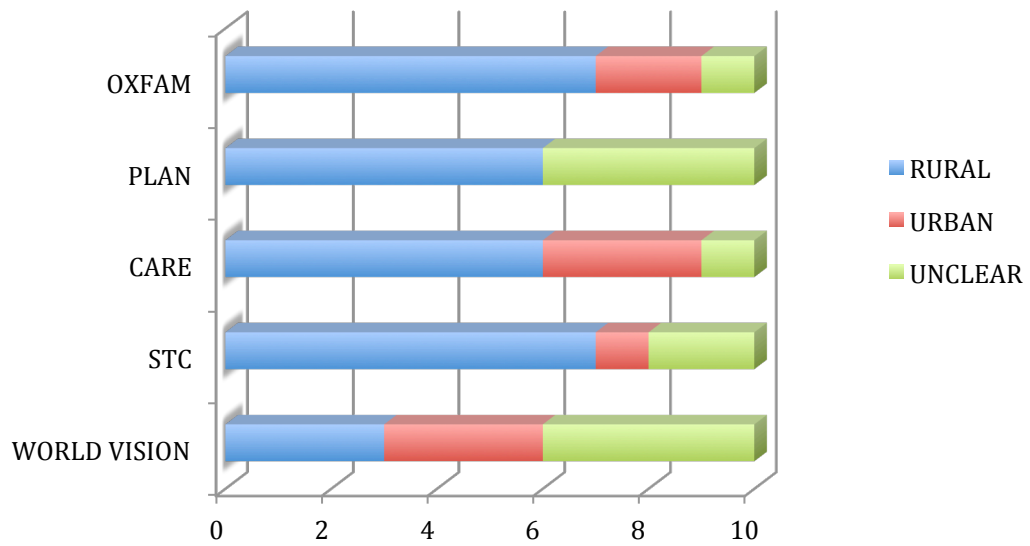
CAMERA POSITION Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



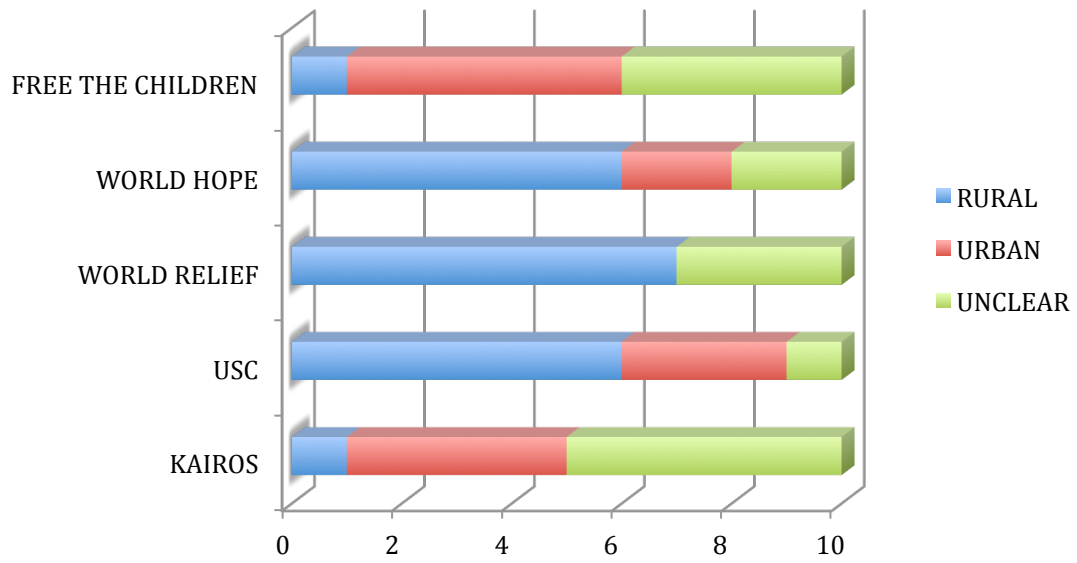
CAMERA POSITION Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient

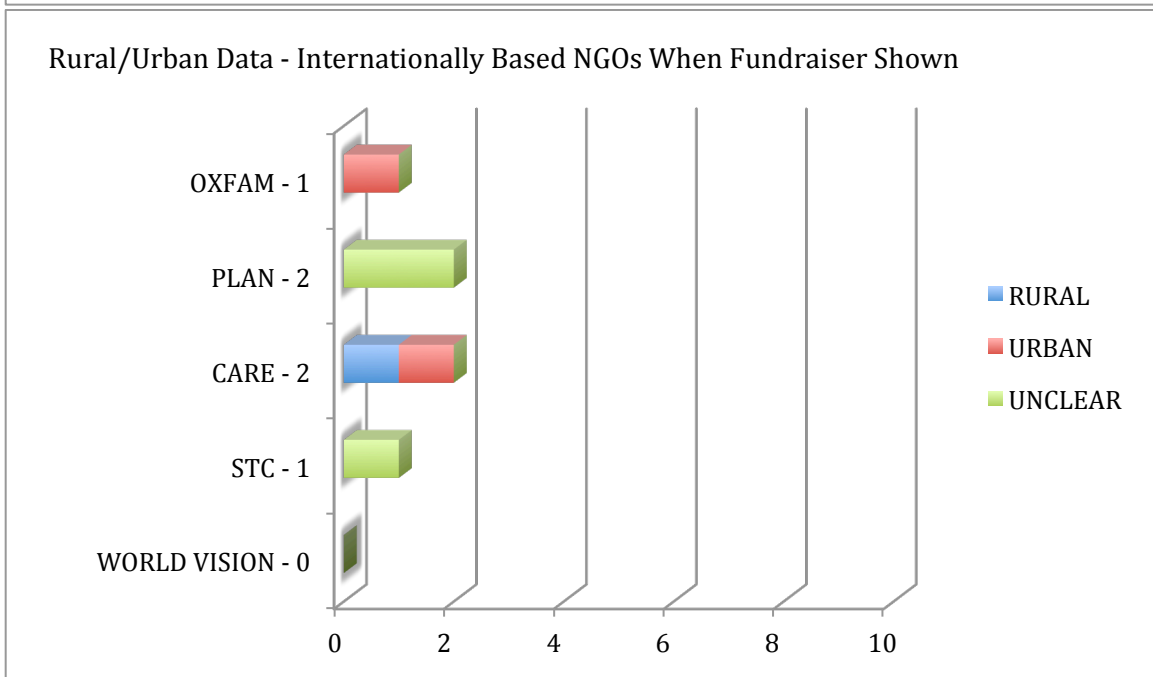
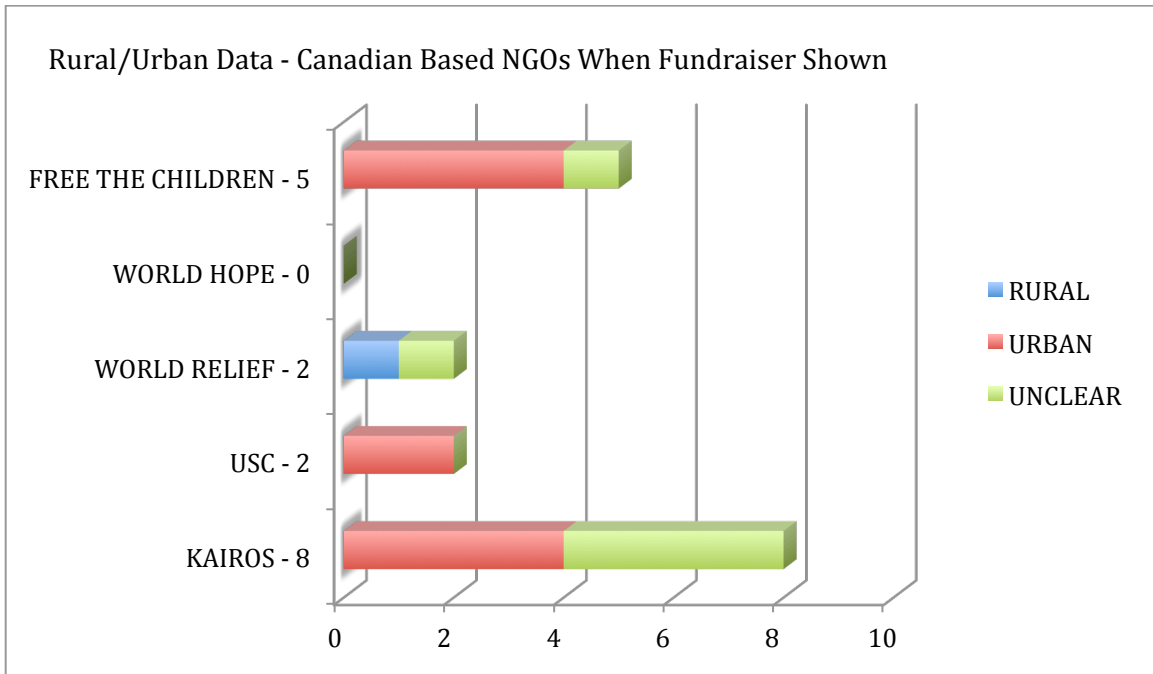


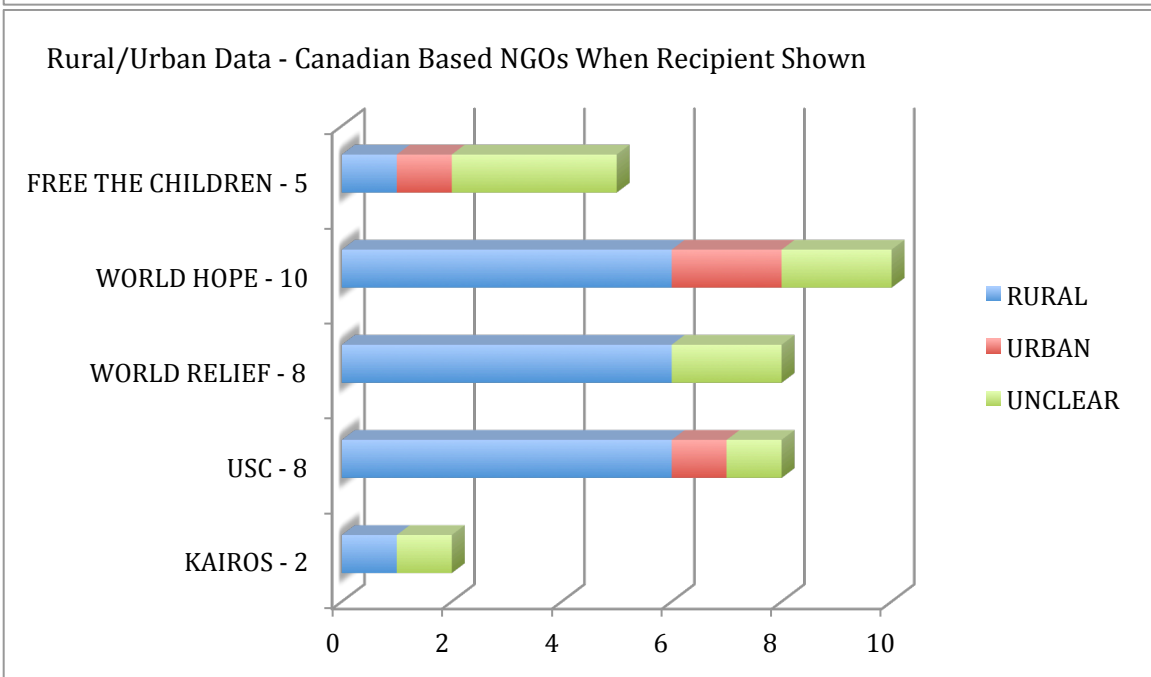
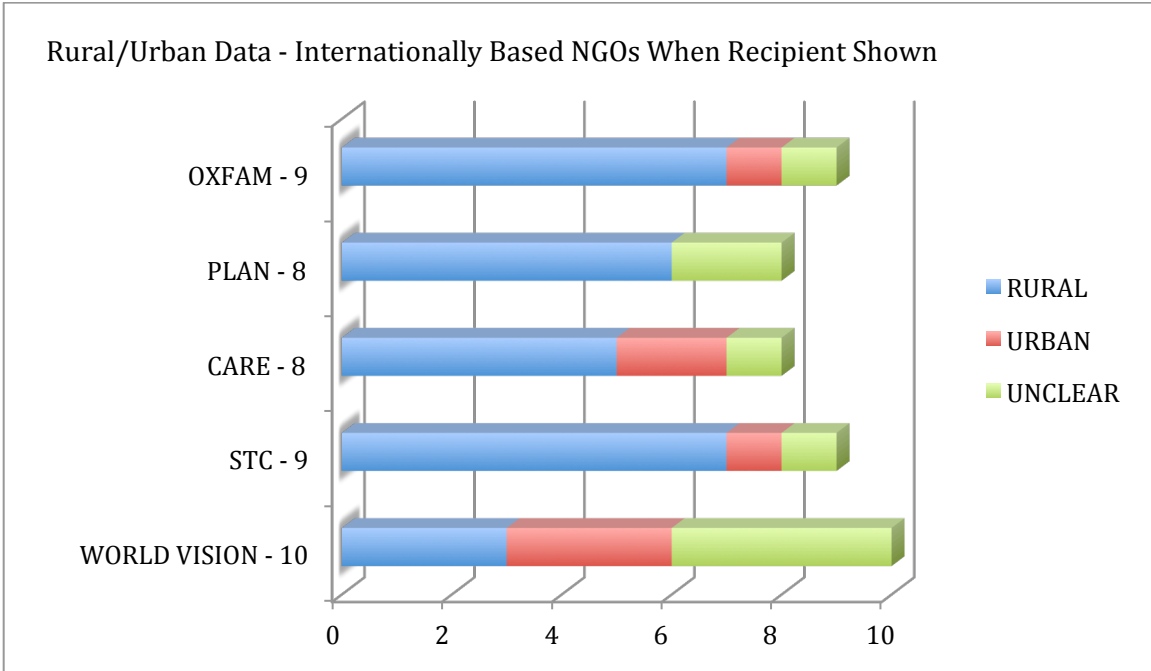
Rural/Urban Data - Internationally Based NGOs



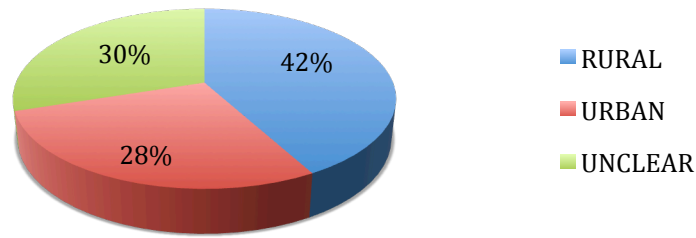
Rural/Urban Data - Canadian Based NGOs



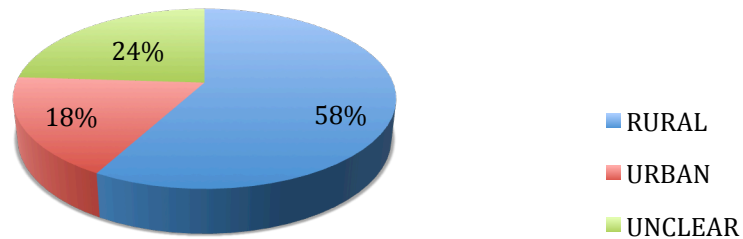




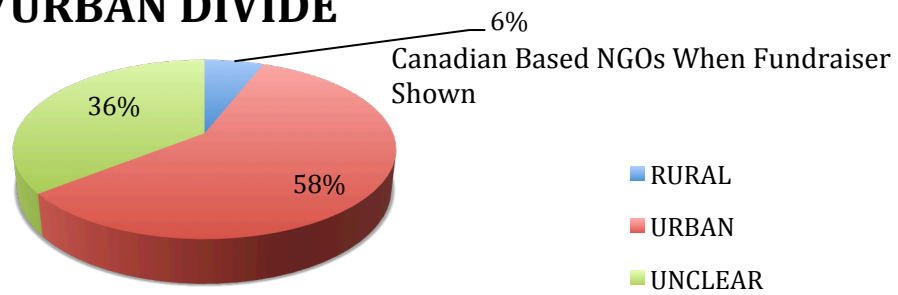
RURAL/URBAN DIVIDE Canadian Based NGOs



RURAL/URBAN DIVIDE Internationally Based NGOs

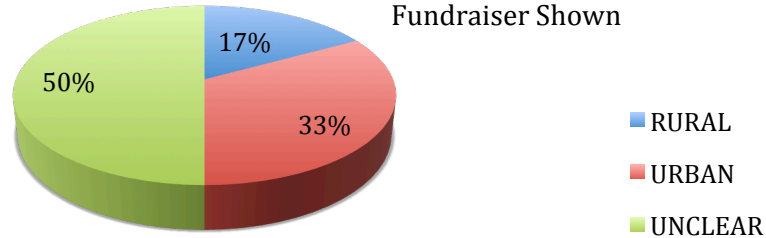


RURAL/URBAN DIVIDE



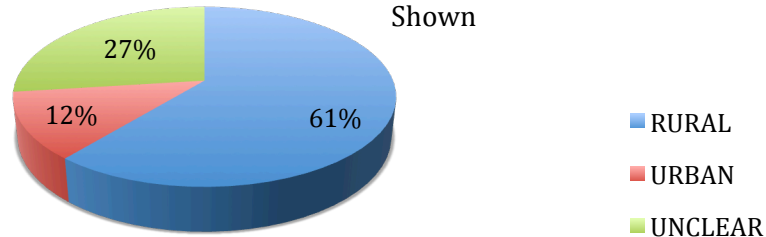
RURAL/URBAN DIVIDE

Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



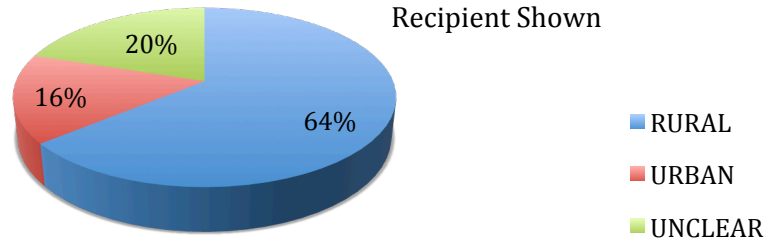
RURAL/URBAN DIVIDE

Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown

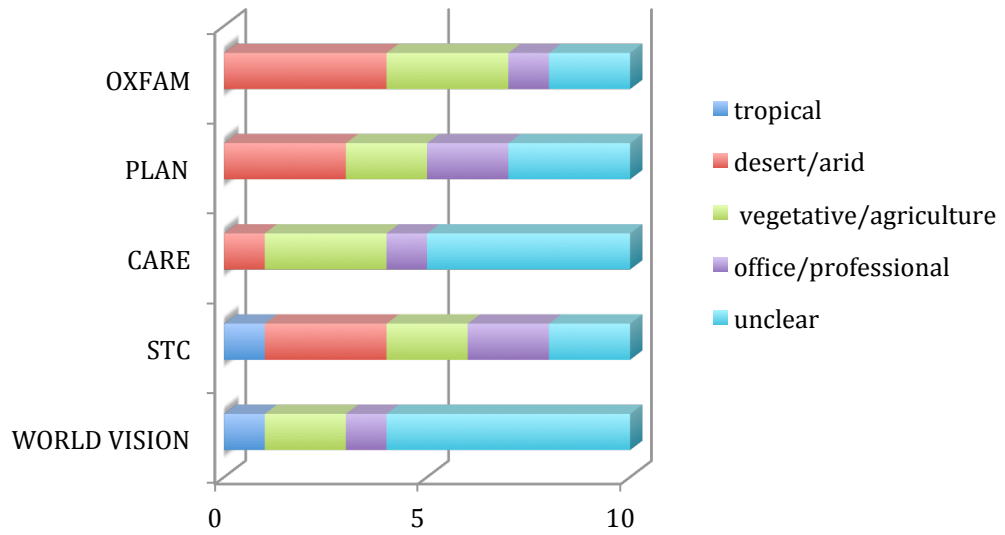


RURAL/URBAN DIVIDE

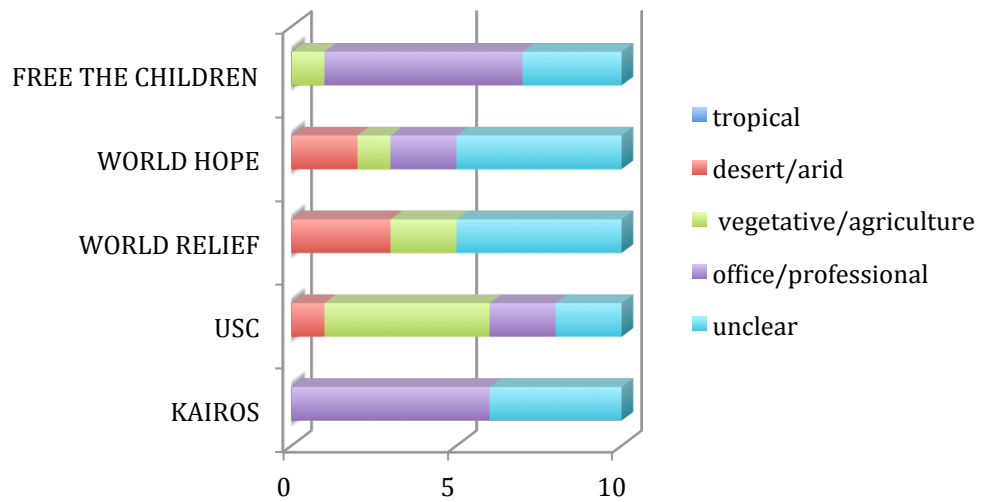
Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient Shown

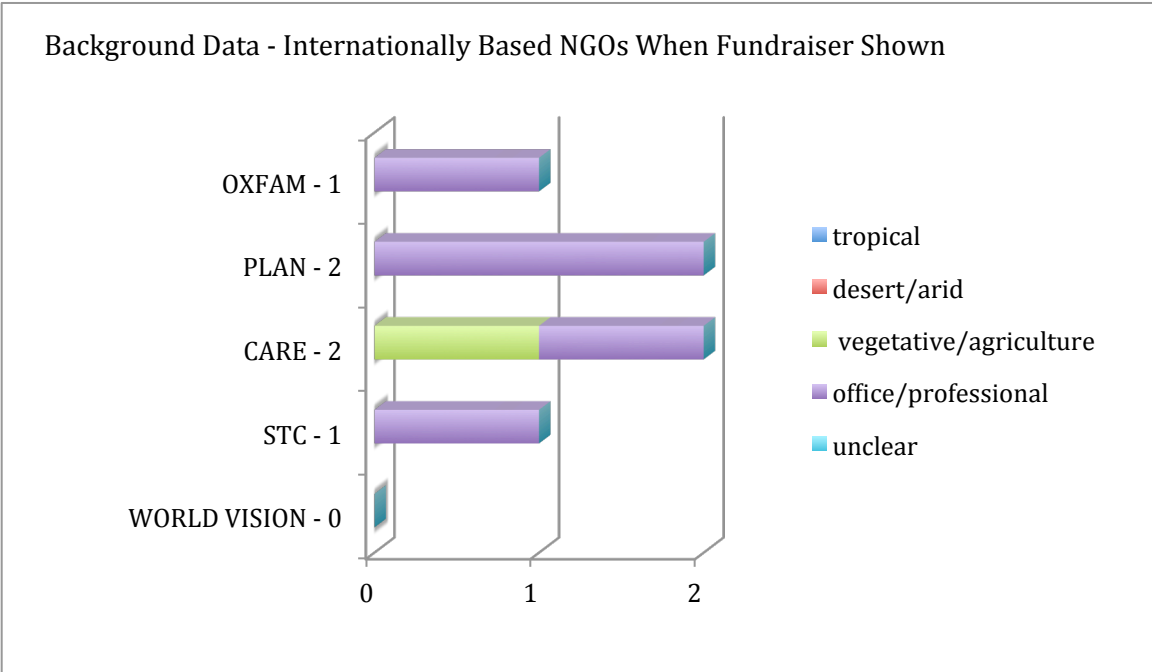
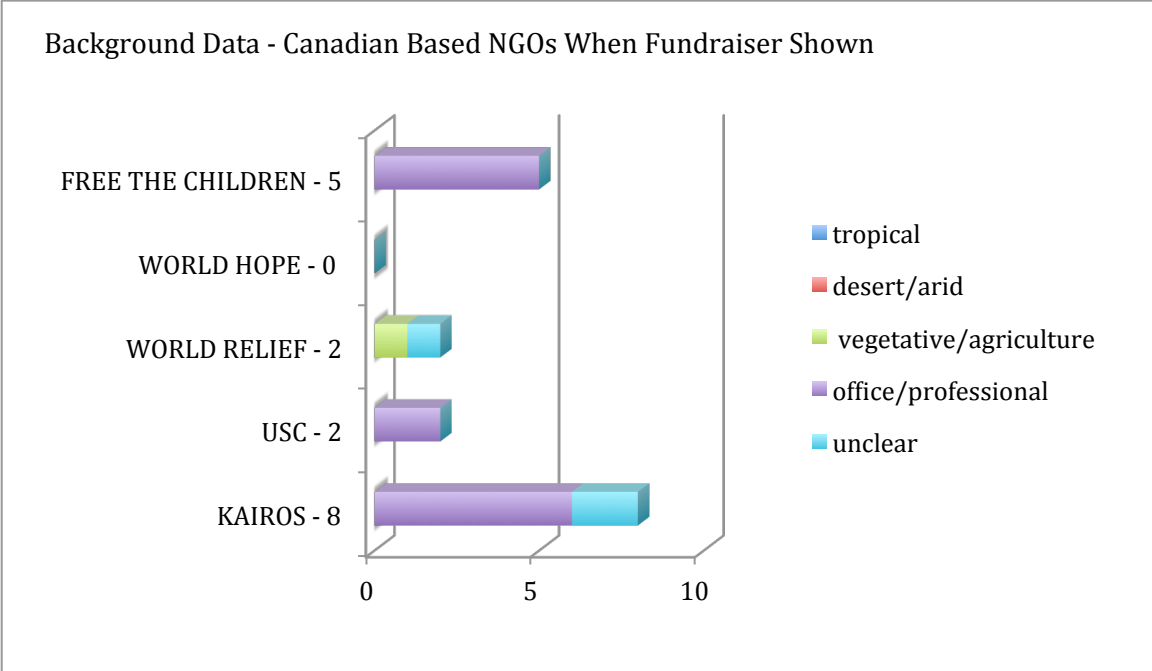


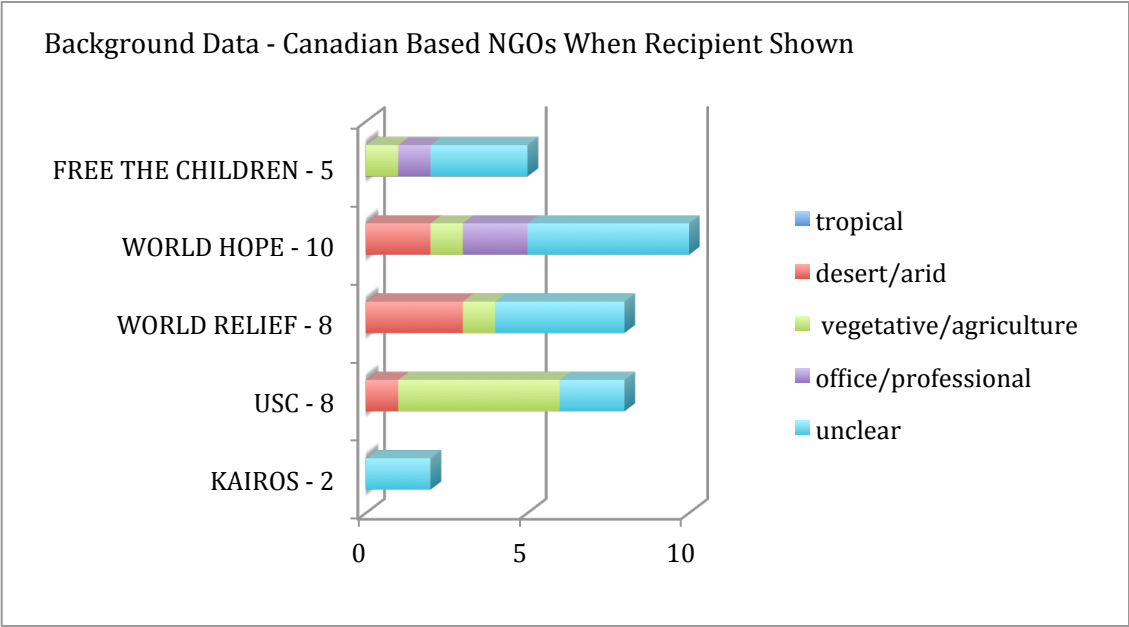
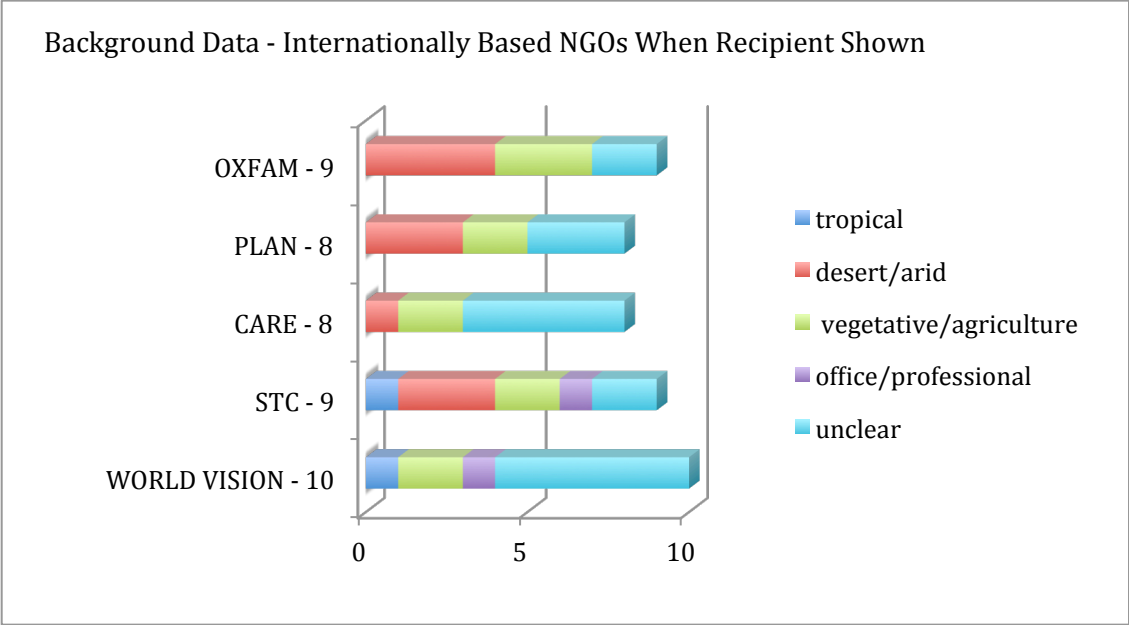
Background Data - Internationally Based NGOs

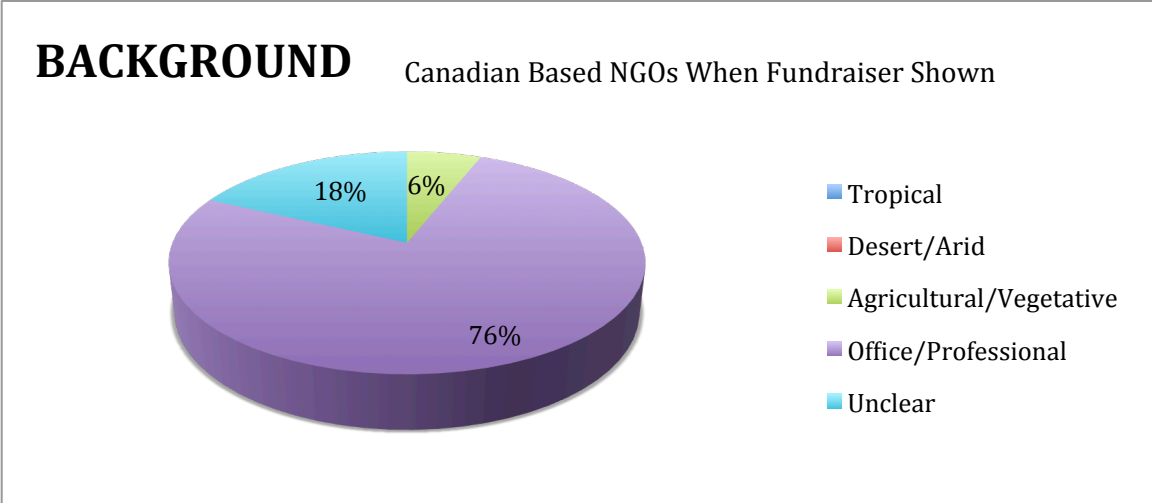
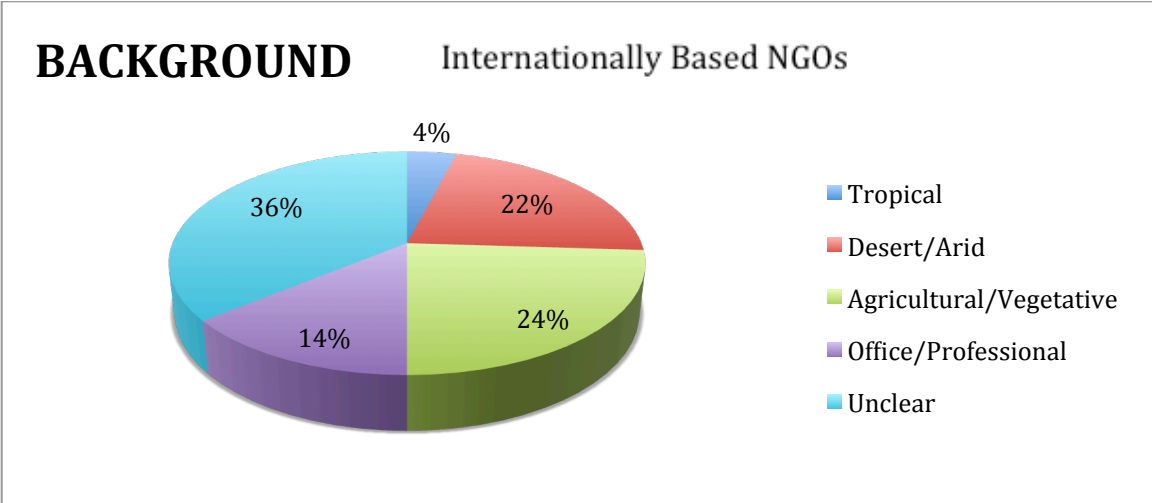
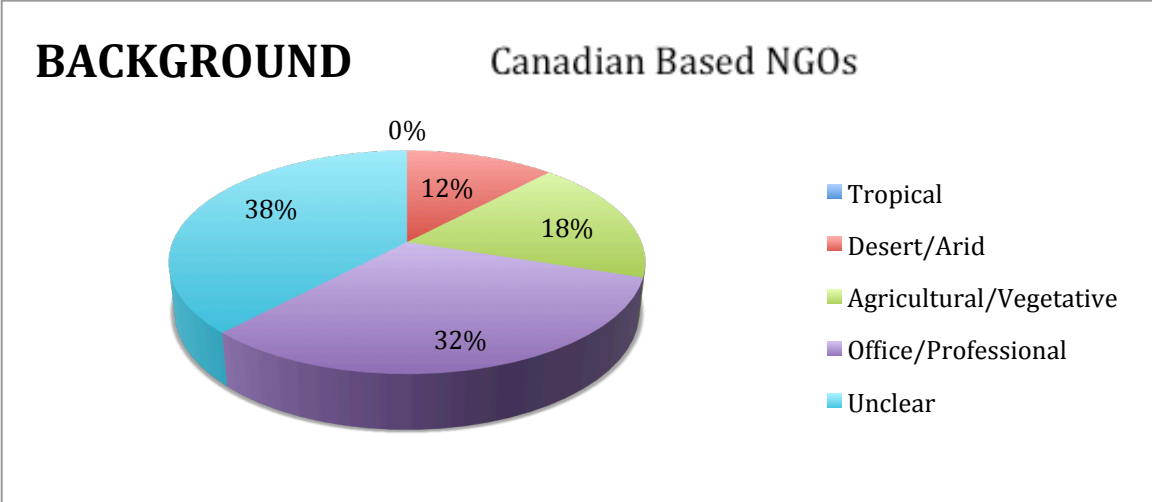


Background Data - Canadian Based NGOs



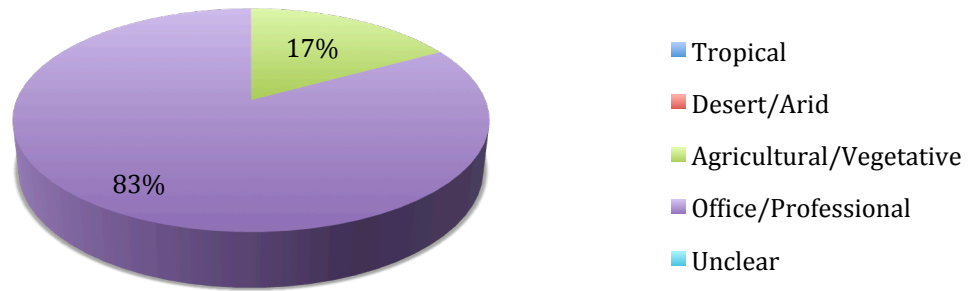






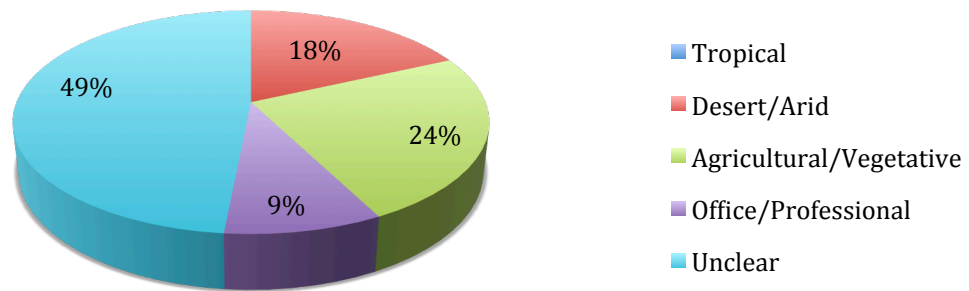
BACKGROUND

Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



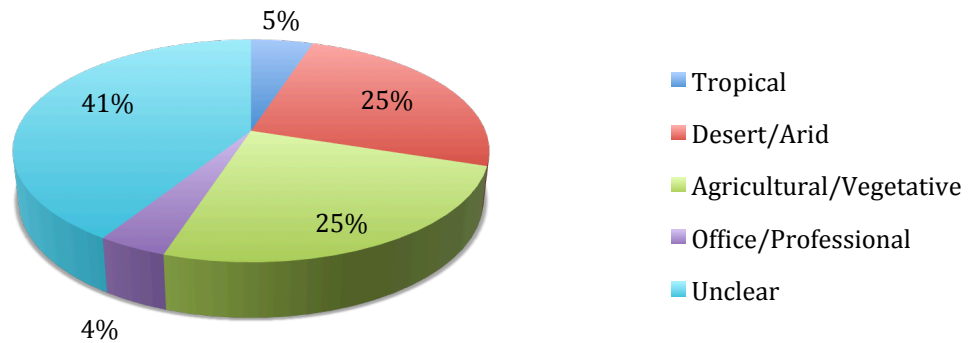
BACKGROUND

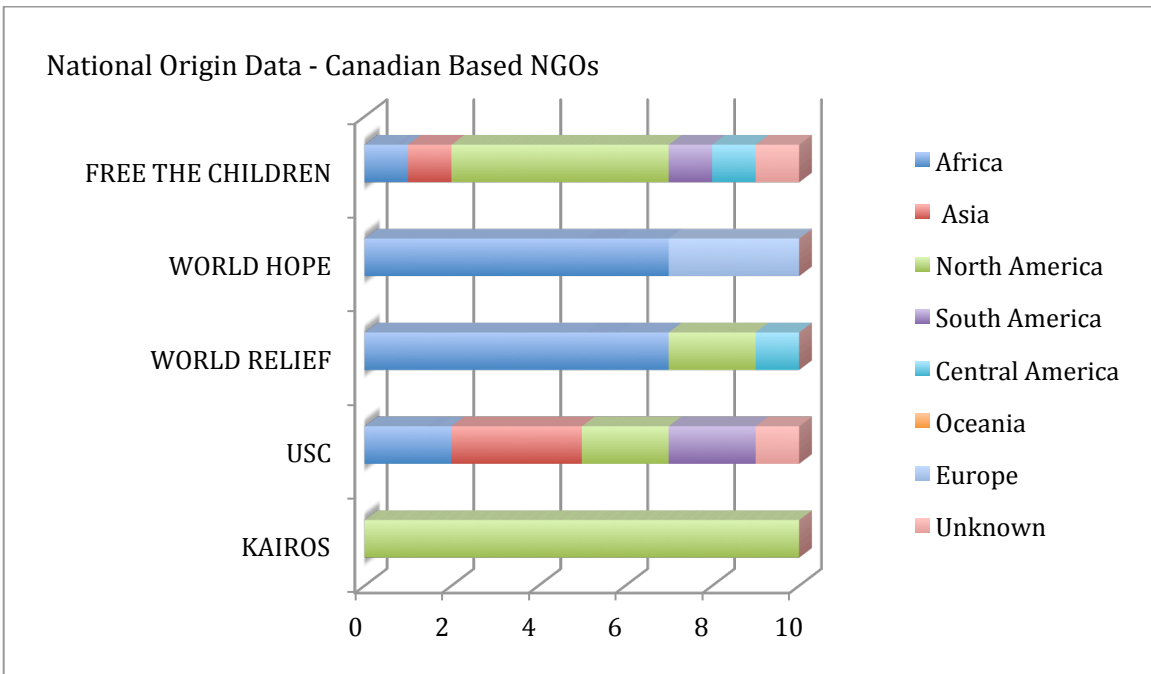
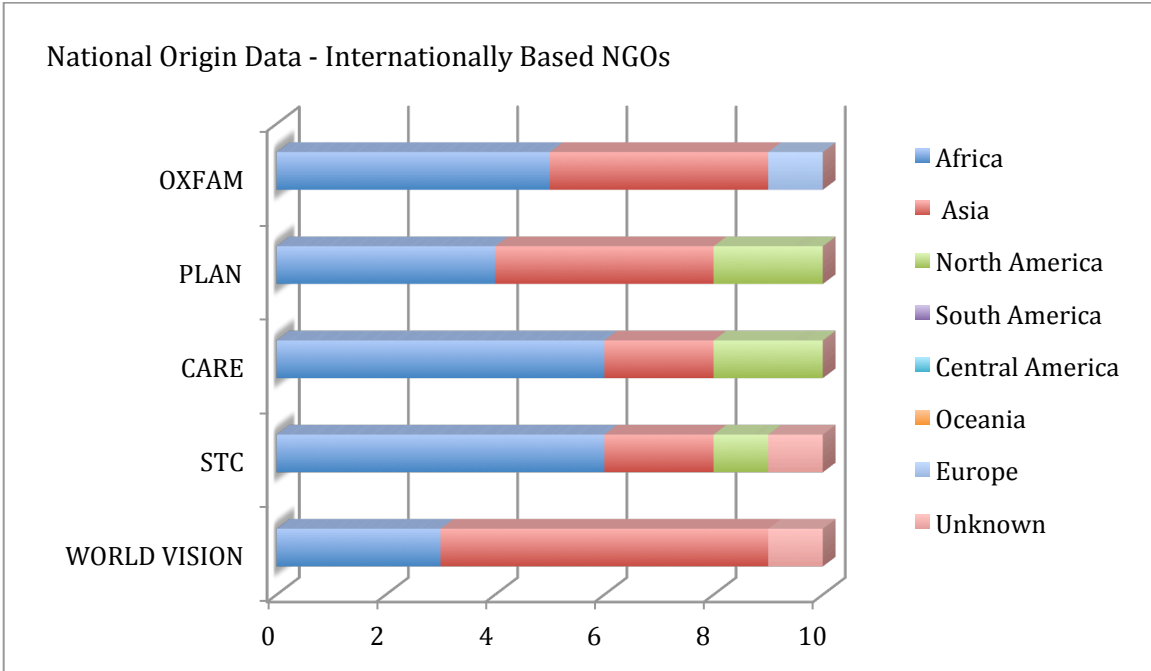
Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown

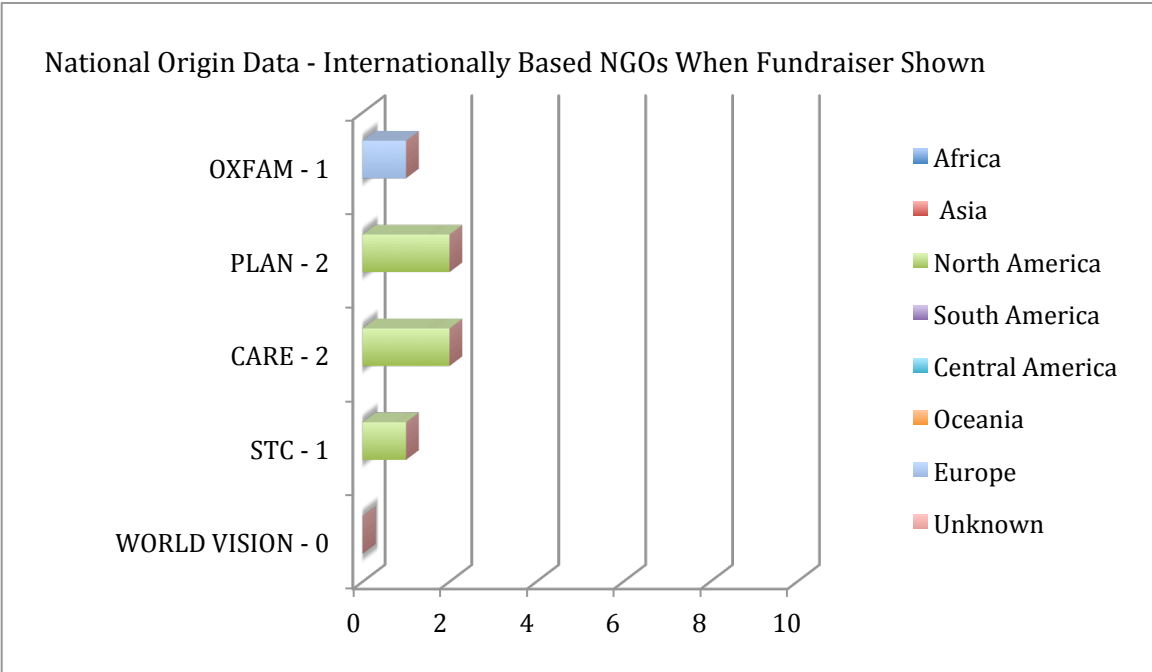
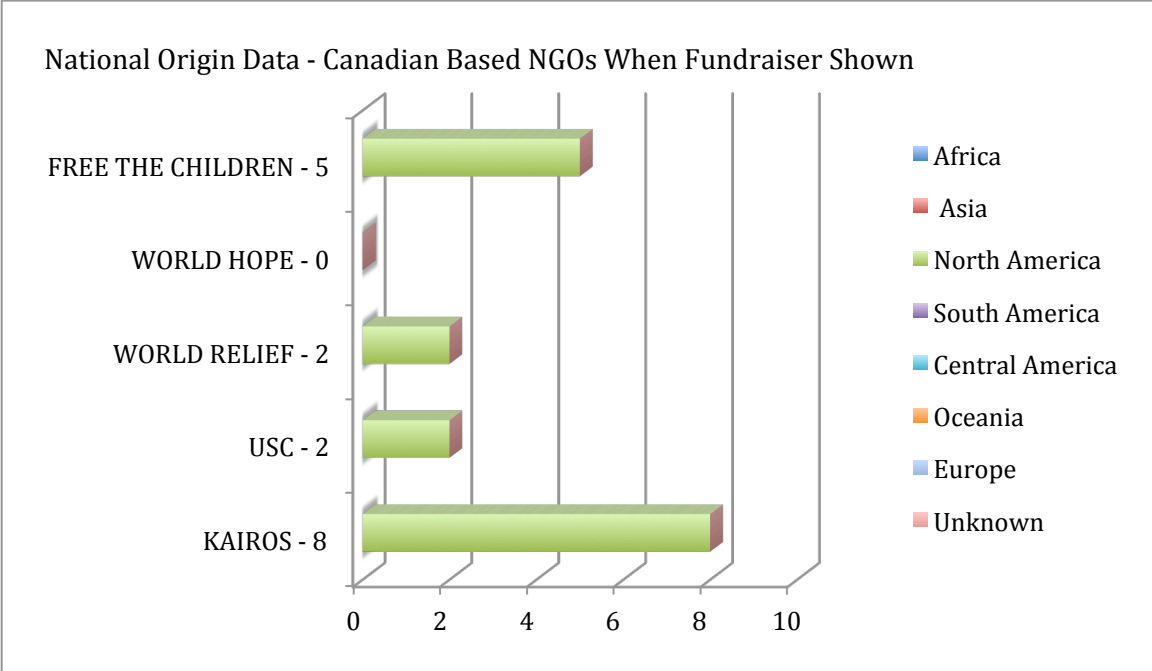


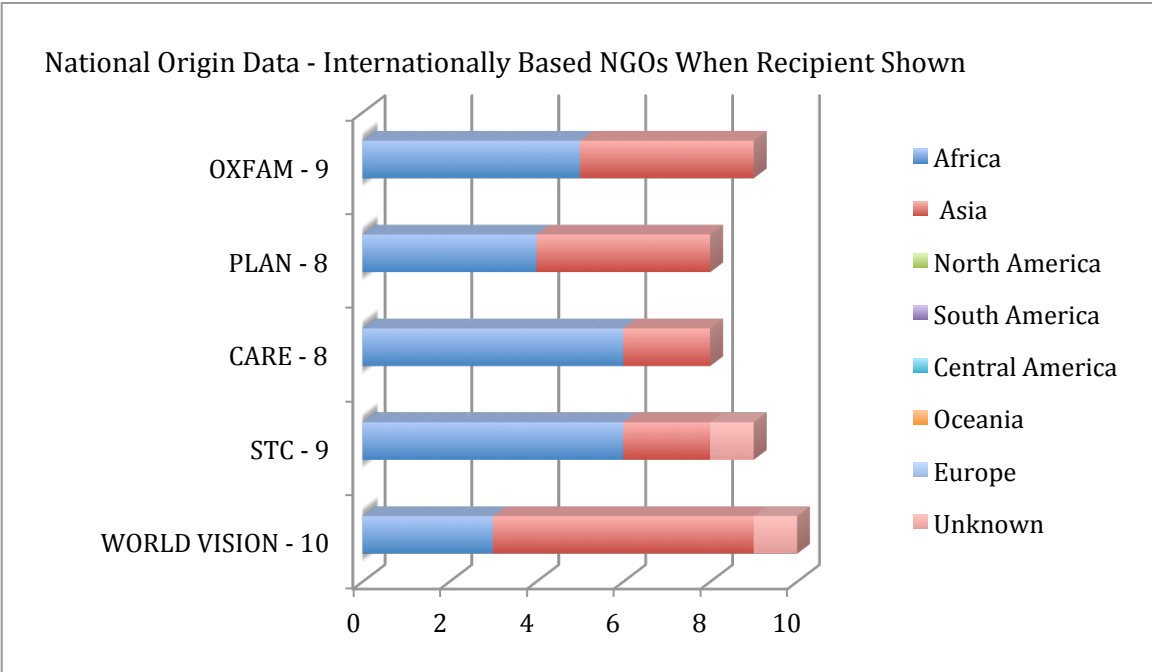
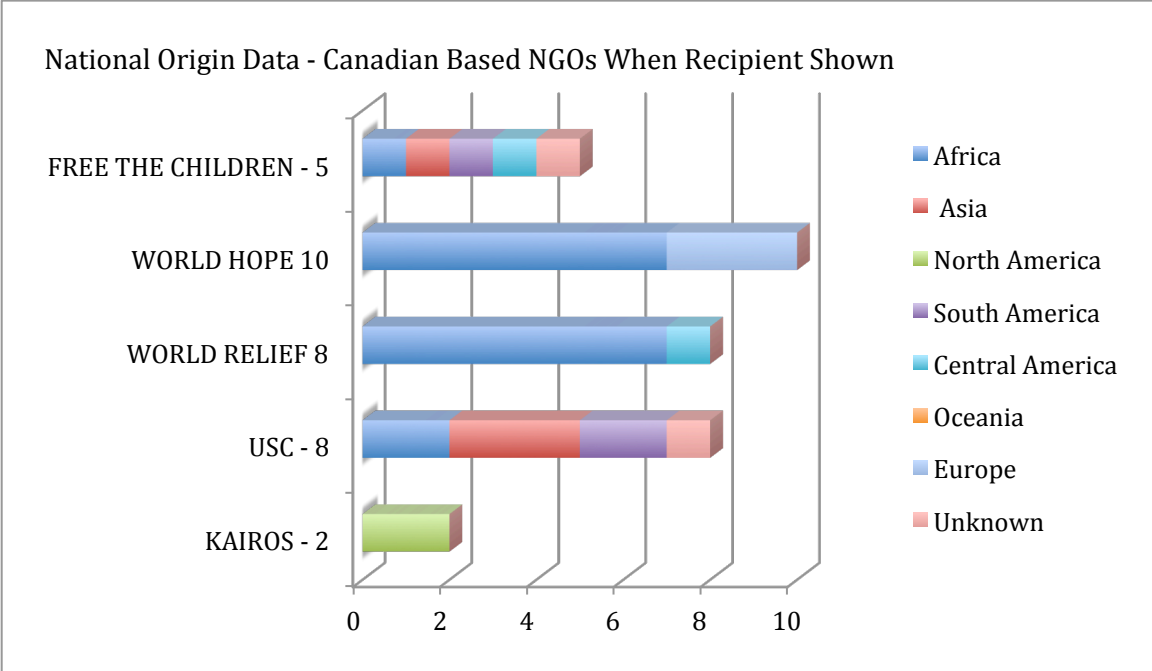
BACKGROUND

Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient Shown

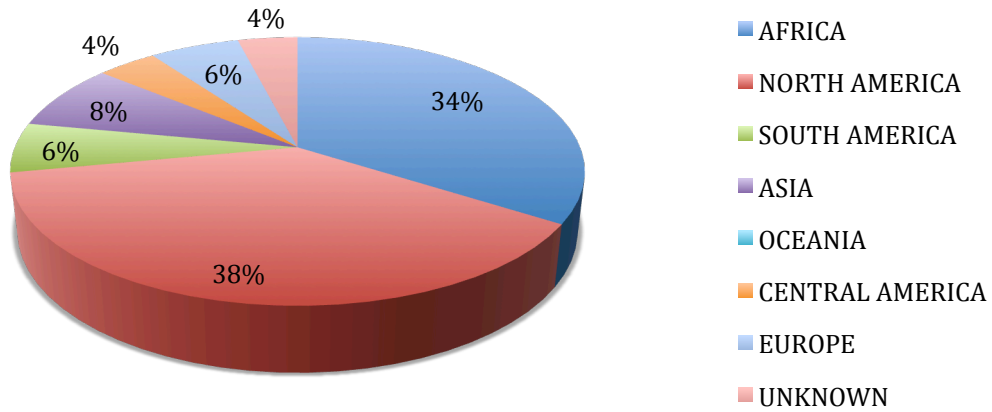




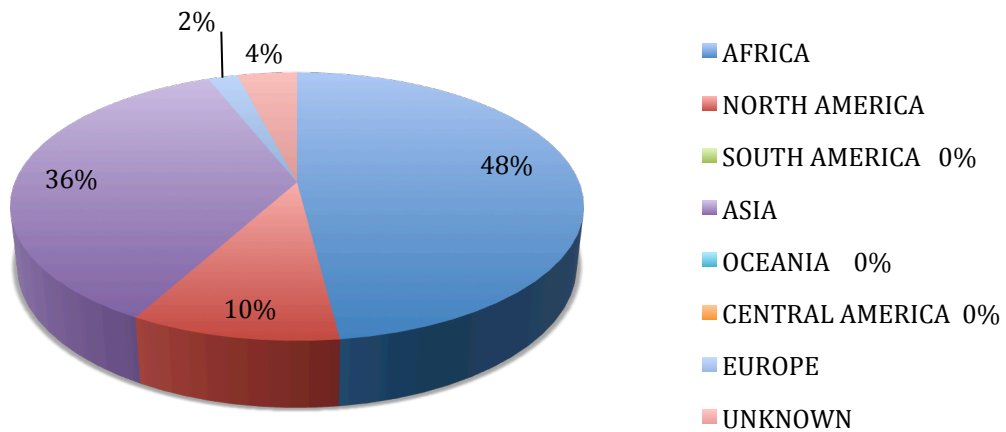




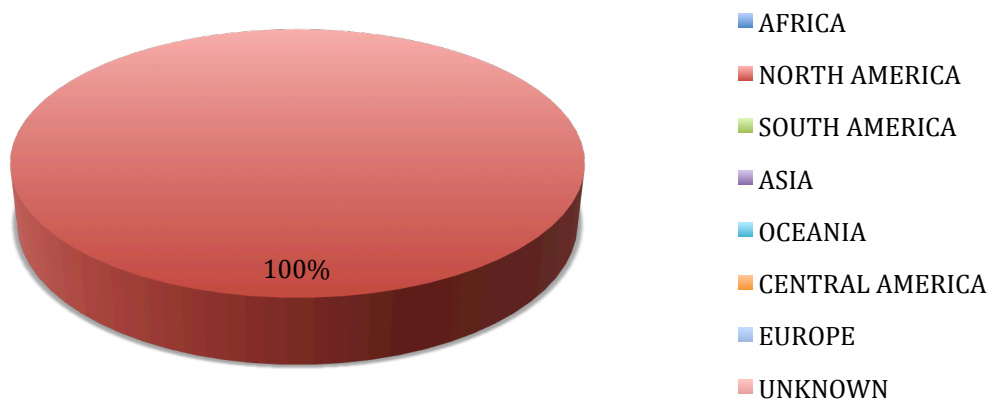
NATIONAL ORIGIN Canadian Based NGOs



NATIONAL ORIGIN Internationally Based NGOs

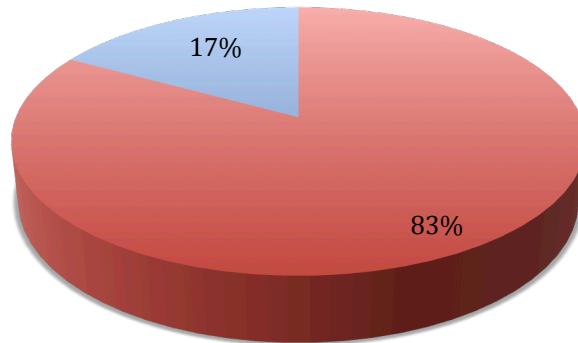


NATIONAL ORIGIN Canadian Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



NATIONAL ORIGIN

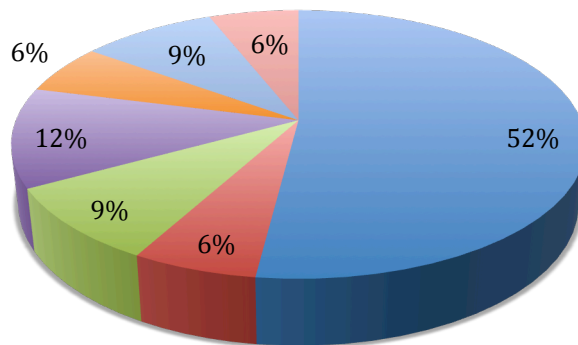
Internationally Based NGOs When Fundraiser Shown



- AFRICA
- NORTH AMERICA
- SOUTH AMERICA
- ASIA
- OCEANIA
- CENTRAL AMERICA
- EUROPE
- UNKNOWN

NATIONAL ORIGIN

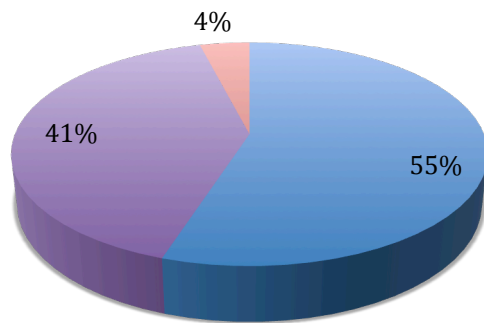
Canadian Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



- AFRICA
- NORTH AMERICA
- SOUTH AMERICA
- ASIA
- OCEANIA
- CENTRAL AMERICA
- EUROPE
- UNKNOWN

NATIONAL ORIGIN

Internationally Based NGOs When Recipient Shown



- AFRICA
- NORTH AMERICA
- SOUTH AMERICA
- ASIA
- OCEANIA
- CENTRAL AMERICA
- EUROPE