COMMUNICATING SOLIDARITY: THE CULTURAL POLITICS AND PRACTICES OF HUMANITARIAN NGO CAMPAIGNS

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SUMMARY

This thesis examines humanitarian activism facilitated by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Focusing on two coalition campaigns, ENOUGH FOOD IF (2013) and MAKE POVERTY HISTORY (2005), this thesis investigates how popular understandings of humanitarianism are promoted and understood in relation to the politics of poverty. Visual communication, including images, videos and infographics, is the site of investigations. By addressing visual communication in relation to protest campaigns, this thesis contributes new perspectives to a field that predominantly focuses on fundraising appeals.

This thesis mobilises the concept of solidarity, as a descriptive and normative framework, to investigate the production, representation and participation enabled by communicative structures. The study begins by contextualising protest campaigns within a history of humanitarian communication. Secondly, the production of communicative spaces is critiqued using an analysis of campaign communication, internal campaign documents and 10 semi-structured interviews with NGO professionals. This analysis moves the debate beyond the content of the binary frame of 'negative' and 'positive' images. Instead, the dominant visuals mobilised by campaigns are discussed in relation to NGO practices and the terrain of inter/intra-organisational politics involved in the production of coalition campaigns. Humanitarian communication, this thesis argues, is shaped by relations of power between NGOs, governments and media institutions. Thirdly, based on an analysis of the campaigns' digital spaces, 155 diary responses to a *Mass Observation Directive* and 8 in-depth interviews with young people, the practices of participation are explored. By listening to how people experience NGO communications, this thesis provides a contextualised understanding of the emotions, relationships and performances involved in communicating solidarity. Contributing to a gap in audience research, this study shows how people further mediate, negotiate and at times resist humanitarian narratives.

KEYWORDS: Activism, Audiences, Humanitarian Communication, Poverty, Solidarity

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STATEMENT

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature: ....

Rachel Mary Tavernor, 31st July 2017, Falmer, UK

TERMINOLOGY

'Africa'
When single quotation marks are used, influenced by the work of Keith Tester (2010: ix), I am distinctly referring to a homogenous construction of Africa, produced and reinforced by media cultures and communications.

DfID
The UK Department for International Development (DfID) was formed in 1997. The original department, Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM), was founded in 1964 by the Labour government.

G8
A political forum to address global challenges. It is composed of a Group of 8 Nations (G8) with strong economies: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United Sates. Members first met in 1973 to discuss the economic problems caused by oil prices. Japan joined in 1974, Italy joined in 1975, Canada joined in 1976 and Russia joined in 1998.

IF
Enough Food for Everyone If 2013 campaign. A descriptive introduction of the campaign is on page 30.

MPH
Make Poverty History 2005 campaign. A descriptive introduction of the campaign is on page 28.

NGO
Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO). I use the term to refer to 'a not-for-profit, voluntary citizens' group, which is organized on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good' (United Nations cited in Hilton et al. 2012: 9).

Third World
Chandra Talpade Mohanty argues the term reinforces rather than challenges 'existing economic, cultural, and ideological hierarchies' (1991: 74). For these reasons, I distance my work from the term but in direct quotations 'third world' is used. The cited authors use the term to refer to countries in Africa, Asia and South America, which have widespread economic poverty.

PREFACE

Figure 0.1: Christmas, UK, December 1991

Figure 0.2: Platform 2, Ghana, June 2008

David Morley in the opening of his book, *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity*, acknowledges that 'all theory has its roots, in one way or another, in autobiography' (2000: 1). This thesis brings together theories about politics, place and participation. My curiosity in politics and place originate from my childhood. Born in Newcastle upon Tyne into an Irish family, I made regular trips 'home' to Belfast. My understanding of politics, place and publics, produced by participation, developed from my family's histories of what eventually was defined as *The Troubles*.[1] Rights were fought for (and not granted by nationality), struggles were lengthy (and not always successful), and political action (on all sides) was articulated with passion, and at times violence. My maternal and paternal families lived on different sides of sectarian borders, which were marked by symbolism, such as painted curbs and flags. My own experiences, in the late 1980s and 1990s, traversing these borders, while learning about my 'homeland' via murals that articulated subaltern voices and mainstream news reports about 'home' that privileged some voices, while discrediting and producing 'others', paved the way for my interest in communications.

Similarly, my involvement in humanitarianism originates from my family practices: sponsoring children in 'Africa', writing letters to petition against human rights

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[1] *The Troubles*, refers to a period of violent conflict about the constitutional status of Northern Ireland (1968 − 1998).

violations, boycotting Nestlé and buying Fairtrade products, contributed to my understanding of individual actions of compassion for those less fortunate.[2] At the age of three, I requested that my first doll from Santa Claus would be black and in many ways I played out both my gender and a humanitarian imaginary, which I had encountered in NGO communications, of *individual* maternal love, care and benevolence towards *my* 'African' child (figure 0.1). Nearly two decades later, while teaching in Ghana, West Africa, on a DfID funded NGO programme, the photographs taken of me, and the photographs that I took, which were shared on websites, blogs and social networks, reflected a similar humanitarian imaginary that I explore in this thesis (figure 0.2).

Figure 0.3: 'Jesus. Adventures. Africa. Two worlds. One love. Babies. Beauty', @BARBIESAVIOR, Instagram, March 2016

Figure 0.4: 'Meet Lilly, and volunteer to SAVE Africa…', SAIH NORWAY, Twitter Profile from YouTube Video, 7 November 2014

In recent years, the involvement of young people, as well as celebrities, participating in humanitarian projects and the communications that are produced have become the subject of much criticism, as well as parodies. Instagram accounts, such as @barbiesaviour (figure 0.3), and spoof YouTube videos, for example produced by Radi-Aid (figure 0.4), mock the 'volunteer to SAVE Africa' narratives. While I can laugh at the comedic representations, and question if I ever believed that I was 'saving Africa', I am curious if the parodies are also part of a problem that they also aim to critique. The satire targets individuals (often young and female), for their lack of education, naivety and ill-informed passion. Implicit in the parodies is that their

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[2] As a child, I understood my privilege simply as good fortune and my responsibility to act was because I was *lucky* to live 'here' and not 'there'.

participation in humanitarianism and the communications that they produce are 'wrong'. The individual (whether young, famous or naïve) is presented as the 'problem'. The visibility of their practices, documented in the communications that they produce, make them an accessible target to critique. Yet, the correlations within the communications, for example the similarities of the images taken during 'gap years' and celebrity visits to 'Africa', are indicative that the 'problem' lies not with the individual, but with the infrastructures of NGOs, media cultures, and government politics, which produce, shape and define humanitarian imaginaries and the ways in which people participate.

As a campaigner, in both personal and professional capacities, I promoted protest action facilitated by NGOs: petitioning MPs, attending rallies and wearing wristbands. As a result of campaigning with NGOs I was granted a degree of access to cabinet ministers and celebrities, who endorsed and echoed our messages, which were often favourably reported in mainstream media. On reflection, the support of the state and the mainstream media gave me confidence that our campaigns would provoke social change.[3] In many cases, the campaigns achieved changes in UK government policies. However, as I moved from one campaign to another, and the same stories of poverty and UK agency were told, I began to question if the dominant communications that NGOs use to promote participation, as well as the actions, contribute to another form of injustice.

In 2006, while visiting NGO projects in Tajikistan, Central Asia, I produced photographs that echoed the visuals that I had encountered in NGO communications. I aligned individuals, predominantly children, to a single frame. The majority of photographs were taken in the homes of the people who benefitted from the NGO sponsored projects. Although I had asked, via a translator, for their permission to take the photograph, I was conscious of the lack of participation in the images that I produced and how those images would go on to be used. I listened to stories about humanitarian projects which were led by local communities in collaboration with a coalition of NGOs. Yet, my photographs of their projects, as well as my campaigning back in the UK, felt disjointed from their partnership approach. The communications produced, retold their stories, with another narrative of the power of the UK public,

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[3] This was, in part, due to my understanding that mainstream support was needed to change state policies.

calling for them to 'do something'. Whereas the people living in poverty, in the retelling of their stories, became static, and at times homogenous representations of the people that the UK needs to 'help'.

This thesis aims to answer the questions which I had, and still have, while participating in humanitarian campaigns and communications. The questions asked are shaped by my involvement with NGOs and my experiences as an activist, feminist and female northerner, while my approach to this study is shaped by my education in Media Practice, Development and Cultural Studies. By bringing these disciplines into dialogue, with empirical research, I aim to contribute new understandings of how representations of humanitarianism are produced, relationships negotiated and solidarity communicated.

The writing of this thesis coincides with the reporting of a refugee 'crisis'. The mass movement of people seeking refuge in the UK, and across the world, has made visible how public opinion is fractured. Where the humanitarian responsibilities of governments, communities, and individuals continue to be debated, negotiated and defined. Popular discourses of borders, control and hospitality, alongside a resurgence of far right nationalist discourses in Northern America and Western Europe, have contributed to changing political terrains. Political changes that I did not imagine when I started to write this thesis. While the focus of this study is on distinct campaigns, in a given period, I hope that my research and discussions of communicating solidarity may speak to contemporary, and future, contexts. In my lifetime, it has never felt more relevant to investigate, research, and seek understanding of how people participate in politics, publics and protest.

PART I
THEORETICAL FRAMINGS

There's really no such thing as the 'voiceless'.
There are only the deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard.

Arundhati Roy, Writer and Feminist

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1. SITUATING THE STUDY IN THE RESEARCH FIELD

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

On 15 May, 1919, a distinguished looking Englishwoman appeared at the Mansion House on trial for endangering national security. Eglantyne Jebb's offence was to have published and distributed a leaflet without the censor's permission. The leaflet showed a starving Austrian baby. She was fined £5. The photograph was authentic.

Janet Watts, *The Observer*, 1991, page 18
Bicentenary Lecture: Extraordinary spinster who saved children

In 1919, although the First World War had ended, the UK maintained a blockade of trade with Germany. Eglantyne Jebb, and her sister, Dorothy Buxton, both feminist anti-war activists, produced handbills, with the *Fight the Famine Council* and the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, to protest the blockade. In April 1919, Jebb distributed the handbills in Trafalgar Square (London), a traditional site of protest. Her actions were radical, political and public. Jebb was subsequently arrested and charged, 'for failing to get government permission for public distribution of the leaflets' (Fehrenbach 2015: 196).[4] Jebb, representing herself in court, maintained that she had not defied the law, due to the humanitarian focus of the leaflets. Jebb argued that her handbills were 'a purely humanitarian plea', based on her Christian values, and not political anti-war propaganda. She was found guilty but reports argue that 'she had won the moral case' (Mulley 2009: 391). On trial, alongside Jebb, was the National Labour Press, who were also fined for printing the leaflets, and Barbara Ayrton Gould, who distributed leaflets that questioned 'What does Britain stand for? Starving Babies, Torturing Women, Killing the Old' (Mahood 2009: 161).

Emaciated Austrian children featured prominently on the handbills distributed. One titled 'Our blockade has caused this!', directly linked the UK government's actions to causing the deaths of millions of children across Europe, concluding the handbill with 'We are responsible for this. How can we stop this?' (figure 1.1). The handbill calls people to 'Write to Lloyd George and say that you won't stand for it'. The second

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[4] The Defence of the Realm Act 1914, granted the government the power to censor communication, leaflets about the war, or peace efforts, had to be submitted to the bureau before publication (Mahood 2009: 254).

handbill, titled 'A Starving Baby' also called for political action 'to restore free intercourse between the nations and allow the starving countries to feed themselves' (figure 1.1, original in capitals). Those involved in producing the communications did not separate their fundraising and campaigning, by raising funds to send food behind the blockade, 'they felt that they were protesting against the punitive post-war politics of the Allied powers' (Baughan & Fiori 2015: 132).

Figure 1.1: 'A Starving Baby' and 'Our 'Blockade' has caused this!' and 'A Starving Baby' Handbills, 1919, Distributed in Trafalgar Square, UK, Archived at the Cadbury Research Library (University of Birmingham).

The trial was prominently reported, and images of the handbills were republished in newspapers.[5] On 19th May 1919, days after the trial, Jebb and Buxton called a public meeting in the Royal Albert Hall in London and co-founded the *Save the Children Fund*, as a distinct organisation from the *Fight the Famine Council*.[6] The founding of *Save the Children* is identified as the start of the humanitarian NGO sector in the UK (Baughan & Fiori 2015: 131). The distributed handbills are archived as the first communications produced by the organisation.[7] It is here, very early in the development of NGOs, that humanitarianism is communicated as a political project. Unlike the missionaries in the 18th century, who sought assistance from the state in their formative years (Saunders 2009: 40), *Save the Children* grew from protest organisations who were antagonistic to state policies that they believed perpetuated war, violence and hunger. The founders

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[5] '"Raise the Blockade" Leaflets', *The Times*, 16th May 1919, page 9, Issue 42101; 'Blockade Poster Fines', *Daily Mail*, 16th May 1919, page 5, Issue 7210; 'Raise the Blockade', *Daily Mirror*, 19th May 1919, page 5.
[6] Save the Children (n.p.) *Our History*, http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/about-us/history [accessed 01/02/2016]
[7] Save the Children Fund Archive, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, Photographs and Slides Box 146

understood 'political protest and humanitarian provision as complementary' (Baughan 2013: 121). Communicating the human consequences of government policies by requesting funds for starving children could encourage public support for their political campaigns.

During the inter-war period, *Save the Children* strategically silenced their political messages. Buxton, who was visibly and vocally part of the British Left and radical protest organisations, became less prominent in the public image of *Save the Children*. The sisters believed that they would be more successful in raising funds if they communicated apolitical messages of altruism and shared humanity (Baughan & Fiori 2015: 132). Jebb, who had experiences of volunteering in Macedonia in 1913, became the figurehead. She was an astute publicist, investing significant funds in producing appeals for the radio, full page adverts in newspapers and on omnibuses. She focused public communications on 'the child' as 'feeding and socialising younger generations was a practical and symbolic investment in a better post-war future' (Fehrenbach 2015: 176). Jebb also recruited famous figures to support the work of *Save the Children*, including Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud and Pope Benedict XV. Although the appointment of Margaret Lloyd George, the Prime Minister's wife, as Vice President of *Save the Children* was controversial, and further silenced its radical roots, the recognised figures 'secured widespread legitimacy' (Watson 2015: 871).

While I focus in this thesis on communication published a century later, in 2005 and 2013, the tactics, tensions and techniques that shaped *Save the Children* in their foundational years are echoed in the cultural politics and practices of humanitarian campaigns today.[8] In this study, I explore communication, like the handbills, that aim to mobilise people to lobby government for political change. I investigate the inter and intra organisational tensions that exist in the production of humanitarian communication (Orgad 2013). While Jebb was committed to *Save the Children*, in the reporting of her life, authors report surprise that she *admitted*, 'I don't care for children' (quoted in Cabanes 2014: 254). In this study, I investigate how motherhood is entwined in the representations of humanitarianism and the impacts this has on communicating poverty as a political problem. I also explore how communication is

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[8] Cultural politics, as Kate Nash argues, 'concerns public contests over how society is imagined; how social relations are, could and should be organised... the social institutions that constrain our lives are nothing but routinised shared understandings of what is real and what is worthwhile' (2009: 2).

distributed, circulated and further mediated by mainstream media and audiences. While Jebb stood in Trafalgar Square to distribute her handbills, the notoriety of her action came from her arrest and trial that was reported in mainstream news. In this study, I explore what are some of the contemporary equivalents to distributing leaflets. In particular, focusing on how NGOs use digital spaces to communicate and mobilise publics. Through ethnographic research of Facebook, including interviews with young people, and a collaboration with the *Mass Observation Archive*, I explore how people participate, negotiate and resist humanitarian communication. The foundational years of *Save the Children*, and the strategic decisions made by Jebb and Buxton, have characterised contemporary British NGO humanitarianism to be business like, apolitical and to 'save' the children.

In the following sections of this chapter, I explain the rationale for this study and identify the current gaps in the field. I discuss the sites of investigation and justify their relevance for responding to my research questions. I also contextualise the coalition campaigns in wider histories, focusing on the popular, political and regulatory context of humanitarian communication. I conclude this chapter by outlining how this thesis is structured.

1.1.   Situating the Study in the Research Field

This study is situated in a field that brings together a range of critical, theoretical and disciplinary perspectives. In the last decade, there has been a marked increase in research in Cultural, Media and Development Studies that examines the relationship between humanitarianism and media culture. In this section, I define the terms used in this thesis, as well as discuss the research context of this study and the research questions that guide this project.

1.1.1. Defining Terms

In the drafting, and redrafting of this thesis, I have reflected on the terms that I have chosen, as well as the language that I have instinctively used. Language has the ability to exclude. The use of code-words specific to the development sector 'are barely intelligible to those beyond its borders' (Cornwall 2010: 3). Likewise, disciplinary borders can often produce barriers to communicating research beyond academic

institutions. The language of development, as Andrea Cornwall argues, 'defines worlds-in-the-making, animating and justifying intervention' (2010: 3). Language shapes the perspectives shared. It is a site of struggle, 'where language and naming are power' (Rich 1979: 204). With this in mind, the aim is that the terms chosen challenge rather than reinforce oppressive hierarchies.

Humanitarianism

In this study, humanitarianism is discussed in relation to action that aims to intervene in the lives of people living in poverty. Sociologist Keith Tester contributes a useful definition that humanitarianism 'is about how the West understands and acts out a sense of moral responsibly toward the impoverished parts of the world and their threatened inhabitants' (2010: vii). Humanitarianism promotes relationships that recognise a responsibility to intervene across existing borders. Michael Barnett distinguishes between 'emergency' and 'alchemical' humanitarianism, where the former 'confines itself to saving lives', while the latter addresses 'the root causes of suffering' (2011: 39). Whereas Dan Brockington, in his work on celebrity advocacy, uses 'development' to discuss action that deals 'with more mundane forms of poverty and the deeper structural causes' (2014: xxii). Yet, as Brockington acknowledges, these conceptual differences are frequently blurred in writing (2014: xxiii). I have chosen not to use 'development' or 'alchemical' humanitarianism to discuss the organisations, campaigns and communications; for both imply that by intervening 'progress' and 'positive' change occurs. The alchemical reaction turns base metals into gold. Yet, as postcolonial scholars show, intervening in the lives of people living in poverty, especially with force, is not always positive (Spivak 1990; Kothari 2002; Kapoor 2008).

Global Norths and Souths

Tester positions the humanitarian relationship between geographical territories: the 'west' and '*the* impoverished part of the world' (2010: vii, my emphasis). This is also referred to as a relationship between the 'first' world or 'global north' and the 'third world' or 'global south'. In this thesis, I use the terminology of global souths and norths in the plural, not to refer to static geographical *spaces* but to hierarchal *places*. Understanding these terms as hierarchal positions, instead of geographical locations, emphasises the interdependency between north and south. For example, a 'north' can only exist in relation to a 'south', in the same way that a 'dominant' can only exist in relation to a 'subservient'. Human geographer Doreen Massey understands 'place' as

'constructed out of a particular constellation of relations, articulated together at a particular locus' (1993: 66). Massey's theory of 'place' can contribute to weaving an understanding of global norths and souths as fluid; open rather than closed, multiple rather than singular and temporal rather than static (2005: 139). Hierarchies are not homogenously produced, nor are they equivalently experienced. These *places* are woven by relations of power with complex histories that produce diverse experiences of poverty and privilege. Mediated visibility, and the representations made in that period of visibility, contribute to hierarchies of agency and are sustained by repetitive representations (see chapter four).

People Living in Poverty

Throughout this study I discuss people living in poverty. The World Bank defines poverty as living on less than $1.90 a day, and in 2013 they calculated that 10.68% of the world population live in poverty.[9] Poverty, as John Toye suggests, is often 'thought of as a kind of generalised lacking' (2010: 45). In humanitarian communications, it is visually represented as a lack of food, shelter or even parents (discussed in chapter four). While poverty is an economic injustice, 'rooted in the economic structure of society' (Fraser 2003: 13), it is not solely a problem of redistribution. Poverty intersects with cultural forms of oppression; gender, race, social class and age. Subsequently, people living in poverty should not be understood as a homogenous or static group, classified as the 'poor', the 'third world' or the 'global south'. In this study, when I refer to people living in poverty I aim to emphasise the plurality of the stories that can, and could, be told about living in poverty. This promotes an understanding that poverty is a lived experience. Like any other form of oppression, people have knowledge of poverty by their own life stories and lived experiences (Kothari 2004).

1.1.2. Related Studies and Scope

Foundational work has primarily focused on the representations of suffering in the context of news reporting (Benthall 1993; Moeller 1999; Chouliaraki 2006; Cottle & Nolan 2007; Franks 2013, Cottle 2014) and humanitarian adverts (Cohen 2001; Ahmed 2004; Smith & Yanacopulos 2004; Manzo 2008; Dogra 2012; Chouliaraki 2013). The subject of much of the research in the field is the representation of suffering across

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[9] The World Bank (n.p.) Poverty headcount ratio at $1.90 a day (2011 PPP)(% of population) http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.DDAY [last accessed 09.02.17]

borders (disasters, famines and wars), predominantly explored through a textual analysis of news reports and adverts produced by NGOs. Research in the field shows how people living in poverty are homogenously represented as 'children' (Suski 2009; Manzo 2008), 'dehumanised' (Cohen 2001; Dogra 2012; Chouliaraki 2013), 'imperially' imagined (Biccum 2010; Harrison 2010; Kothari 2014) and 'marketed', 'branded' and 'commoditised' (Biccum 2007; Vestergaard 2010; Richey & Ponte 2011). These studies illustrate the power of representations to shape how people living in poverty are imagined, at times, as passive, powerless and penurious. Humanitarianism, as Tester argues, 'involves an imagination about the world, about the relationships between the near and the far, "us" and "them"' (2010: vii). For most people, understanding the geographically far away is contingent on global imaginations (Appadurai 1996; Boltanski 1999; Orgad 2012; Chouliaraki 2013; Chouliaraki & Blaagaard 2013). Consequently, how humanitarianism, and the people who are part of that relationship, is represented profoundly matters.

Humanitarian communication is structured on relations of power between people living in poverty, the communicators of poverty (NGOs, media institutions, governments, celebrities, travellers) and audiences. Discussions about the mediation of humanitarianism have revolved around the power relations between mainstream media and NGOs. These studies contribute valuable perspectives about how humanitarianism *depends* upon media. Arguing that humanitarian NGOs have to conform to formats that fit a 'media logic' in order to be visible, to be seen, to be noticed (Altheide & Snow 1979; Cottle & Nolan 2007; Franks 2013). In these accounts the media is presented as an independent power that NGOs, and other actors, have to struggle *against* to achieve visibility. This study positions the process of mediation as a more intertwined and fluid process. Media institutions are rooted within broader cultural, political, economic and social contexts (Thompson 1995; Silverstone 2005; Couldry & Hepp 2017).

Media transforms cultural politics and practices, as well as being conditioned by them. Sonia Livingstone (2009: 2) identifies a shift in the field of media research, away from an analysis of mass media as independent institutions, towards:

> a social analysis in which everything is mediated, the consequence being that all influential institutions in society have themselves been transformed, reconstituted, by contemporary processes of mediation.

To research humanitarianism, experiences of the process of mediation, and the broader cultural politics that condition practices, need to be explored. As Roger Silverstone (2007: 42), in his influential work on media and morality, argues:

> Mediation is not just a matter of what appears on the screen, but is actually constituted in the practices of those who produce the sounds and the images, the narratives and the spectacles, as well as, crucially, those who receive them.

Livingstone (2009) and Silverstone's (2007) understanding of mediation informs two strands of my research. The first is that the mediation of humanitarianism is constituted in the practices of those who produce the communications, the NGOs, the media and the public. Previous studies have contributed to a privileging of 'what appears on the screen' (Silverstone 2007: 42), and neglected the practices that are bound in the production processes. In recent years, academics, such as Bruna Seu and Shani Orgad (2013, 2017), Dan Brockington (2014) and Helen Yanacopulos (2016), have started to address this overlooked area by conducting interviews with NGO professionals about their practices in the UK.[10] My study contributes to addressing this gap, by also interviewing NGO professionals about their public engagement practices, with a focus on protest campaigns. As well as analysing internal NGO documents, archived at the *Modern Records Centre*, and NGO reports, such as *Finding Frames* (Darnton & Kirk 2011), which detail NGO practices, discourses and cultural politics. By doing so, this study creates a dialogue between 'what appears on the screen' (Silverstone 2007: 42) and the struggles, negotiations and politics that occur behind 'the screen'.

The second strand of this study that is influenced by Silverstone (2007) is that the representations deployed in humanitarian communication are further mediated by audiences, as well as the political, social and cultural contexts of its reception. Lilie Chouliaraki (2006) in her foundational text, *The Spectatorship of Suffering*, proposes that social theory offers two narratives to the mediation of suffering: the 'optimistic' and the 'pessimistic'. These normative terms reflect a perspective, shared by many of the

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[10] Orgad and Seu, as part of their study, *Mediated Humanitarian Knowledge*, conducted 17 interviews with NGO professionals involved in campaigns, communications and fundraising (2014: 5).
Brockington, in his work on celebrity advocacy, conducted 120 interviews with NGO professionals, journalists, employees in the celebrity industries and other researchers (2014: 12).
Yanacopulos conducted a series of interviews with NGO professionals, including people formerly employed by NGOs, involved in communications, fundraising, press, advocacy and policy (2016: 13).

studies in this field, that mediation that connects people, who then take a supportive action, is 'positive'.[11] Jacques Ranciére argues that society presents action, 'the only answer to the evil of the image and the guilt of the spectator' (2009: 87). In the optimistic narrative, the mediations of suffering can connect people across borders, foster cosmopolitan relationships and shared responsibility (Chouliaraki 2006: 26). Cosmopolitanism, in this context, is characterised as a progressive perspective, whereby media informs individuals of a civic responsibility beyond their own nation state (Held 2003; Beck 2006). From this perspective, media is crucial to the dissemination of information, following an enlightenment belief that 'if only people knew, they would act' (Cohen 2001: 185; Boltanski 1999: 20). But how people act, and the connection to knowledge of suffering, is an area that has been underexplored.

The pessimistic narrative argues that an 'overexposure of human suffering has unaestheticizing, numbing effects… suffering is met with indifference or discomfort, with viewers switching off' (Chouliaraki 2006: 18). At the forefront of discussions of a pessimistic narrative about how audiences respond are Susan Sontag (1977) in her work, *On Photography*, and Susan Moeller (1999) in *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death*. In the mid 1970s, Susan Sontag (1977: 21) proposed:

> At the time of the first photographs of the Nazi camps, there was nothing banal about these images. After thirty years, a saturation point may have been reached. In these last decades, "concerned" photography has done at least as much to deaden conscience as to arouse it.

Sontag asserts that photographer Don McCullin's images of the Nigerian-Biafran war (1967 – 1970), which included people in their final stages of life, had 'less impact' than photographer Werner Bischof's images of the famine in India, taken in the late 1950s.[12] Sontag discusses McCullin's photographs as 'an unbearable replay of a now familiar atrocity' (1977: 19). Sontag claims that images that 'repeat' scenes of similar suffering will 'anesthetise' audiences. Decades later, Susan Moeller, in her discussion of

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[11] Later in this thesis (especially in chapter two and seven), I argue that 'any' action is not always 'positive' and additional factors, most notably power relations and understanding must be taken into account.

[12] Don McCullin is a British photojournalist, he discussed, in his autobiography, that Biafra was 'beyond war, it was beyond journalism, it was beyond photography but not beyond politics' (2015: 136).
Werner Bischof was a Swiss photojournalist, in 1951 he photographed a famine in the province of Bihar, India.

mainstream media in the USA, proposed that 'compassion fatigue' is the 'inevitable result' of 'the same news, the same pictures' (1999: 32).[13]

In 2001, Stanley Cohen asserted that 'we know nothing worthwhile about the cumulative effect of media imagery' (2001: 169). More recently, David Campbell argued that 'compassion fatigue' is a 'myth' (2014). Campbell, in his work on photojournalism, illustrates how a cultural anxiety around 'visual overload leading to desensitisation… [is documented] in 1932, then 1964, and again now, despite major transformations in the information economy over the last eighty years, suggests these concerns are something other than simply descriptions of the times' (2014: 100). Jacques Ranciére notes a shift in cultural practices, 'from [discussing] the intolerable in the image to the intolerability of the image has found itself at the heart of tensions affecting political art' (Ranciére 2009: 84). Visuals, and the discourses of visual communication, are part of cultural contexts, practices and politics. Sontag (2003: 105) later retracted her earlier proposition:

> I wrote, photographs shrivel sympathy. Is this true? I thought it was when I wrote it. I'm not so sure now. What is the evidence that photographs have a diminishing impact, that our culture of spectatorship neutralises the moral force of photographs of atrocities?

As Campbell emphasises, there has been little empirical research conducted on how images are understood by audiences. For too long, the compassion fatigue thesis 'has prevented that thinking from progressing' (2014: 121). My study aims to contribute to understanding some of the cultural anxieties that humanitarian communication is inextricably a part of. In particular, to contribute empirical arguments about the influence of visual communication and how people interpret, negotiate and understand the representations promoted in humanitarian NGO campaigns.

A problem with existing literature, as Jonathan Ong (2009: 451) argues:

> lies with the perils of making dangerous assumptions. When one deduces the effects of A to B from a close reading of A rather than a dialogue with B, one commits what John Thompson (1990) has once called a 'fallacy of internalism'.

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[13] Moeller also discusses 'compassion fatigue' as a 'prior restraint on the media' (1999: 2), whereby images of suffering are edited out by media professionals, who believe that they will no longer appeal to the audience.

In much of the work that has been conducted on the mediation of humanitarianism, a strong focus has been given to 'how people *ought* to respond to mediated messages, rather than investigating how they *do* respond' (Orgad and Seu 2014: 15). In recent years, academics and NGO researchers have started to address this gap and call for more research in this area (Ong 2009; Cottle & Rai 2008; Scott 2014; Joye & Engelhardt 2015). A study on *Mediated Humanitarian Knowledge: Audiences' reactions and moral actions*, conducted by Bruna Seu and Shani Orgad (2014), contributes significant empirical research to the field.[14] Seu and Orgad's analysis of their audience data suggests that people respond to humanitarian communication that is 'emotionally Manageable, is Meaningful and furthers their understanding of humanitarian causes, and is Morally significant to them' (2014: 21, capitals in original). Also discussed are the 'blocks to action' – emotional, cognitive and moral (2014: 18). Their analysis, discussed as the 3 'M' model, recognises that multiple factors affect how people respond to NGO communications. Similarly, Maria Kyriakidou in her study, which explores Greek audiences' responses to distant suffering, shows mediated experiences of human pain 'cannot be assumed or predetermined by the nature of the suffering or its media representation' (2015: 228). I situate my study in this burgeoning field of research into how audiences respond, and are a part of, humanitarian communication.

The relationships between people living in poverty and the communicators of poverty (NGOs, media institutions, governments, celebrities, travellers), as well as their audiences, remains a significant and notable gap in this field. In 2010, *Save the Children* with *Panos* conducted a research project, *Depicting Injustice*, that interviewed 156 men, women and children about being represented in *Save the Children* photographs. *Save the Children* use this embargoed internal report, 'to inform their policy and guidelines on photography' (Panos 2010: 4). Acknowledging the absence of these voices is also a call for researchers, in NGOs and academia, to start to address this gap.[15]

1.1.3. Research Questions

To contribute to this field, and to address the gaps that I identify in the previous section, I investigate the cultural politics and practices of humanitarian NGO campaigns. Cultural politics, as Kate Nash notes, 'provide the conditions of citizenship,

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[14] The study included 21 focus groups with members of the UK public, 17 interviews with UK based NGOs and in-depth interviews with 16 people selected from the focus groups.

[15] In the conclusion, I discuss how this project could be expanded to address further gaps in the field.

of its weakening and displacement on the one hand, or of its recreation, its transformation' (2008: 168). An emergent field of inquiry, from across the humanities, addresses the cultural politics of humanitarian communication (Nash 2008; Littler 2008; Tester 2010; Biccum 2011; Chouliaraki 2013; Mostafanezhad 2013; Richey 2016). In response to such work, and in dialogue with it, I examine how NGO campaigns are produced, promoted and participated in.

The central research questions for this study are:

1. What are the cultural politics and practices that shape humanitarian communications?
2. How do humanitarian NGOs communicate, mobilise and facilitate protest action?
3. How do audiences further mediate, negotiate and participate in humanitarian communication?

Central to this study, are questions about the infrastructures of production and participation in humanitarian NGO campaigns.

1.2.   Sites of Investigation

> While the study of media communications and representations has secured sustained, often incisive commentary and critique, the relatively invisible world of NGOs and their impact upon processes of government policymaking, audience reception, and involvement in a fast-changing media ecology has, with few exceptions, received relatively little in-depth empirical study.
>
> (Cottle & Cooper 2015: 9)

As Cottle and Cooper argue, the impact of NGOs beyond the representations that they produce has remained 'relatively invisible' (2015: 9; Yanacopulos 2016: 2). NGOs assume power as 'visualizers of solidarity' (Orgad 2013: 297), as well as 'institutions of representation' (Shaw 1996: 60; Dogra 2012: 2). The 'public faces' included in communication, which are used to initiate relationships with people living in poverty, are a 'significant element of the politics of development' (Smith & Yanacopulos 2004: 659). Of equal importance are the internal practices of the NGOs that require more in-depth analysis. In this study, NGOs provide multiple sites to investigate. In particular,

the different places of discursive struggle that exist in the production, publication and audience participation. These multiple sites, which at times offer conflicting and paradoxical discourses, illustrate the complexity of NGO practices. For these reasons, they require research that brings together these differing discourses to understand their contribution to cultural politics and practices.

The United Nations define an NGO as a 'not-for-profit, voluntary citizens' group, which is organised on a local, national or international level to address issues to support the public good' (UNDPI 2009). The discourse of the public good, as Chouliaraki argues, 'draws legitimacy not simply from its adherence to principles of democratic governance but also from its adherence to a universal conception of welfare' (2010: 108). Humanitarian NGOs not only claim to serve a 'public good' but also contribute to constructing notions of the public good. By communicating that the provision of clean water, food and education are all for the public good.

The largest leading humanitarian NGOs in the UK are all products of wars. *Save the Children* was founded after the First World War in 1919.[16] In 1942, *Oxfam* was established during the Second World War, and *Christian Aid* was founded in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.[17] During a period of conflict, emergencies and famines, the NGO sector emerged as a global actor. As Walker and Maxwell argue, the 'system evolved. It was never designed, and like most products of evolution, it has its anomalies, redundancies, inefficiencies, and components evolved for one task being adapted to another' (2009: 2). It is how this system now operates that I explore in this thesis; the sites of struggles, the sites of collaboration and the sites of conflict.

To explore these differing sites, I have chosen two NGO coalition campaigns, the 2005 *Make Poverty History* campaign, referred to in this thesis as MPH, and the 2013 *Enough Food for Everyone* campaign, referred to as IF. The focus on coalition campaigns provides a dynamic site to investigate how organisations negotiate communications and campaigns. The UK context of this study is important: western based

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[16] Save the Children (n.p.) *Our History*, http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/about-us/history [last accessed 01/02/2016]

[17] Oxfam (n.p.) *History of Oxfam*, http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/about-us/history-of-oxfam [last accessed 01/02/2016].
Christian Aid (n.p.) *Our History*, http://www.christianaid.org.uk/aboutus/who/history/ [last accessed 01/02/2016].

humanitarian organisations are powerful actors within the sector (Kapoor 2012: 84) and account for around 20% of a global 'humanitarian market' (Baughan & Fiori 2015: 130). The UK also offers an interesting cultural context to study humanitarianism. As former colonisers, missionaries and philanthropists, which were advocated as humanitarian practices, it is important to understand NGOs emerging from these contested histories.

1.2.1. Make Poverty History (MPH)

The MPH campaign was publicly launched on 1st January 2005 in the UK and ran for one year. The campaign called for 'urgent and meaningful policy change on three critical and inextricably linked areas: trade, debt and aid' (Bond 2005: 3). The campaign aimed to mobilise the UK public to lobby the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and Chancellor, Gordon Brown, for decisive action. The year, 2005, was presented as a moment where the UK could be a leader on the 'world stage' due to:

> a series of *exceptional* international opportunities with the G8 taking place in Scotland; the UK Presidency of the European Union, the UN's planned review of the Millennium Development Goals and the World Trade Organisation ministerial in Hong Kong.[18]

The political context of this campaign is important. The campaign strategy was 'to work *with* and *within* dominant political and economic institutions' (Gopal 2006: 82). At the time, New Labour were the governing party, and wanted to be seen to be putting international poverty at the centre of their discussions with the G8 leaders. Labour had been elected in 1997 with a manifesto pledge to create a new Department for International Development (DfID).[19] The close relationship that the campaign established with government, which will be discussed in chapter five, became a source of conflict within the diverse coalition. The coalition was a 'unique UK alliance of charities, trade unions, campaigning groups, faith communities, and celebrities' (Bond 2005: 10). The unprecedented scale of the coalition peaked in July 2005, with over 540 member organisations. In 2005, several of the G8 countries also launched affiliated campaigns to pressure their leaders for action on international poverty. The UK

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[18] Make Poverty History (n.p., my emphasis) *2005: The year of Make Poverty History*, http://www.makepovertyhistory.org/docs/mph-lookback05.pdf [last accessed 30/03/2017]

[19] The new department increased the visibility of the government's work on international development, which was originally part of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. A new approach was also developed that 'was less centred on the deliver of aid to needy countries and more focused on delivering assistance to countries in order for them to become self-sustaining and thereby breaking a dependence on aid' (Elias & Ferguson 2007: 213).

campaign was part of an international coalition, *Global Call to Action Against Poverty* (GCAP), which was launched in Brazil in 2005 and currently includes 31 million people from 84 national coalitions from across the world.[20] This global scope of the GCAP coalition was promoted during International White Band Days, to show that the MPH campaign was not solely a UK initiative. The coalitions selected a white band as a symbol for the campaign, which supporters wore as wristbands, wrapped them around buildings and formed human white bands.

The public communications for the campaigns, and the internal discussions and decisions in producing them, make an interesting case study. The NGOs define MPH as the 'first mass marketing campaign on international development' (Cox 2011: 16). In truth, the campaign 'not only took place through the media to a large extent, especially in the UK, it took place in the [mainstream] media' (Nash 2008: 6). The campaign was launched on New Year's Day through an episode of the BBC sitcom, *The Vicar of Dibley*. The main character, a rural vicar, played by Dawn French, attempts to engage her church group with the MPH campaign and is met with cynicism by church members. She then plays a campaign video of two children from Nkandla (South Africa) sharing a story of their mother dying from AIDs. The video arouses support for the campaign and the congregation put on their white bands. The launch communicated several key elements of the campaign: celebrity involvement, dramatic imagery of children, a request to wear a white band, sign the petition and involve community groups.[21] The campaign heavily invested in marketing the campaign with celebrities, wristbands and 'new' media. The coalition also mobilised, through traditional campaign tactics, 225,000 people to march in Edinburgh (near to the G8 summit at Gleneagles), lobby MPs and achieve recognition in mass media coverage. While not organised by the coalition, the campaign was also promoted at the *Live 8* concert, coordinated by the celebrity Bob Geldof. The *Live 8* concert was performed at 11 venues, and televised to over 1 billion viewers (Chouliaraki 2013: 106). *Live 8* has been isolated from this case study, firstly because of the time and the scale of this project but more importantly because the concert was not led by the NGOs involved in the coalition (Sireau 2009:179).

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[20] Make Poverty History (n.p.) *2005: The year of Make Poverty History,* http://www.makepovertyhistory.org/docs/mph-lookback05.pdf [last accessed 30/03/2017]
[21] The episode was scripted by Richard Curtis, who was heavily involved in the MPH campaign. A report on BBC impartiality criticized the programme for including the campaign video and web address (Holmwood 2007).

In 2005, nearly 90% of the UK population recognised the campaign, with 15% of the public taking some form of action (Darnton 2006: 6). The campaign achieved a number of policy promises at the G8 summit. For aid, an extra $50 billion was promised overall, with an additional $25 billion promised for Africa. The G8 summit also promised to cancel the debt of 18 countries (Cox 2011: 15). Bob Geldof controversially rated the outcomes: 'on aid, 10 out of 10. On debt, eight out of 10. On trade… this summit, uniquely decided that enforced liberalism must no longer take place' (quoted in Askill, Wintour & Elliott 2005). However, for many NGOs involved in the coalition, the policy promises were 'inadequate' and in some cases have not been reached. For example, Africa only received $13.7 billion of aid by 2010, instead of the $25 billion promised. While the policy outcomes are important, the focus of this study is on how protest campaigns are communicated, how making poverty history is imagined and how solidarity is practiced.

1.2.2. Enough Food for Everyone IF (IF)

The Enough Food for Everyone IF, also known as the Enough Food IF, and the IF campaign, was launched in the UK on 23rd January 2013. Like the MPH campaign, the IF coalition was formed to coincide with the UK hosting the G8 summit, this time at Lough Erne (Northern Ireland). The campaign was structured around mobilising the public around the budget (on 20th March) and the G8 summit (17th − 18th June). The campaign aimed to achieve policy change on four key areas: Investment, Land, Taxation and Transparency. The campaign premised that there would be 'Enough Food for Everyone IF' governments invested in sustainable agriculture, ensured fair allocation of land, stopped tax havens and improved transparency of the use of natural resources (Tibbett & Stalker 2014: 12). Like the MPH and GCAP coalitions, the IF campaign aimed to work within the existing global governance and capitalist order, which were presented as providing the opportunity and 'moment' to eradicate poverty. The campaign directed supporters to petition the Conservative Prime Minister, David Cameron, and the Chancellor, George Osborne, through emails, tweets, wearing a white wristband and attending demonstrations. It is important to acknowledge the political context of the campaign: the UK government was a coalition between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, formed in 2010. Most of the key positions in government were held by the Conservatives, who were implementing an austerity budget. Historically, social welfare, and particularly international development, is not a priority issue for them (Tibbett & Stalker 2014: 13).

The broad coalition, at the end, consisted of 213 organisations. The majority of members were humanitarian NGOs, but also included faith groups, diaspora organisations and social enterprises (Tibbett & Stalker 2014: 38). Celebrities also joined the campaign, including musicians Myleene Klass and *One Direction*, comedian Eddie Izzard, actor Bill Nighy and entrepreneur Bill Gates. The IF coalition, unlike MPH, did not have any affiliated members in different countries but invited people in different countries to photograph themselves with the IF logo.[22] The campaign brand was developed by the advertising agency Abbot Mead Vickers, one of the largest leading advertising agencies in the UK, who also produced the MPH brand (Sireau 2009: 16).
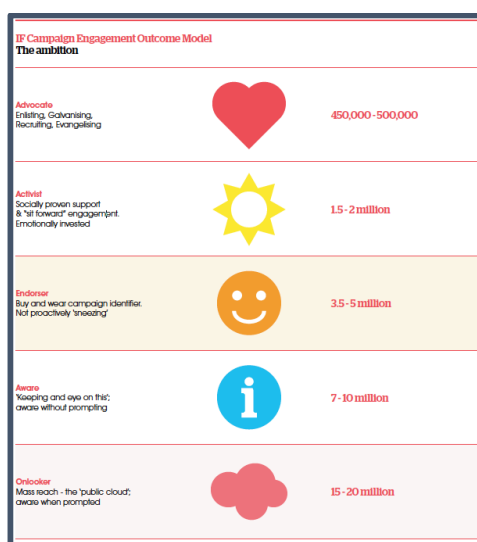
Figure 1.2: IF Campaign Engagement Outcome Model: The ambition (Tibbett & Stalker 2014: 29)

The coalition launched the campaign in London, hosted by celebrity presenter Lauren Laverne and live-streamed on YouTube. The audiences, both in London and online, were invited to tweet messages of support, which were projected onto Somerset House.[23] The IF campaign was positioned by the coalition as:

> the first campaign of its sort since the birth of social media. It will harness the power and immediacy of twitter and reach of Facebook. The campaign will mobilise people online in a way that hasn't been seen before. People will be taking to the streets, but also their iPads, laptops and smart phones in support of this campaign.
>
> (Bond, February 2013)

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[22] Enough Food IF (2013) *Facebook Page Photos*, Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/pg/Enoughfoodif/photos/?ref=page_internal [last accessed 05/03/2017]
[23] Enough Food For Everyone IF (2013) *Enough Food For Everyone IF: launch highlights*, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dE8kX-iDGqY [last accessed 05/03/2017]

The ambition for the campaign was a mass mobilisation of people: to support the IF campaign and the work of the member organisations. In internal discussion, members discussed a pyramid of engagement, where people would engage at different levels from 'onlooker' to 'advocate'. The ambition was that at least 20 million people in the UK would be aware of the campaign (figure 1.2).

Due to a limited marketing budget, the campaign invested in online communications, which generated a significant volume of engagement: '2.25 million views of pages on the IF website, with social media exposure calculated at 165,718 mentions of IF, and a total of over 3.4 million interactions with IF across all social media channels' (Tibbett & Stalker 2014: 4). However, these numbers were considerably smaller than the scale of the campaigns ambition to be the 'biggest ever campaign to tackle hunger and its causes' (Bond 2013). While the IF campaign achieved much lower levels of engagement with the UK public, it is still an interesting site to investigate. It offers an opportunity to explore some of the barriers to people engaging in the campaign and how an investment in digital communications altered the ways in which NGOs communicated the politics of poverty.

1.3.   Contextualising Humanitarian Communications

For many people, coalition campaigns may simply appear, ex nihilo, driven into individuals' mediated worlds: articulated by a celebrity in a sitcom; appearing as an article or advert in their newspaper or perhaps pushed into their Twitter and Facebook feeds, directing them to watch a YouTube video, visit a website and wear a wristband. This thesis begins with the premise that humanitarian communications do not simply transpire but are shaped by their cultural contexts. An exhaustive historical overview of modern humanitarianism is beyond the scope of this chapter and thesis.[24] However, in this section, I offer a reorientation, to consider the context of humanitarian communications produced during coalition campaigns. As Keith Tester argues, 'if we want to understand modern humanitarianism, we need also to understand modern media culture, because the two are inextricably entwined' (2010:

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[24] See *A Historical Guide to NGOs in Britain* (Hilton et al. 2012), *The Politics of Expertise: How NGOs Shaped Modern* Britain (Hilton et al. 2012) and *Nongovernmental Organisations, Definitions and History* (Lewis 2009) for more comprehensive histories of humanitarianism.

viii). Drawing on examples from the 20th and early 21st centuries, I consider the various continuities, as well as the ruptures, that characterise contemporary humanitarian communication and campaigns. By charting the development of humanitarian NGO campaigns, especially the cultural politics, I contextualise the politicisation, popularisation and regulation of NGO communications.

1.3.1. Politicising Humanitarian Communication

> We need to solve the underlying issues of famine and hunger once and for all.
> > Angélique Kidjo, *Enough Food IF Press Release*, 23rd January 2013[25]

> We need to tackle the root causes of hunger and poverty, not just the symptoms.
> > David Cameron, *Message to Anti-Hunger IF Campaign*, 2013[26]

> But it isn't chance or bad luck that keeps people trapped in bitter, unrelenting poverty. It's man-made factors…
> > Make Poverty History, *What Do We Want?*, 2005[27]

Humanitarian NGO campaigns asking for policy changes evoke a different language to fundraising campaigns. Poverty is discussed as 'man-made', with 'root causes' and 'underlying issues'. After Jebb distributed her handbills in Trafalgar Square, it was not until the 1950s that a narrative of politics in public communications was reintroduced as part of a wider discourse of structural changes. In the UK, humanitarian NGO campaigns are rooted in the development of two organisations: *War on Want* (founded in 1951) and *Global Justice Now* (founded in 1969).[28] *War on Want* originated from a public letter by publisher and campaigner, Victor Gollancz, during the Korean War, calling for greater UK government action towards peace: 'to turn swords into ploughshares…a new kind of rivalry, a rivalry in the works of peace' (*The Manchester Guardian*, February 1951). Gollancz called on the UK public to act:

> May I ask through you, sir, that all who are in agreement with this letter should send a postcard with just the word "Yes" … I do not guarantee any

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[25] Action Aid (2013) Press Release: Enough Food For Everyone IF, 23rd January 2013, http://www.actionaid.org/news/press-release-enough-food-everyone-if [last accessed 03/02/2016]
[26] Cameron, D. (2013) David Cameron's message to anti-hunger IF campaign, 23rd January 2013, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=InykzJrr8rQ [last accessed 03/02/2016]
[27] http://www.makepovertyhistory.org/whatwewant/index.shtml
[28] Originally named *Action Groups Movement* (1967), and then *World Development Movement* (1970 - 2015). For an interactive timeline: http://www.globaljustice.org.uk/campaign-successes [last accessed 05/03/2016]

action of any kind, but if the response is large enough something might possibly come of it.

The letter triggered 10,000 postcards and the subsequent launch of the *War on Want: A Plan for Development report* (1952), produced by Harold Wilson, the future Labour Prime Minister (Hilton et al. 2012: 248). The report and the founding of the organisation overtly communicated that 'poverty is political'. *War on Want* was registered as a charity in 1962.[29] Public campaigns, challenging the structures of poverty became integral to their humanitarian project.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, humanitarian NGOs became 'increasingly politicised in their outlook and strategies' (Saunders 2009: 53). However, as registered charities, they were heavily restricted by the UK Charitable Trusts Act (1953), which stated charities could not be 'political' (Hilton et al. 2012: 2). Principally, it was understood that charities could not seek 'to influence the legislature and change the law' (Hilton et al. 2012: 2). As a result, in 1967, *World Development Movement* was founded as a limited company by *Christian Aid*, *Oxfam* and several other organisations, with a belief 'that the fundamental causes of world poverty cannot be overcome without changes to the policies and practices of governments and business interests in wealthy industrialised countries' (Rootes & Saunders 2016: 131). The name reflected the political climate in the UK during the 1970s, when campaign organisations were on the rise, and 'social movements were confidently proposed as successors to parties' (Hilton et al. 2012: 260). As a limited company, *World Development Movement* enabled 'the development charities to have a political voice' (Hilton et al. 2012: 260).[30] On 15th January 2015, the organisation was re-launched as *Global Justice Now*, their director, Nick Dearden, argued that 'there was a need for our name to reflect better what we stand for. We feel that the concept of "development" has been thoroughly captured by big business'.[31] The re-branding of the organisation, to focus on 'global justice', contributes to distinguishing them further from larger humanitarian NGOs that continue to advocate 'development' and the ability to 'save' people living in poverty.

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[29] Open Charities (n.p) *War on Want*, http://opencharities.org/charities/208724 [last accessed 05/03/2016]

[30] In February 1980, *War on Want* were forced by the UK Charity Commissioners to register a separate non-charitable company, 'to carry out campaigning work which fell outside of the proper remit of a charity' (Hilton et al. 2012: 198).

[31] Dearden, N. (13 October 2014) WDM members vote to change our name, http://www.globaljustice.org.uk/blog/2014/oct/13/wdm-members-vote-change-our-name [last accessed 02/02/2016].

The political underpinning of *War on Want* and *Global Justice Now* created a new dimension to humanitarian NGO communications. The primary focus was no longer on raising funds for overseas projects but on educating and engaging the UK public to participate in campaigns. Campaigns for 'global justice' were marked by inclusivity, regardless of financial circumstances anyone in the UK could contribute to the work of humanitarian NGOs by campaigning. This involved a discursive shift, NGOs now promoted a process of democratic politics, which represented the UK public as agents of political change with the ability to hold institutions, including governments and corporations, to account. By the mid-1970s, photographs of campaigners in the UK rallying against governments and businesses became part of NGO communications (figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3: *Global Justice Now,*
Bradford World Development Action Group

Figure 1.4: *War on Want*
The Baby Killer Report, 1974,
London, UK

In the post cold war period, various NGOs (including *Oxfam* and *Save the Children*) adopted a human rights-based approach to their international work.[32] As Morten Broberg and Hans-Otto Sano (2017: 4) argue:

> Rights-based development thinking does not see development efforts as part of charity – or alms-giving enterprise, but as part of efforts to fulfil rights… development assistance contributes to the realisation of the rights entitlements of the recipients.

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[32] Included in Appendix C are excerpts from *Oxfam, Save the Children, UNICEF* and *Christian Aid,* showing how human rights are discussed in their public statements as underpinning their work.

A rights-based approach, in theory, places power and people at the centre. It recognises that rights can only be recognised (rather than given) if there are transformations in power relations. In practice, it calls for a restructuring of procedures.[33]

The inclusion of a narrative of human rights, as Keith Tester argues, 'gave humanitarianism the confidence that it is truly action in terms of a commitment to humanity and not just an expression of guilt or condescension' (2010: 3). Contributing to communicating their work as 'truly action' was the inclusion of economic and political 'targets', as well as a vision that through democratic politics poverty could be eradicated. Governments and corporations were, and continue to be, the primary targets for both organisations. *War on Want* produced imagery conveying the baby milk industry as 'The baby killer' (figure 1.4). Included on the front of their report was an image of a skeletal child superimposed into a baby's milk bottle. The image is striking for the juxtaposition of imagery, an 'African' child inside a milk bottle that is symbolically meant to nurture. For *War on Want* it conveyed the story that they wanted to tell, that the baby milk industry's promotion of formula milk, in areas where there is no clean water, results in deaths. The report cover echoes, in both tone and content, the original pamphlet produced by *Save the Children* (figure 1.1). That the corporation's actions, like the UK government promoting the blockade, are directly responsible for the deaths of children. The campaign target contributed to redefining the 'us/them' distinction used in humanitarian communication. With targets positioned as an antagonistic 'them', there is potential for a more inclusive 'us' from across the borders. In humanitarian NGO communication, the UK public was positioned as 'us', and the people living in poverty as 'them'. However, campaign communication is also vulnerable to being communicated as only a project for the west, and the people living in poverty, the original 'them', disappear from the communication all together (see chapter four).

Humanitarian NGOs continue to promote liberal democratic politics, whereby civil society can exercise power, through official channels, to regulate state power. The act of writing to a person in power, petitioning government and participating in public

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[33] In chapter seven, I discuss how a rights-based approach requires a 'parity of participation' (Fraser 2003), which could be adopted in humanitarian campaigns and communications to challenge existing power relations.

rallies continue to be central requests by humanitarian NGOs. The politicising of humanitarian communication is not unanimously adopted across the sector. Saunders argues, in her historical study of British NGOs between 1945 and 2007, that each stage of development was 'significantly more politicised than its forerunner' (2009: 39). However, as this study will show, politicising humanitarian communication is not a linear and progressive process. In the 1990s, NGOs lost support for 'more risky and contested citizen forms… comforted by the logic of a technical approach to development as an alternative to the [sometimes] flawed and messy political programmes of social movements' (Kane 2013: 1508). There remains a spectrum of political positions within the NGO sector. *War on Want* and *Global Justice Now* continue to occupy the more radical spaces. While both organisations joined the MPH campaign, they declined to participate in the IF campaign. *War on Want* argued that the requests for the campaign had not involved key international movements, like *La Via Campesina* (International Peasant Movement), and that the campaign was set to endorse David Cameron's government, as a 'leading force for social justice at a time when its austerity programme is driving unprecedented numbers to food banks in Britain'.[34] The politicising of humanitarian communication, and the subsequent relationships formed with governments, continues to be a site of struggle within the coalitions. Humanitarian NGOs occupy different insider / outsider strategies in their political work, which have to be negotiated when working as a coalition. As will be explored in chapter five through an analysis of interviews with NGO professionals and internal documents, larger organisations often establish the tone of the relationship with government.

1.3.2. Popularising Humanitarian Communications

> It was primarily the massive media coverage and celebrity endorsement in the first 6 months of Make Poverty History that generated a powerful 'cool' factor…
>
> *Make Poverty History New Media Review* (Raymond 2006: 17)

> There were a number of key successes with engaging celebrities who drove much of the social and traditional media coverage.
>
> *Enough Food for Everyone: Campaign Evaluation*
> (Tibbett & Stalker 2014: 4)

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[34] War on Want (25th January 2013) War on Want and the IF campaign, http://waronwant.org/media/war-want-and-if-campaign [last accessed 01/04/2017]

To discuss the popularising of humanitarian communication is to examine how popular culture and humanitarianism are intimately linked. The MPH and IF campaign evaluations, commissioned by the coalitions, illustrate the dominance of celebrities in their popularity. Celebrities generated mass media coverage, and as a result, a 'cool' factor with cultural power is discussed by NGOs. Celebrities wearing wristbands, and branded t-shirts, further contributed to promoting commodities as an integral part of the coalition campaigns. Yet, the drive to be 'popular' and how that popularity is achieved has long, and fraught, histories within humanitarian communication. In this section, I contextualise how commodities and celebrities contribute to popularising humanitarianism by attempting to make eradicating poverty 'cool'.

For the MPH campaign, wearing a wristband was the 'most popular form of involvement' (Darnton 2006: 5). Supporters of the campaign, including celebrities and politicians, were photographed wearing the silicone and cloth bracelets. As the *Telegraph* reported at the time, 'Blair joins wristband celebrities who make charity cool' (Pook, 25th March 2005). The distribution of commodities, like wristbands, to build popular support for a campaign is not unique to the MPH campaign. In 1787, Josiah Wedgwood, the industrial potter and campaigner, who had built homes for his workers and significantly improved working conditions, mass produced jasper medallions for the anti-slavery movement. Brockington attributes the potter with producing 'one of the first mass-circulated commodities in support of a humanitarian cause overseas' (2014: 57). The Wedgwood medallions were distributed in the thousands and promoted an inclusive involvement in the campaign: 'women could wear it even though they were barred from signing petitions… fashion promoted justice' (Wilson 1990: 40). Equally, the wristbands worn during the MPH and IF campaigns, promoted the same inclusiveness for young people, while unable to vote in elections, were encouraged to participate in the campaign.

The medallions, as wearable media objects, can be understood as precursors to popular humanitarian merchandise, such as *Live Aid* campaign badges and the IF campaign wristbands (figure 1.5). However, the context of the production and dissemination of the medallions differ from contemporary campaign objects. Exploring these differences contributes to understanding the contemporary context of coalition campaigns. Firstly, the medallion confronts audiences with 'the problem', including the image of a

kneeling slave in shackles and the question, 'Am I not a man and a brother?'. The question was used as a slogan of the campaign, and antagonistically and poetically interrogated the subservient positioning of slaves in society. The slogan argues against the objectification of slaves by implying that their current treatment is inhumane. The dissemination of the medallions, by illustrating 'the problem', which at the time was controversial, promoted the politics of the campaign. Current campaign paraphernalia, such as the MPH and IF wristbands, on the other hand, include only the logo. Chouliaraki (2013), in her work on post-humanitarianism (2005 onwards), identifies a wider shift in the sector, where the branding of communication is privileged over the politics of solidarity. Including only the brand on the wristbands, as the media objects that mobilise people, only make the identity of the campaign visible. When the identity of the campaign is not strongly linked to the politics of the campaign, as was the case in the IF campaign, the invitation to engage is limited to only the brand.

Figure 1.5: Anti-Slavery Medallion (1787), Live Aid Badge (1985), Enough Food IF Wristband (2013)

Secondly, the production of the MPH wristbands did not apply the ethos of the campaign. The wristbands sold by the coalition were produced in China under 'slave labour' conditions (Harrison 2005). This was due to large NGOs purchasing the wristbands from a factory in China before the full audit of the working conditions had been conducted. Both the MPH and IF wristbands were sold for £1 and circulated as market commodities in a capitalist system. Whereas Wedgwood attempted to weave a new narrative with the circulation of his anti-slavery medallions: 'Wedgwood refused to sell them, affirming that it should never be said of him that he had sold a Negro' (Cowper 1788 quoted in Festa 2006: 165). The campaign message, in particular the campaign visual, was not to be profited from. Wedgwood's business practices represented an alternative to the dominant market practices, the medallions were

produced in his factories and free from slave labour. In 18th Century Britain, these were radical practices, illustrating an alternative model of business. Josiah Wedgwood's practices in the 18th century can also contribute to understanding the complexity of celebrity humanitarianism.

Jo Littler argues, in her work on Victorian philanthropy, that donating money 'often engendered fame and worked to cleanse the capitalist industrialist from the unsavoury stench of exploitation' (2015: 482). Littler traces how in the 20th century the state began to provide the social welfare that the philanthropists had previously funded. She argues that while Victorian philanthropists contributed to 'building up what was to become the welfare state… this nexus is more active [now] in helping destroy it' (2015: 483). The latter model of philanthropy is discussed as 'philanthrocapitalism', which is supported by a neoliberal social order. For Littler, philanthrocapitalism is a 'smokescreen' where humanitarian action 'becomes a means to increase corporate power – by stealth, and with an ostensibly moral alibi' (2015: 482). The singer Bono, who was a key figure in the MPH campaign, is an example of a philanthrocapitalist, who attempts to use his charitable work as a 'smokescreen'. Bono, in a recent Sky News interview, attempted to justify his tax decisions as 'smart' business decisions, 'because you're good at philanthropy and because I'm an activist people think you should be stupid in business' (quoted in Gayle 2015). Noticeably, Bono included his charitable work as part of the discussion on tax avoidance, highlighting that he is a 'good' philanthropist and activist, and that it is only because he does this 'good' work that his tax is scrutinised. Wedgwood's approach, to express his personal politics in his work practices, is in contrast to the work of Bono.

There is a growing, and significant, body of cross-disciplinary work that analyses the role of celebrities within humanitarianism (Goodman 2010, Chouliaraki 2013, Lousley 2013, Wheeler 2013, Scott 2014, Littler 2015). Here I follow academics such as Dan Brockington (2014), Ilan Kapoor (2013) and Lisa Richey and Stefano Ponte (2011) who identify celebrities as an industrial product that is integral to a broader capitalist system. In 1954, UNICEF appointed the actor Danny Kaye as the first celebrity Goodwill Ambassador. The creation of a formal role marks the institutionalisation of celebrities as part of the humanitarian project. In 1984, Michael Buerk articulated a 'biblical famine' in his BBC news report from Korem, Ethiopia. The BBC news coverage is reported as being the catalyst for the musician, Bob Geldof, to 'do

something' (Tester 2010: 12). Geldof, who at the time was a fading celebrity,[35] emerged as the 'visionary leader' (Tester 2010: 10) of a host of celebrities that produced the single, *Do They Know it's Christmas?* (1984), and the international concert *Live Aid* (1985).

During the famine in Ethiopia, celebrities evolved as the visible actors. NGO professionals, and the people suffering from the famine, became peripheral characters in media stories that focused on celebrity involvement and the agency of UK publics. Geldof's efforts to raise funds to 'Feed the World' were commercially successful, the single raised £8 million and remained at number 1 in the UK charts for 5 weeks (Franks 2013: 72). Suzanne Franks (2013: 74), in her study of journalist practices during the famine in Ethiopia, discusses the period as 'a revolution in giving': 'what was important was that new participants and new donors [notably the youth] were recruited and a new media-friendly way of presenting charitable concerns was born'. The visual framing of celebrities positioned Geldof's, and other celebrities' 'labour' not as a commercial enterprise but as an act of benevolence and care. The celebrity response to the famine in Ethiopia in 1984 is identified as a significant 'turn' in NGO communication (Turner 2010; Chouliaraki 2013; Franks 2013; Lousley 2013). A shift that transformed celebrities from being 'powerless' elites into becoming the mediators of the official communication strategy of NGOs (Brockington 2014: 75).[36]

The televised *Live Aid* (1985) concert, in collaboration with the BBC, is accredited as the inspiration for screenwriter Richard Curtis, with charity worker Jane Tewson, to launch *Comic Relief*[37] and later *Red Nose Day* (founded 1988).[38] Dan Brockington identifies *Comic Relief* as 'crucial to the subsequent interactions of celebrity and development in the UK because it has been continually present and growing more

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[35] This thesis uses Brockington's (2014: xxi) useful definition of celebrity, defined according to the commerce and industry: 'Celebrity describes sustained public appearances that are materially beneficial, and where the benefits are at least partially enjoyed by people other than the celebrity themselves, by stakeholders whose job it is to manage the appearance of that celebrity'.

[36] Many organisations now employ celebrity liaison officers, which develop and maintain relationships with high profile people.

[37] *Comic Relief* was launched on *Noel Edmonds' Live Live Christmas Breakfast Show* (December 1985) with a live link up with novelist Helen Fielding in a refugee camp in Sudan, which Noel Edmonds described as a 'magic moment in broadcasting history'. The feature focused on linking up NGO professionals in Sudan with family members in the UK. The segment juxtaposed the lives of the people of Sudan, and the need for financial support, in contrast to the lives of NGO professionals whose families in the UK inquired whether they had received their Christmas gifts.

[38] In its 30th year, in March 2015, Comic Relief announced having raised over 1 billion pounds since the charity was founded (BBC 2015), and in the UK, 95% of people are aware of the organisation (Buttleworth 2012).

prominent ever since its inception' (2014: 62). *Comic Relief,* and their bi-annual telethon campaigns, contributed to institutionalising a highly emotional, temporary and visual engagement with people living in poverty. Unlike news reporters and journalists who reported stories of suffering in sombre tones, celebrities contributed to building a 'culture of sentimentality' in humanitarian communications (Lousley 2014: 175). Since the 1980s, *Comic Relief* has continued to use celebrities as mediators of their work overseas and in the UK in which celebrities make a direct appeal to the UK public to support the work of *Comic Relief.* Short reports from 'Africa' and the UK are included throughout a wider programme of entertainment. The entertainment is packaged as a reward for members of the audience that have supported the work of *Comic Relief.* In 2015, audiences 'tweeted' that they had donated to the cause, while watching the special *Comic Relief* programmes. Some included the 'evidence' that they had donated by including the auto text response from *Comic Relief* acknowledging their donation. In part, this contributes to validating their experience of enjoyment in the programme and negating 'guilt' when watching the appeal videos, for example '@rednoseday VT's [Video Tapes] are really sad – glad I donated!!' (further explored in chapter six).

1.3.3. Regulating Humanitarian Communication

During the 1970s, at a time of expansion for NGOs, Oxfam produced a new education division, where 'education should be pursued for its own sake, and be separated from fundraising activities' (Harrison 2014: 66). Educationalists, who positioned themselves as distinct from fundraisers, started to call for visuals that reflected poverty in cultural contexts (Black 1992: 104). Jørgen Lissner (1977), the project director of Denmark's leading voluntary aid agency, Danchurchaid, is the first in the sector to articulate humanitarian imagery as a site of conflict. Lissner (1977: 145) sets out the debate as a tension between fundraisers perpetuating 'negative' images for short-term results, and educationalists wanting to produce images that reflect 'solidarity with the poor'. Lissner (1977; 1981) was writing a decade after the famine in Biafra, which had been communicated via 'graphic images of emaciated children with flies in their eyes and bloated bellies' (Schwittay 2015: 29). The communications produced included a 'clutch of celebrities who endorsed the appeal' (Harrison 2013: 65). The visual coverage of the famine in Biafra was credited with producing a 'tidal wave' of western media interest in

Biafra.[39] As a result of the 'success' of Biafra, humanitarian NGOs reproduced the same representations of people starving in their fundraising communications.

For Lissner, 'the display of an African child with a bloated kwashiorkor-ridden stomach in advertisements is pornographic, because it exposes something in human life that is as delicate and deeply personal as sexuality, that is, suffering' (1981: 24).[40] In recent years, there has been a resurgence in labelling communication as 'poverty porn' (Meikle 2013). Most recently, the term has been used to describe television documentaries about the lives of people living on benefits in the UK as exploitative, whereby audiences are invited to delight in their 'difference' (Cooke 2015; Havis 2015; Cowburn 2016). However, the 'poverty porn' label, while identifying imagery as a site of power, flattens the discourses of visuals. For not all images of sexuality are pornographic and neither are all images of personal suffering. In its place of analysing the production or reception of NGO communication, the term is used to categorise imagery in a negative way. Clarissa Smith argues that theorists of the pornification of culture attach the label of porn as 'a strategic move; it means there is no need to actually engage with either production or consumption, but one can instead point to the commodification of sexual pleasure' (2010: 107). Smith argues that an analysis of sexually explicit material, in all forms and contexts, needs to address all dimensions (production, content and reception). In the same way, a framework of analysis of explicit humanitarian communication, such as the image of a kwashiorkor-ridden child, needs to be expanded beyond the content of the frame.

The communication of the famine in Ethiopia (1984 – 85) is identified as the catalyst for the internal regulation of communication, 'questions of representation moved to the fore; it was no longer a question of gilding the lily, it was now a principle concern' (Lidchi 2015: 280). In response to internal concerns about the image of humanitarianism, a series of NGO reports were commissioned. The report on 'The

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[39] In the case of the famine in Biafra, it was not simply the photos of starving children that resulted in engaging mainstream media and subsequently UK publics. Photographs that had been taken within Biafra, including images of children with kwashiorkor-ridden stomachs, had been dismissed by the *Daily Express* as 'mere Oxfam posters of no news value or interest whatever to the British people' (Davies 1995: 190). The success of the mass media attention on Biafra was partly due to the Republic of Biafra hiring a marketing agency, *Markpress*, who invited five journalists to report on Biafra, and provided a narrative of suffering and victimhood (Harrison 2013: 110). The trip resulted in a front page story published in The Sun (12th June 1969) and Alan Hart reporting from Biafra on ITN News at Ten the same day.

[40] Kwashiorkor is a serious form of malnutrition that produces an excess amount of fluid that causes a bloated stomach.

Images of Africa', which surveyed thirteen countries about the representations of humanitarianism, concluded that 'the African consultants were very clear about this: The problem of images and perceptions cannot be separated from the methodology of intervention' (Gaag and Nash 1987: 77). Like Lissner (1977), the report argues that the communications of humanitarianism can not be separated from the practice of development. The practice of communicating humanitarianism in a 'negative' way will result in 'negative' practices of humanitarianism. This challenged the fundraisers' discourse that images were to be used to 'grab attention and shame audiences into giving money' (Cohen 2001: 178). Despite the reports calling for a more inclusive understanding of humanitarian communication, intra-organisational tensions between fundraising and campaigning remain at the forefront of NGOs visual politics (Orgad 2013).

The 'Images of Africa' report resulted in the General Assembly of European NGOs adopting a new Code of Conduct on 'Images and Messages relating to the Third World' (1989). In the early 1990s, the largest leading organisations, *Save the Children*, *Oxfam* and *Christian Aid*, also produced their own voluntary codes of conduct for humanitarian communication. In 2006, the code was renewed and aimed to also 'be of value to other organisations that communicate images and messages relating to the Third World, such as for instance, media organisations'.[41] However, as a 'code of conduct', the document holds limited regulatory power and acts only as guidelines that NGOs can volunteer to comply with. In the updated Code of Conduct, the regulatory responsibility is assigned to the public, 'any member of the public will have a 'right to challenge' our application of the Code' (2006: 4). Without an external body, such as Ofcom,[42] to adjudicate complaints and to sanction NGOs in breach of the guidelines, the guidelines are only subject to self-regulation by NGOs.

The 1989 and 2006 guidelines, as well as the 2012 illustrated guide, include a discourse of justice and solidarity. The 1989 preamble includes 'guaranteeing the Third World right of access to the major means of communication in the North' (1989: 4) and articulates that '*True solidarity* is not a one-way process' (ibid, my emphasis).

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[41] Deep (n.p.) *Communication: Code of Conduct*, http://deeep.org/communication/code-of-conduct/ [accessed 23/03/2016]

[42] Ofcom is the communications regulator in the UK, operating under the Communications Act 2003, with the duty to 'further the interests of citizens and of consumers, where appropriate by promoting competition'. Ofcom (n.p.) *What is Ofcom?*, http://www.ofcom.org.uk/about/what-is-ofcom [accessed 23/03/2016]

Similarly, the 2006 guidelines discuss a principle to: 'Choose images and related messages based on values of respect, equality, solidarity and justice' (2006: 7). Both guidelines translate the value of solidarity and justice into 'practical guidelines' that focus on the content of the image, which position the visual, not the practice of producing the image, the 'problem'. The 1989 guidelines assert that NGOs should avoid: images which generalise, idyllic images, images which fuel prejudices, images which foster a sense of Northern superiority and apocalyptic or pathetic images. While the 2012 illustrated guide, uses 'thumbs up' and 'thumbs down' to indicate 'recommended' and 'not recommended' visuals, which contributes to a binary of 'positive' and 'negative' *images*, not *practices* (figure 1.6).
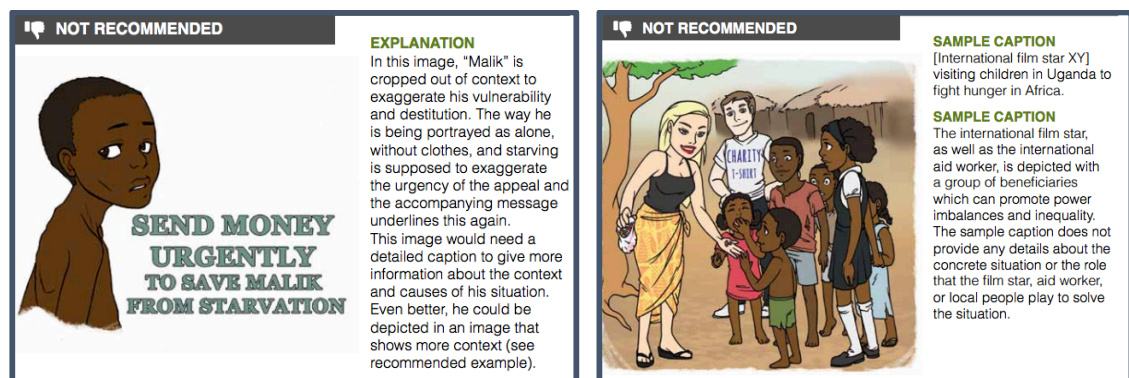
Figure 1.6: The Illustrative Guide: Code of Conduct on Images & Messages, page 10 and page 13

Media, Development and Cultural Studies research has both fuelled and offered reflections on the dominant 'negative' and 'positive' discourses of images. At a meta-level, Martin Scott (2014: 140) defines 'negative' appeals as a combination of communications using the 'shock effect' (Benthall 1993), which lacks the context of those suffering (Cohen 2001: 183) and induces guilt and pity in audiences (Cameron & Haanstra 2008: 1476). Often 'negative' imagery is discussed in relation to images that include a cast of characters that are represented as 'sad' (Dogra 2012: 31). In the late 1980s, in response to imagery defined as 'negative', NGOs started to use a discourse of 'deliberative positivism', which included visuals of 'smiling children…given a voice… possessing a greater degree of agency' (Scott 2014: 149). The imagery of 'happy' characters, Chouliaraki argues, connotes the 'sufferer's gratitude for the [imagined] alleviation of her/his suffering' (2013: 61). Both 'negative' and 'positive' visuals are part of a 'realist impasse' (Lidchi 1999: 101). Both claim to document a reality, with a belief that 'if only people knew, they would act' (Cohen 2001: 185). However, 'given

the apparent failure [in relative terms] of both forms of humanitarian communication to generate sustained, large-scale public action vis-à-vis distant suffering, it appears that such assumptions about the power of knowing may be somewhat misguided' (Scott 2014: 153). The dominant discourses of 'positive' / 'negative' images are problematic, for they position communication as a product, which can be substituted: 'sad' children are now replaced with 'happy' children, yet the production and publication of images remains the same.

The discourse of 'positive' imagery was formed in retaliation to the use of 'negative' visuals, such as the Biafra appeal imagery, in an attempt by educationalists within NGOs to enter an era of 'post-negative' communication. However, the production of a discourse of 'positive' imagery, in opposition to 'negative' visuals, produces a single simplified binary distinction that regiments visual practice. Linguist Susan Gal's (2002) discussion, *A Semiotics of the Public/Private Distinction*, shapes my argument for understanding 'negative' and 'positive' as 'fractal terms'. For Gal calibrations of the public / private distinction are 'always relative positions and not properties laminated on the persons, objects, or spaces concerned' (2002: 81). Gal discusses the indexical relationship between public and private as a fractal distinction. The term 'fractal' is used to discuss a recursive pattern, instead of one dichotomy, a distinction 'can be reproduced repeatedly by projecting it onto narrower contexts or broader ones' (2002: 81). Currently, 'negative' and 'positive' are terms laminated on images and discussed as a single dichotomy. However, an understanding of the terms as 'fractal' can potentially reconfigure the debate. Instead of one binary, a recursive understanding of the terms identifies multiple distinctions. As relative positions, rather than labels, a debate of humanitarian visual politics can be both widened and narrowed, inclusive of social and cultural contexts. Visuals are not static but a terrain of politics. Therefore, a discourse of visual politics requires an analysis of practices from across the terrain.

1.4. Structure of Thesis

In this introductory chapter, Chapter One (*Introduction*), I have contextualised my research questions and sites of investigation. Previous studies have often focused on communication as a 'product' instead of a 'process'. I critique an NGO discourse, which is supported in many academic studies, that labels visuals as 'negative' and 'positive'

dependent on what appears 'on stage'. I argue that the mediation of humanitarianism cannot be understood without an analysis of how communications are produced, as well as how communication structures participation. In doing so, I attempt to map the terrain of politics and practices involved in the process of communicating solidarity. To understand this terrain, our sites of investigation must recognise the diversity in the mediation of humanitarianism. Humanitarian communication requesting money (often during famines, wars and disasters), have underpinned seminal work in this area. An empirical analysis of campaigns explicitly requesting protest action has been neglected by both academics and NGOs. In this thesis, coalition campaigns act as a prism to address issues of responsibility between global norths and souths, representations of poverty and protest, as well as the relationships formed between NGOs, governments and media institutions.

In Chapter Two (*The Politics of Practicing Solidarity*), I discuss the theoretical framings of this study. Foundational work on 'suffering', 'sympathy' and 'spectatorship' has shaped the field of inquiry into the ethics and morality of humanitarian communication. In response to such work, and in dialogue with it, my research shifts emphasis from 'sympathy' and an analysis of 'spectatorship' towards a study of 'solidarity' and an analysis of 'listening'. By examining the roots of solidarity, I understand it to be both a practice and a shared activity. I normatively discuss the practice of solidarity in relation to the cultural politics of voice and listening. Using the work of Susan Bickford (1996), Nick Couldry (2010) and Kate Lacey (2013), I develop an understanding of listening to visual voices. By introducing listening as a critical way to engage with the visual politics of humanitarianism, I focus on the institutions, structures and conventions that enable (or disable) participation.

Chapter Three (*Methodologies*) explores my approach and the methodologies adopted in this thesis. I critically reflect on my role as researcher and acknowledge my previous involvement with humanitarian NGO campaigns, projects and communications. I discuss how this granted me a certain degree of access, with candid interviewees, as well as the tensions I experienced when occupying familiar spaces for alternative aims. Through the MPH and IF campaigns I aim to address a gap in empirical research pertaining to protest campaigns. Central to this chapter is the mapping of methods that combines different sites of investigation. Through an analysis of campaign communication, internal NGO documents and 10 semi-structured interviews with

NGO professionals, the production of communication is examined. Through an analysis of the campaigns' digital spaces, 155 diary responses to a *Mass Observation Directive* and 8 in-depth interviews with young people, the practices of participation are also explored. In discussing each method, I set the parameters of this study and outline my original contribution to the field.

In Chapter Four (*Performances of Poverty and Place*), I discuss visual communication as part of a production process, which 'transforms' and 'reduces' the lives of people living in poverty into commercial and strategic performances. Using a content analysis of the visual communication promoted in the reporting of the MPH and IF campaigns, I identify persistent spotlights on celebrities and UK supporters. People living in poverty achieve a limited space, with representations focused on 'Africa' and 'children'. I investigate these performances by conducting textual analysis of a sample of communication to provide a paradigm for understanding these representations. I analyse the way in which celebrities perform and adhere to cultural scripts, which reinforce prevailing power relations between the UK public and people living in poverty. I focus on the politics of the spotlight, attempting to understand how NGOs promote parental relationships that convey action as a compassionate 'gift'. I argue that a spotlight on compassion does not demand a restructuring of unjust relations or political structures. What becomes overshadowed are the prior political relations, and subsequent responsibility, that a global north has for the inequality that exists.

Chapter Five (*NGOs' Contrapuntal Practices*) analyses the internal politics of the spotlights. I examine how the organisational relationships between NGOs, media institutions, governments and celebrities, shape campaign communications. By analysing the MPH organisational minutes and internal documents, I critique the relationships NGOs form with the UK government as both a campaign target and ally. Through an analysis of 10 semi-structured interviews with NGO professionals, I investigate the internal politics and practices involved in constructing humanitarian communication. I attempt to unravel the relationships between NGOs and media institutions. In particular, I critique a narrative that celebrities and starving children 'work' by exploring on what grounds, and on who's terms that these practices 'work'. This chapter mobilises the concept of the contrapuntal to argue that NGOs, the UK government and media, while different and distinct, perform contrapuntal melodies to

one another. While NGO messages can be amplified by being 'in tune' with politicians and celebrities, I argue that a pacifying of politics and protest occurs.

Chapter Six (*Digital Architectures and Actions*) examines the different ways that coalition campaigns structure participation. While this chapter focuses on the practices that occur in digital spaces, I argue that these actions are intertwined with wider sets of practices, discussed in the following chapter, and should not be seen as discrete. Through an analysis of website and social network platforms adopted by MPH and IF, I identify how different digital architectures change NGO communicative practices. Using Facebook as a site of investigation, I argue that the algorithmic selection of the News Feed content positions Facebook as both the 'gatekeeper' and 'governor' of ephemeral visibility. Continuing the discussion of digital spaces, I argue that the use of 'twibbons', 'vlogs' and 'status updates' are a form of 'presencing' (Couldry 2012). Intertwined with individuals 'presencing' participation is the personalisation of politics and communications. I explore these matters through an analysis of 8 semi-structured interviews with young people (18 - 35). I argue that supporters' self-expression of compassion on issues of global poverty has taken a turn towards the 'positive' with participation conveyed as 'joyful' rather than a 'duty'.

In Chapter Seven (*Beyond Compassion Fatigue*), I focus on how people participate in the mediation of humanitarianism. Whereas the previous empirical chapters have focused on the MPH and IF campaigns, I widen the discussion of participation with an analysis of 155 Mass Observation Diaries (18 - 98 years old). Using Roger Silverstone's (1999) analogy of the 'game', I propose that there are several ways that audiences participate in humanitarian communication. I argue that audiences have individual agency to discuss the 'rules' of the game, critique 'inauthentic' players and to ultimately 'opt out' of the game. I also discuss writers' experiences of cynicism and feeling 'emotionally blackmailed' by humanitarian communication. Here I argue that my qualitative analysis that recognises differing forms of participation refutes Susan Moeller's (1999) theory of 'compassion fatigue' and that the field needs to move beyond this dominant theory. Working with Zygmunt Bauman's theory of 'liquid modernity' (2000), I propose an understanding of contemporary NGO communication as a form of 'liquid humanitarianism' that advocates forms of 'transient compassion'. My focus is not on individual practices, or individual communications, but on overarching structures of humanitarian NGO campaigns.

Chapter Eight (*Conclusion*) synthesises the arguments developed in my empirical examination of humanitarian communication. This concluding chapter brings together my empirical and theoretical arguments and outlines my original contribution.

CHAPTER TWO
THE POLITICS OF PRACTICING SOLIDARITY

2.0.   Introduction

2.1.   Humanitarian Solidarities

    2.1.1. Solidarity as Practice

    2.1.2. Shared Solidarity

2.2.   Listening to Visual Voices

    2.2.1. Cultural Politics of Voice

    2.2.2. Cultural Politics of Listening

    2.2.3. Humanitarian Publics

2.3.   Practicing Solidarity

    2.3.1. Nationhood

    2.3.2. Hospitality

    2.3.3. Travelling

2.4.   Conclusions

CHAPTER TWO
THE POLITICS OF PRACTICING SOLIDARITY

Foundational work on 'suffering', 'sympathy' and 'spectatorship' (Boltanski 1999; Cohen 2001; Chouliaraki 2006) has shaped the field of inquiry into the ethics and morality of humanitarian communication (Silverstone 1999, 2007; Couldry 2006; Tester 2010). In response to such work, and in dialogue with it, my research shifts emphasis from 'sympathy' and an analysis of 'spectatorship' towards a study of 'solidarity' and an analysis of 'listening'. Arguably, this does not mark a turn in the way that communication is used by NGOs, but contributes another thread to a field of inquiry that has historically focused on the image of the suffering (Moeller 1999; Tester 2001; Chouliaraki 2006; Dogra 2012).

This work contributes to what Jonathan Ong (2009: 449) identifies as a recent moral 'turn' in the field of media and cultural studies. Within media and cultural studies, 'ethics' and 'morality' are often used interchangeably. Yet, Nancy Fraser (2001: 22), influenced by Immanuel Kant, maintains a distinction that I wish to use in this thesis. Nancy Fraser aligns morality with a theory of justice as a matter of fairness that seeks 'to eliminate unjustified disparities between the life-chances of social actors. To identify these disparities, they invoke standards of fairness that do not prejudge those actors' own (varying) views of the good' (2001: 23). In contrast, ethics is 'a matter of the good life, they seek to promote the qualitative conditions of human flourishing (as they understand them), rather than fidelity to abstract requirements of equal treatment' (2001: 23). Lilie Chouliaraki, most prominently, discusses the ethics of humanitarianism from an Aristotelian practice of *phronesis*, in which ethics are 'the situated enactment of values, rather than abstract principles of conduct' (2006: 19). I depart from Chouliaraki's *phronesis* approach to ethics, instead following in the traditions of Roger Silverstone (1999, 2007), John Durham Peters (1999, 2015) and Emmanuel Levinas (2003 [1972]); the enquiry of this thesis is concerned with a universal morality. While I agree with Chouliaraki (2013) that the cultural practices of solidarity change at different moments in time, as well as in different cultural contexts,

due to the spaces of politics continually being reshaped, I argue that there are universal defining principles of solidarity underpinned by a theory of justice.

In this chapter, I present my understanding of humanitarian solidarities and demonstrate how a concept of solidarity can contribute to analysing communicative spaces. Firstly, I discuss solidarity by tracing its linguistic roots, and propose that solidarity is both a practice and a shared activity. Secondly, I examine the cultural politics of voice and listening in humanitarian campaigns. I mobilise listening as a 'critical category' (Lacey 2011: 11) and argue that a practice of listening underpins a practice of solidarity. Thirdly, I explore solidarity in a spatial manner, to examine how notions of nationhood, hospitality and travel are, or can be, practiced in humanitarian NGO communication.

2.1.   Humanitarian Solidarities

Campaigns, such as MPH and IF, request that publics participate in 'showing' their solidarity with a cause via wristbands, profile pictures and visual petitions (discussed in chapter six). While the term solidarity is frequently used within contemporary humanitarian communication that request protest action, the study of solidarity has been under-researched in the context of communication of global poverty. Focus has been given to concepts such as cosmopolitanism and citizenship that emphasise identities, responsibilities and notional belonging (Tomlinson 1999; Beck 2006). While these concepts are interrelated to a practice of solidarity, I argue that solidarity, as both a normative and descriptive category, contributes to understanding how people participate in humanitarianism.

2.1.1. Solidarity as Practice

Solidarity, in western political and sociological perspectives, has a distinct history of working across 'borders'. Solidarity derives from the Latin terms *in solidum* and *solidaire. In solidum* has roots in civil law referring to 'cooperative liability' that works beyond the family (Brunkhorst 2005: 1). It is distinct from terms such as 'brotherhood' that originally applied to familiar bonds. Solidarity is rooted in 'universal norms of morality' (Chouliaraki 2013: 11) that call for participants to be outward looking, or even outward listening (c.f. Lacey 2013, see 2.2.2). The term *solidaire* is understood as

the act 'to make firm, to combine parts to form a strong whole' (Anheier & Toepler 2010: 1461). The definition of *solidaire* emphasises two ways in which I use the concept of solidarity. Firstly, the use of the verb 'to make' recognises that solidarity is a practice, not an identity to adopt and 'show'.[43] Secondly, to 'combine parts to form a strong whole', recognises the plurality of parts contributing to a shared / strong whole, as well as emphasising the 'solid' nature of solidarity (which I will discuss in chapter seven in terms of 'liquid humanitarianism'). Richard Sennett (2008), in his work on the value of craft, emphasises that the crafts(wo)man participates in a unified process of both thinking and making at the same time, which requires continued practice. Campaign rhetoric often produces a false binary between action and words. Perhaps most famous in the UK is the *Women's Social and Political Union's* petition for 'Deeds, not Words' and similarly, both MPH and IF demanded 'action not words' from the UK government. Yet, as Hannah Arendt acknowledges, both speech and action are complicit, for 'speechless action would no longer be action because there would no longer be an actor, the doer of deeds, is possible only if he is at the same time the speaker of words' (1958: 158). The concept of practice brings together Sennett and Arendt's arguments, for practice is an application of ideas (thinking) articulated via deeds (making), which include voicing (speaker of words) and, in the case of the practice of solidarity, listening (an outward disposition).

2.1.2. Shared Solidarity

Secondly, understanding solidarity as 'to combine parts to form a strong whole' (Anheier & Toepler 2010: 1461) implies that the 'whole' is made from multiple and different parts that through a process are 'combined'. I discuss a 'whole' in relation to solidarity, as a combination of practices that are combined by a commitment to an overarching, yet specific, mutual aim and imaginary. Solidarity, like dialogue, by its very nature is a shared activity; it demands a 'we'. Craig Calhoun discusses 'social solidarity' where 'we hold in common a world we create in common, in part by the processes through which we imagine it' (2002: 163). Calhoun, like Arendt (1958), acknowledges a collective and creative process of world making, 'including engagement in shared projects of imagining a better future' (2002: 171).

A differing view is to understand a strong 'whole' as a 'we' constructed by shared identity. Yet, understanding it in this way is problematic as it relies on a plurality of

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[43] Although by practicing solidarity, actions may be visible but this is a secondary not primary purpose.

identities, and voices, being 'purified' to construct a singular 'whole' identity. Richard Sennett discusses a 'purification ritual' in cultures whereby the 'image of the community is purified of all that may convey a feeling of difference, let alone conflict, in who "we" are' (1998: 138). This is problematic, it constructs a veneer of togetherness, which, as Sennett argues, 'it is a way for [wo]men to avoid the necessity of looking deeper into each other' (1998: 138). Sennett's 'purification ritual' can be identified in how NGOs, and more widely civil society, produce a singular identity while working in coalition. In the case of MPH, prescriptive brand guidelines restricted NGOs from using their own logos and a plurality of voices and NGO identities were 'purified' to present a singular voice of protest (discussed in chapter five). Similarly, Pollyanna Ruiz discusses coalition protesters asserting that an online forum, which is publicly accessible, is not the space for internal 'conflicts', perceiving that their differences could strengthen their opponent (2014: 127). Ruiz's work illustrates that a practice of 'purification' is not always conducted by a top-down model, but can be reinforced by group members wanting to present a united image. Both top-down, and bottom-up, processes of 'purification' contribute to flattening movements, by perceiving that their different identities, and voices, are a weakness.

An aim of the IF campaign was for corporations to pay taxes; it is the practices of corporations using tax havens that demarcate the target as a 'them,' not their identities as corporations. Yet, this is at times blurred in protests due to the identity of targets (for example, their brands) being most visible to publics, rather than their practices. Subsequently, protest campaigns frequently produce communications that emphasise targets' identities to visually produce public 'enemies'. In the case of MPH, the demarcation of 'we' (campaigners) and 'they' (campaign target) became entwined with their public target (the UK government) appropriating the language of the campaign: 'Have confidence that *together we* can make poverty history' (Gordon Brown, 26th September 2004, my emphasis), alongside visuals, such as Tony Blair wearing a white wristband (Pook, 25th March 2005). As a result, audience research, conducted by Andrew Darnton (2006: 9), shows that some people perceived that the UK government, in particular Gordon Brown, were part of the campaign 'we', which consequently negates a 'they' to protest against.[44]

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[44] In chapter five, I discuss the blurring of boundaries between the government and the MPH campaign.

2.2. Listening to Visual Voices

> For all the attention to 'the spectacle' in modern culture, there are in fact few spectacles that unfold in utter silence. But the shift to an acoustic rather than a visual register in understanding the mediated world… offers productive ways of thinking about even purely visual culture inasmuch as it shifts our attention from the subjectivity of the individual to the intersubjectivity of the public, plural world.
>
> (Lacey 2013: 13)

While the focus of this thesis is on the visual communication of humanitarianism, these visuals are rarely published in isolation and an analysis of the captions, audio and text that accompany these visuals has also been included in this study.[45] Yet it is Lacey's argument for an acoustic understanding of the mediated world that is opening up spaces of intersubjectivity that I wish to further explore in this chapter. In this section, I propose that a practice of listening, understood as both an experience and cognitive process, is fundamental to a practice of solidarity. Building on the work of Susan Bickford (1996), Nick Couldry (2006, 2009, 2010) and Kate Lacey (2011, 2013), I normatively discuss the practice of solidarity in relation to the cultural politics of voice and the politics of listening.

2.2.1. Cultural Politics of Voice

> *Please add your voice. It couldn't be simpler…*
> Tearfund, Make Poverty History Booklet, 2005

> *It won't cost you anything but your voice.*
> Myleene Klass, Enough Food IF, Huffington Post Article, 2013

> *Throughout 2013, the IF campaign made great progress in tackling some of the underlying causes of hunger, thanks to the thousands of you who made your voices heard.*
> Enough Food IF Facebook page, November 19, 2013

Both the MPH and IF campaigns appealed to publics to add 'your voice' to be part of the movement, and as with many of the actions promoted by the campaigns, adding one's voice 'couldn't be simpler' (Tearfund 2005), 'it won't cost you anything' (Klass 2013). The request implies that voice is owned, individual and singular. The campaigns address individuals to add '*your* voice', but the request is not for unique contributions (which have no way of being recorded), but an appeal for a 'vote' or 'endorsement' of the 'voice' of the campaign (via online and offline petitions). The

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[45] As well as a critique of the wider social and cultural contexts in which they are situated.

appeal to individuals to only contribute 'voice', if in line with the organisation's own institutional voice, produces a singular voice of protest. In aggregative models, the 'voice' of the people is translated into 'vote counts, opinion polls, and elected officials' (Love 2006: 112). Yet, the 'voice of the people', in these contexts, is carefully constructed, as campaigns consult marketing agencies to produce communications that persuasively present their pre-determined message. In my interviews with NGO professionals (discussed in chapter five), an aim of their communication is to convey poverty in such a way that publics respond 'compassionately', 'empathetically' or embrace a practice of 'solidarity' with the campaign or organisation. In particular, the justification for using celebrities or imagery of starving children was the explanation that 'it works' (Celebrity Liaison B, Head of Communications G). The response that 'it works' summarises NGOs position that the communications that use representations of celebrities and starving children result in people endorsing the campaign. Voice, is quantified by NGOs through measurable indicators of money raised, petitions signed, 'likes' and 'tweets' accumulated. The use of celebrities and children dying in NGO communication is not used as a tool to garner individual responses and voices, but as a way to persuade people to endorse the 'voice' of the campaign. This results in supporters echoing, and amplifying, the 'voice' of the coalition.

The ability to have 'a voice' is embedded in a wider discourse of a democratic politics (Lacey 2013: 13). In particular, in these NGO discourses, the ability to contribute 'voice' is recognised as marginalised people having access to a democratic process, to contribute to political discussions and decisions (Christian Aid 2015, World Vision n.p.). While both campaigns use the term 'voice', positioning their call to action in a political sphere, Bob Geldof during the MPH campaign, perhaps more accurately describes the request as 'this time we want your name' (Live 8, 2005). The shift from an oral to written request for 'voice' mirrors a wider cultural change in media literacy. Walter Ong describes the move from spoken to written word as 'secondary orality' that 'generates a sense for groups immeasurably larger than those of primary oral culture' (1982: 136). With the development of social networks, campaigns are now also asking to 'add not just a voice but add their photo online', which is used to produce visual petitions; 'its creating a picture of something, in solidarity of something… to show something big' (Network Campaign Officer J). The shift from an oral (to speak), to written (to sign), to now visual (to photograph) request for 'voice' reconfigures the scope of action each time. The IF campaign promoted participation in their online

spaces, requesting supporters to upload images of themselves on Facebook, produce YouTube videos, and tweet about the campaign. Yet an analysis of tweets relating to the campaign shows that people were not producing original tweets but re-tweeting the 'voices' of the official NGO twitter accounts or their employees (Sajuria et al. 2014). Similarly, the visuals uploaded fit a prescribed format for supporters to 'presence' themselves by echoing the voice of the campaign, either by replicating the campaign 'IF' logo with their bodies or by holding campaign props produced by the coalition (see chapter six).

Humanitarian communication has the potential to include a multiplicity of voices, including the visual, of both people occupying a global north and south, as well as institutional voices. The terminology of voice is used within creative practice. The visual storytelling within films and the voice of the creator are familiar discourses. The development of new media technologies has acted as a catalyst for new research into the potential for people living in poverty to contribute 'voice' either to the humanitarian process in the field (Madianou et al. 2015) or to public engagement in the UK (Cooper 2014). Yet, while new technologies (along with NGOs) have the potential to facilitate voice; in Mirca Madianou et al.'s case study in the context of disaster recovery, voice also requires 'social capital and a strong civil society' (2015: 3034). In the case of new technologies in the context of public engagement, NGOs maintain control of the space ('live' blogs and twitter feeds) by filtering and editing contributions from people living in poverty (Cooper 2014).

Nick Couldry, building on the work of Judith Butler (2003), defines voice as a process, 'the expression of a distinctive perspective on the world that needs to be acknowledged' (2010: 1). Using Butler's description of the process of 'giving an account of oneself' (2003), voice as an expression does not require a particular medium. For Couldry (2010), the definition of 'voice' goes beyond possessing the language to communicate, which can be either verbal or visual. 'Voice' as a value demands 'the process of mutually recognising our claims on each other as reflexive human agents, each with an account to give, an account of our lives that needs to be registered and heard, our stories endlessly entangled in each others' stories' (Couldry 2009: 580). The endless entanglement of stories within the value of 'voice' acknowledges a tension with how NGOs currently appropriate 'voice', in the singular, instead of appealing to the intersubjectivity of the public. Susan Bickford, in her work on political listening,

discusses the intersubjectivity of the creative process of voicing and listening: 'I cannot hear you except against the ground of who I am, and you are speaking, not in the abstract, but to me – to who you think your listeners are' (1996: 147). In doing so, action ('voice' and 'listening') while temporal and transient, is grounded in cultural and historical contexts. Neither listening nor voice can occur in isolation and recognising the interdependency of all actors within humanitarian communication poses mutual moral and ethical responsibilities.

Figure 2.1: Health Poverty Action 2015, Give a Healthy Gift (2015)

A cliché within humanitarian relief and campaign discourses is the ability to 'give voice to the voiceless', the focus on the gift being 'a voice' is paradoxical. If voice is the ability, as well as a human right, to 'give an account of oneself' (Butler 2003), the 'gift' is not voice but a restructuring of communication, or more widely society, which is currently silencing or filtering voices. The action required by participants is a responsibility to listen to those encountered, for 'listening materialises voice – without listening, voice becomes irrelevant' (Tacchi 2011 cited in Madianou et al. 2015: 3023).

2.2.2. Cultural Politics of Listening

> There is something strangely counterintuitive in thinking about listening as an act, let alone a political action, but I would argue that it is a critical category that ought to be at the heart of any consideration of public life.
>
> (Lacey 2011: 11)

Research focusing on humanitarian communication, as well as NGOs themselves, has neglected to consider listening as a critical category in analyses of NGOs' requests for publics to 'politically' act. The focus on humanitarian visuals has surely steered the

debate towards discussions on spectatorship and gazes (Chouliaraki 2006; Manzo 2008). The visual itself has maintained the focus of studies by both academics and NGOs (Chouliaraki 2006; Darnton & Kirk 2011; Dogra 2012). Consequently, academics and NGOs have called for a change in the image (and not the production) in an effort to transform the way in which audiences engage. In my interviews with NGO professionals, discussed in chapter five, a narrative of changing the image emerges, the sector is shifting away from the images of suffering used in the MPH campaign, discussed as 'negative', towards the 'smiling', 'positive' imagery of the IF campaign:

> We don't want to portray Africa; as look at those poor Africans they need our help. We don't want that patronising feel to it. We want it far more, actually this is in solidarity.
>
> <div align="right">(Campaign Manager A)</div>

Ironically, this places responsibility not on the NGOs or audiences, but on the people living in poverty to tell a different story. A call for a different story treats the narrative as an end 'product', which can be exchanged for something 'different'. Tanja Dreher, drawing on postcolonial feminism, proposes that a focus on listening 'shifts some of the focus and responsibility for change from marginalised voices and on the conventions, institutions and privileges which shape who and what can be heard in the media' (2009: 445). The critical category of listening moves away from the binary of 'positive' and 'negative' towards an understanding of who has the ability to participate, and what are the structures that enable (or disable) their agency.

The flipside of understanding visuals articulating 'voice' is that individuals and publics can engage with visual communication by 'listening'. John Durham Peters (2015) in his book, *The Marvellous Clouds*, beautifully illustrates the ability to 'listen with the eyes' drawing on the work of Marshall McLuhan. The focus is how 'writing teaches the eye to behave like an ear… not looking at the overall pattern but rather 'listening' for the sounds or words indicated by the conventionalised shapes' (2015: 303). The eye behaving like an ear, to listen to text, resonates with the eye behaving like an ear, to listen to visuals.[46] The semiotics of visuals is similar to the 'conventional shapes' of letters, which convey the 'voice' of the author, artist, photographer, director, and at times the subjects. Roland Barthes (1977), in his essay *The Photographic Message*, argues that two messages coexist in images. Images denotatively document, *not*

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[46] Peters, in his earlier work, also describes the ability to be present at a distance, via 'the borrowed eyes and ears of the media become however tentatively one's own' (2001: 717).

neutrally, the tangible content of the frame, while also connotatively articulating values and ideas (1977: 3). Cultures anchor visuals, which produce different registers to be listened to. This study explores this as a practice of dual listening: listening to denoted and connoted messages that coexist and are culturally situated. In the empirical chapters that follow, I examine the denoted messages in humanitarian communication, via content analysis (chapter four), as well as exploring the connoted messages, with textual analysis (chapter four) and audience research (chapter six and seven). Identifying the practice of dual listening, in relation to visuals, contributes to understanding the different sites to investigate.

2.2.3. Humanitarian Publics

Hannah Arendt (1958) and Roger Silverstone (2007) both perceive that the communication between participants is a 'space' / 'polis', where the necessary mediations of 'us' as well as 'others' are made. Arendt acknowledges that a combination of action and plurality of speech is required for:

> Action and speech create a space between the participants which can find its proper location almost any time and anywhere. It is the space of appearance in the widest sense of the word, namely, *the space where I appear to others as others appear to me*, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things but make their appearance explicitly.
>
> (Arendt 1958: 199, my emphasis)

Appearance, for Arendt (1958, 1971), is crucial to public life. Arendt discusses that anything that is alive has an urge to appear: '*whatever can see wants to be seen, whatever can hear calls out to be heard, whatever can touch presents itself to be touched*' (Arendt 1971: 29, original emphasis). Silverstone develops Arendt's theory of the 'space of appearance' and conceives of 'a mediapolis' in its singularity, although fragmented: 'the mediated space of appearance in which the world appears and in which the world is constituted in its worldliness and through which we learn about those who are and who are not like us' (2007: 31). As John Durham Peters puts it, 'to live in a modern society is to depend on representations of that society' (1997: 79). Similarly, to live in a world of globalisations (de Sousa Santos 2006) is therefore to depend on representations of the meeting, rather than merging, of cultures within a communicative space. For Silverstone (2007: 30), the mediapolis emerges within the interaction of humans, enabled by people appearing in the media, a space that is in essence deterritorialised.

For Arendt, the space is not permanently inhabited, it is articulated: 'wherever people gather together, it is potentially there, but only potentially, not necessarily and not forever' (1958: 199). Michael Warner, in his influential work on publics, discusses a similar temporal dimension, which is generated by discourse, a public exists 'by virtue of being addressed' (2002: 50). Consequently, publics 'can only act within the temporality of the circulation [of discourse] that gives it existence' (2002: 68). Warner's understanding of publics produced by discourse is valuable in examining the spaces, and relationships, which are evoked by humanitarian communication. In this study, I develop Warner's understanding of publics to discuss *humanitarian publics* in three ways. Firstly, publics resemble a 'model of voluntary association that is so important to civil society' (2002: 61), for they are *not* mapped onto pre-existing alliances, communities or nations. A public requires attention, it is an 'active uptake… by coming into range you fulfil the only entry condition demanded by a public' (2002: 61). This provides a model for understanding the 'active uptake' required to form humanitarian publics that cross borders and boundaries, whether national, political or social. Here it is important to distinguish that an 'active uptake' does not require a public to support the discourse of the humanitarian cause or campaign that is in circulation but to be 'attentive' to the discourse. Publics have the potential to articulate dissent and disagreement with the discourse presented.

Secondly, Warner's understanding of publics formed by mediation alone broadens our understanding of 'the public'. Jürgen Habermas' (1984) prominent theory of 'the public sphere' promotes a single public body, where private individuals debate common concerns and reach a critical consensus.[47] The notion of a single and consenting public sphere, bounded by a nation state, is critiqued in the work of Chantal Mouffe (1995, 2005) and Nancy Fraser (1997). Chantal Mouffe develops a model of democracy that recognises that antagonism, and differences, cannot be eradicated from a public. However, 'antagonistic conflicts are less likely to emerge as long as agonistic legitimate political channels for dissenting voices exist' (2005: 30). Mouffe argues, and I agree, that there is a 'need to develop a positive attitude towards differences, even if they lead to conflict and impede the realisation of harmony' (1995: 44). As Susan Bickford argues, 'it is precisely the presence of conflict and differences that makes communicative interaction necessary' (1996: 2). Mouffe's argument resonates with

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[47] Habermas identifies the conversations that occurred in eighteenth century coffee houses, as forming an ideal discourse (1984: 49).

Sennett's (1998: 138) work, discussed earlier, on the tensions that occur when communicative spaces are purified. Differences can not be negated in these spaces, rather they can only be *actively* silenced by a refusal to listen to them.

Nancy Fraser develops an understanding of *subaltern counterpublics*, which are 'parallel discursive arenas where members of the subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter-discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs' (1992: 123). Yet, for Warner, counterpublics are not organised by their subordinated social status, but are the result of circulating counter discourses, 'that in other contexts would be regarded with hostility or with a sense of indecorousness' (2002: 86). Warner presents a more fluid understanding of a counterpublic, which I support in this thesis, where it is possible for a person to occupy publics and counterpublics. For people are subordinated in multiple ways and in different cultural contexts. By defining a counterpublic, as Warner does, by its counter-discourse, rather than by its member identities or social status, offers the potential to be an intersectional space, where differences are not compartmentalised. This is particularly relevant in the context of humanitarianism, which I argue, requires an intersectional approach.

Intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberlé W. Crenshaw (1989), is most commonly discussed in relation to black feminist thought, to argue that different forms of oppression, such as gender, race and class, are interdependent and produce interconnected forms of injustice. Intersectional paradigms show that 'the matrix of domination refers to how these intersecting oppressions are actually organised… interpersonal domains of power reappear across quite different forms of oppression' (Hill 2000: 18). In doing so, it recognises that the subaltern 'is not a homogenous entity that can be counted as an aggregate' (Dutta 2011: 185; Spivak 1990). Humanitarianism, as I discuss in chapter seven in relation to liquidity, requires an intersectional approach to recognise that economic forms of inequality, which are the focus of NGO campaigns, are interconnected to other forms of injustice, which must be addressed in anti-poverty activism. I favour Warner's (2002) understanding that 'the subordinate status of a counterpublic does not simply reflect identities formed elsewhere; participation in such a public is one of the ways by which its member's identities are formed and transformed' (2002: 121). In this thesis, I discuss

humanitarian counterpublics, as spaces produced by discourse that challenges dominant ways of practicing humanitarianism (see chapter five).

Thirdly, and finally, for Warner (2002: 52) publics are sovereign by 'speaking, writing and thinking' as active and immediate participants, as well as by the people who 'merely' pay attention. Kate Lacey, rightly, critiques Warner for overlooking 'listening' as active and critical, 'these listeners *actively* constitute the public, they are not mere bystanders' (2013: 172). For Warner, discursive circulation is paramount in the formation of a public, which is perhaps why he privileges speaking and writing. These are the catalysts that produce a rhythm of circulation, the flow of texts (such as books, papers and magazines), which are the basis for representations and must continue to circulate to 'have a public' (2002: 68). However, Warner acknowledges that not all texts (such as memos and personal correspondence) are 'oriented to a public' (2002: 63). It is this orientation towards public *listeners* that constitute 'a public'. Therefore, of equal importance to the flow of texts, are the interdependent waves of listeners.

Warner's formation of a public, produced by diverse and different media texts, also contributes to understanding publics that are not limited to discussing formal politics. It recognises that diverse discourses produce publics and can occupy different platforms and formats. Although the two are interlinked, I discuss humanitarian *publics* and *counterpublics* rather than humanitarian *audiences*. Influenced by the work of Sonia Livingstone (2005: 35), who acknowledges how entangled the terms have become, but offers the following distinction:

> Telling the story of audiences means telling a story of changing forms of media and hence of changing forms of communication among peoples. The analysis of publics, by contrast, centres on the attempt to understand the significance and consequences of public – by contrast to private – forms of activity or spaces of activity.

This thesis, although analysing different forms of communication adopted in humanitarian campaigns, primarily focuses on the spaces of activity produced by the discourse, as well as the spaces of activity that produce the discourse.

2.3.   Practicing Solidarity

Recent work by Kate Nash (2008), Lilie Chouliaraki (2010, 2011, 2013) and Shani Orgad (2013) has begun to address the concept of 'solidarity' in relation to NGO communications. Orgad, while using Arendt's definition of solidarity as cultivating 'a community of interest with the oppressed and the exploited' (1963: 88), situates solidarity as a relationship between 'stable western societies' and an oppressed 'other' (2013: 296). Similarly, Nash (2008) and Chouliaraki (2010: 121) pivot solidarity as a relationship between 'western publics' and 'vulnerable others'. Solidarity is frequently used to describe those with power as the practitioners of solidarity, 'identifying with the struggles of others to *help them* overcome oppression' (Barnett 2011: 204, my emphasis). However, this understanding of solidarity, where the 'vulnerable' and those living in poverty are positioned as the recipients of solidarity, misinterpret Arendt's understanding of a 'community of interest' (1963: 88). Margaret Canovan (1992: 171), in her discussion of Arendt's work, shares how Arendt:

> knew from direct experience [as a Jewish refugee during WW2] what it was to be one of 'the unfortunate', a member of a persecuted and suffering minority, grateful for authentic *compassion* but infuriated by the patronage of *pity*, and craving the respect *solidarity* implies.

Following on from the quotation referenced by Orgad (2013: 296), Arendt argues that solidarity, 'though it may be aroused by suffering, is not guided by it, and it comprehends the strong and the rich no less than the weak and the poor' (1963: 88). Joel Feinberg discusses, in his work on collective responsibility, the intertwining conditions of a community of interest, which 'exists between two parties to the extent that each party's integrated set of interests contains as one of its components the integrated interest-set of the other' (1970: 234). This understanding reflects the definitions of solidarity discussed in the opening of this chapter, a 'community of interest' and a practice of solidarity are shared practices that interweave one another's interests to form a whole. It is not a practice that can be done or given to another, nor an identity to assume. It is a practice that requires mutual respect, interdependent on agents voicing and listening. For activism, particularly in relation to eradicating poverty, is a future making project. Anti-poverty activism requires imagination, to

understand relationships that cross both territorial and generational borders.[48] This normative understanding of solidarity offers a framework to analyse humanitarian NGO practices. To further understand solidarity, I conclude this chapter with a discussion of how nationhood, hospitality and travel are entangled in notions of solidarity. Charles Taylor (2002), Nico Carpentier (2011) and Shani Orgad (2013) discuss 'social imaginaries' as ways that a society makes sense of itself. The imaginary is 'produced, accepted and then taken for granted' (Carpentier 2011: 143). Humanitarian NGOs contribute to producing and circulating imaginaries that form people's understanding of a global community and their role within it.

2.3.1. Nationhood

> [N]ational identities are not things that we are born with, but are formed and transformed in relation to representation… People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the idea of the nation as represented in its national culture. A nation is a symbolic community and it is this which accounts for its power to generate a sense of identity.
>
> (Hall 1992: 292)

Nations, as Stuart Hall (1992: 292) argues, are symbolic communities, which people participate in constructing. Benedict Anderson discusses how a nation requires imagination, for people 'will never know most of their fellow-members… yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (1991: 6). In humanitarian NGO communications a form of 'global citizenship' is advocated that promotes an identity and notional belonging to a global community based on common humanity. Andrew Dobson (2003), in his work on global citizenship and the environment, acknowledges that global citizenship based on 'common humanity' silences 'historical obligations'. Dobson distinguishes between 'thin' and 'thick' cosmopolitanism, whereby 'thin' cosmopolitanism is based on a 'common humanity' and 'thick' cosmopolitanism, is based on 'historical obligation', which Dobson also argues is 'always already obligations of globalisation' (2003: 81). Using the example of our changing climate, he argues that 'thick' cosmopolitanism is not a duty to all humankind, but an obligation for those that have contributed 'unsustainably to global warming' (2003: 81). In part,

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[48] Petitioning to change trade, climate or tax policies, may not change the lives of people living in poverty now. Therefore, it requires people to imagine themselves as part of a global community, with responsibilities and agency, to change policies that will effect the lives across both territorial and generational borders. In the conclusion, I discuss the tension that exists in NGO campaigns that accentuate the ability to eradicate poverty 'now', without acknowledging the time-based dimension of political change.

humanitarian NGOs make a similar distinction by appealing only to citizens that occupy a global north to be 'global citizens'. The child in the NGO advert, or the refugee represented in a newspaper, are not discussed or engaged as 'global citizens'. However, this is problematic when 'global citizenship' is perceived as grounded in a 'common humanity', as it effectively advocates a hierarchy of humanity. Where some people are considered citizens, with rights and agency, whereas others are devoid of political accountability.

Nationhood, and in some cases a lack of nationhood, is entwined in representations of humanitarianism (Kyriakidou 2009). In humanitarian NGO campaigns the framing of nationhood is important as it contributes to representing forms of political agency. While MPH and IF advocated people in the UK to be 'global citizens', the requested actions were dependent on people using their national citizenship to lobby the UK government for policy changes. At the same time people living in poverty are not considered in the campaigns to be 'global citizens', in some cases, they are also represented without a nation state. Heather Johnson, in her work on refugees, argues that being represented without a nation state renders people 'speechless and in need of someone else's agency to speak for them' (2011: 1029). There is a temporal dimension to the representations of refugees, characterised by a period of transition. People seeking refuge are often photographed travelling across borders: on boats or by foot. Refugees, although represented outside of a nation state, remain as subjects within a political discourse. The status of a refugee is recognised in international law.[49] In contrast, there is currently no international law that dictates that nations have a responsibility beyond, or even within, their nation state towards people living in systemic everyday poverty.

People living in poverty, while belonging to nations and neighbourhoods, are frequently misrepresented as being outside of a specific nation. This is a trait within NGO communication that depicts people living in poverty against a muted backdrop (figure 2.2). In some cases, this is due to subjects being photographed against plain backgrounds. However, often the setting is deliberately silenced, either by a photographer using a wide aperture to produce a shallow depth of field, which focuses

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[49] In 1951 the UN Convention enabled refugees access to 'a political status within the state that, while not equivalent to citizenship, mirrors many of its entitlements… the refugee is permitted access to the political space of the citizen' (Johnson 2014: 5).

intensely on the foreground, or by erasing the background in post-production (figure 2.2). Both processes contribute to positioning people 'outside' of their communities, cultures or geopolitics. In doing so, people are positioned as 'stateless' and apolitical without the agency to hold their own government to account. A silencing of the nations and neighbourhoods of people living in poverty also contributes to suppressing global norths' obligations, due to aggressive colonisation and unjust global orders, towards global souths (c.f. Kapoor 2008).

Figure 2.2 Enough Food IF Transparency Web Page (2013)

During the MPH and IF campaigns, when nationhood was mobilised, it followed a tradition of a 'great' Britain, alongside a 'needy' impoverished 'Africa' (Harrison 2010). This power dynamic replicates the imperial imaginaries produced during the British Empire. In particular, in the early 20th century, when humanitarian NGOs were emerging as major actors, the UK public was sold imagery of imperial interconnectedness in the *Empire Marketing Board* poster campaign, the first peacetime propaganda produced by the UK government (Kothari 2014a, 2014b). The *Empire Marketing Board* commissioned large billboard posters, between 1926 − 1933, that promoted the Empire, and their trading practices, as a humanitarian project. The British nation was often represented in the posters by a white male explorer (figure 2.3), towering over people (showing his power), alongside technology (showing his knowledge) and unarmed (showing his care).

Figure 2.3: East African Transport New Style, Adrian Allinson, December 1930 – January 1931

I identify the imperial imaginaries of nations as utopic, and subsequently problematic, using George Lawson's understanding of utopia, as generating 'images which often lie outside, beyond or on top of history rather than visions which have their roots from what is immanent within history' (2008: 882). The building of the British Empire is interwoven with histories of economic, military, political, religious and cultural conflicts, while the dismantling of the British Empire is entwined in histories of colonised nations' struggles for independence. The imperial imaginaries, promoted in the *Empire Marketing Board* posters, and now in some humanitarian campaigns, lie on top of these complex histories of the British Empire. Britain is promoted as a benevolent and 'great' nation, while the historical relationships between the Empire and the colonised are deliberately silenced (see chapter five). The UK's historic role in producing, and their current role in maintaining, the global socio-economic inequalities that produce poverty, are pacified and subverted in imperial imaginaries that promote altruism and care. Race scholar Sherene Razack argues that there is a need to examine how social hierarchies are explained, to understand, 'Where am I in the picture? Am I positioning myself as the saviour of less fortunate peoples?... these are moves of superiority and we need to move beyond them' (2001: 170). The IF campaign press release, produced by *Save the Children*, stated that 'Britain has a once in a generation chance to make hunger a thing of the past'.[50] In the MPH and IF campaigns, the UK hosting the G8 meetings was promoted as 'if the UK were literally

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[50] Save the Children (2013) *Enough Food For Everyone IF Campaign Launches Today*, 23rd January 2013, http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/latest-news-and-comment/enough-food-everyone-if-campaign-launches-today [last accessed 23/01/2013]

leading the world in ending poverty' (Nash 2008: 175). Graham Harrison, in his analysis of the MPH campaign, identified 'an imperial campaign tradition in Britain… premised on how the British government might "help" Africa' (2010: 392). Communicating that Britain's actions are guided 'at heart [by] a global humanitarian impulse' (2010: 398). Subsequently, UK citizens are positioned as powerful, with vast agency to evoke global change, without having to accept responsibility for producing or maintaining the poverty that they produce(d). In the following chapters, in my analysis of how solidarity is communicated, I examine and interrogate how people are positioned, and the humanitarian relationship negotiated and imagined.

2.3.2. Hospitality

> The cosmopolitan, as an ethic, embodies a commitment, indeed an obligation, to recognise not just the stranger as other, but the other in oneself. Cosmopolitanism implies and requires therefore, both reflexivity and toleration. In political terms, it demands justice and liberty, while in social terms, hospitality. And in media terms it requires…an obligation to listen, an obligation which… is a version of hospitality.
>
> (Silverstone 2007: 14)

Silverstone's normative and descriptive concept of media hospitality builds on Derrida's work, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, in that 'ethics is so thoroughly coextensive with the experience of hospitality' (2001: 17). For hospitality, Derrida acknowledges the need for a 'home' and in doing so, also implies a 'host', one 'who takes responsibility for the welcome' (Silverstone 2007: 142). In this section, I discuss the concept of hospitality using examples from the MPH and IF campaigns. While neither example fulfils Silverstone's normative concept of media hospitality, or invite a normative ethic of practicing solidarity, the examples illustrate some of the tensions produced when NGOs attempt to 'welcome' marginalised voices of poverty into a mediapolis.

In 2005, MPH produced the 'One Click' advert for mass mainstream audiences. These included celebrities, such as Bob Geldof, Kate Moss and Bono, clicking their fingers at 3 second intervals, with a voice over 'A child dies completely unnecessary as a result of extreme poverty every three seconds. [Pause] There we go that's another one, somebody's daughter, somebody's son…'.[51] The final person to 'appear' in the advert is a child, presumed to be living in poverty in 'Africa'. The child occupies the same

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[51] MPH (2005) *UK Click Ad*, http://www.makepovertyhistory.org/video [last accessed 06/09/15]

temporal space as the celebrities; the child's presence conforms to the celebrities in both appearance and style, equally positioned to the centre of the frame, with the same solemn expression and white t-shirt, conducting a click that mirrors Bono and other's earlier actions (figure 2.4). Yet, the child is not perceived as a member of 'celebrity', the dirt on his t-shirt and race, as well as his status as a child, positions him by his perceived membership of people living in poverty. Susan Bickford, in her work on political listening, argues that 'if my membership in a group is the only lens through which I am perceived, then I cannot appear as a person with a unique story and singular opinions' (1996: 101, discussed in chapter four). The 'hospitality' in the 'One Click' video is limited, the voice over emphasise that the child is not unique and remains unnamed in the video, poverty is the only lens in which the child is perceived. While the celebrities occupy the same mediated space and are similarly acknowledged by a perceived membership, this time of stardom, Geldof, Moss and Bono *also* appear in different mediated spaces that contribute to developing them as a person with a *unique* story.
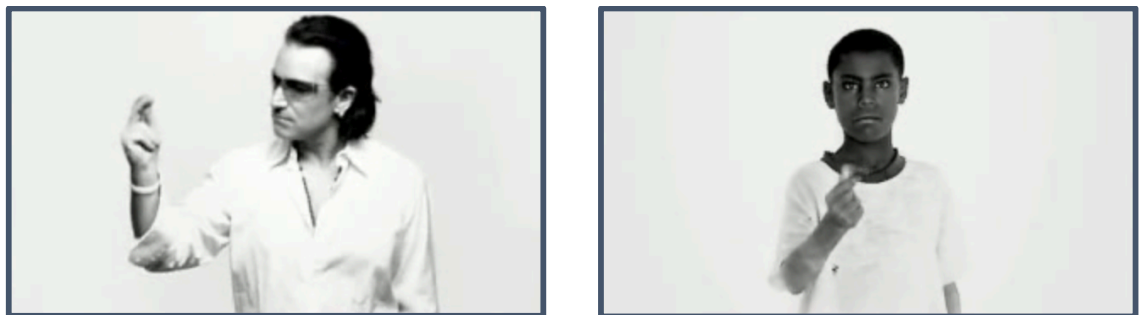
Figure 2.4: Make Poverty History 'One Click Advert' (2005)

Tester critiques Silverstone's concept of the mediapolis, as 'a typically metropolitan perspective of the world. He is at the centre, and from there is blind to the existence of peripheries' (2010: 46). The child in the MPH video can appear to the celebrities, and more widely to British publics, yet the appearance is not reciprocal, since the British publics do not appear before the child. Hospitality requires a level of intersubjectivity, the host offers hospitality, which requires that the people 'welcomed' speak to them. The IF campaign produced a series of short YouTube videos that document interactions between Charlie, a YouTube celebrity, and Frank, a Tanzanian *Save the Children* ambassador. While 'media hospitality' does not demand a physical interaction, and in the case of both campaigns very few communications include an actual meeting

between people from different cultures, the videos illustrate some of the tensions within the hospitality model. Charlie and his mother travel to Tanzania as part of the IF campaign and produce a series of vlogs about their journey. In Charlie's first YouTube video, titled *Meet Mr. Frank* (2013), Charlie positions himself as the 'host' of the space, welcoming the audiences, 'Karibu! And welcome to Dar es Salaam in Tanzania'. Fitting the format of YouTube vlogs, what follows is a 3.46 minute monologue to camera from Charlie about his experience of 'one of the most mind blowing weeks of my life'. The format and sentiment of Charlie's experiences are akin to a 'gap year' experience, discussing 'life changing' and 'mind blowing' moments. While the title of the video is *Meet Mr. Frank* the audience only meets Frank via Charlie, 'he [Frank] was one of those starving kids in Africa that we hear so much about'.

Silverstone discusses an obligation, rather than a right, 'not to distort the system of communication so much that the visitor cannot be heard' (2007: 137). Silverstone's reference to the visitor implies that s/he has a voice to be acknowledged. In the case of the IF YouTube videos, while Frank features in the visual communication, the space provoked by the interaction between Charlie, Frank and the public(s) is not a shared space, but instead colonised by the 'host', as the voice of Frank is appropriated by Charlie's narrative of agency and action. While the mediapolis is normatively defined as shared, it is descriptively a contested space. The ability to appear is a 'measure of political, and other, status' (Silverstone 2007: 30). To understand the power exercised within humanitarian communication, I propose that the 'host', in this case Charlie, imperialises the space created. Edward Said, in his foundational work on *Orientalism*, shows how imperialism is 'an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted, and finally brought under control' (1993: 271). Said defines imperialism as 'the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan *centre ruling a distant territory*' (1993: 8, my emphasis). British NGOs' current, and historic, control of communicative spaces, in these terms, can be considered as acts of imperialism. NGOs not only 'presence themselves' within the space, but also *control* both the means of representation for people living in poverty, as well as the cultural context of the space.

Nick Couldry (2012: 196) proposes a different approach to Silverstone's concept of 'media hospitality' using Axel Honneth's (2003) theory of recognition and Paul

Ricoeur's concept of 'linguistic hospitality'. Linguistic hospitality is a capacity relevant whether travelling physically or discursively that applies 'whenever individuals meet and whatever their territorial relations: whether I meet you on your home territory or vice versa, or whether we meet on neutral territory' (Ricoeur in Couldry 2012: 196). Couldry proposes dropping the word 'hospitality' and more simply discuss 'care' and a common connectedness (2012: 197). For 'home' implies exclusiveness, and 'host' involves implicit power to dictate the terms in which interactions take place. In the following section, I respond to Silverstone (2007) and Couldry (2012), using Kate Lacey's (2011, 2013) work on the 'ethic of travelling' and 'listening out'. In doing so, I wish to consider the communicative exchanges that are normatively required for a practice of solidarity.

2.3.3. Travelling

Kate Lacey (2011, 2013) contributes to the discussion of media ethics an ethic of travelling, which she proposes is the twin practice of listening. The ethic of hospitality depends on 'welcoming others into *your* home *your* space' (2011: 18, my emphasis), whereas an ethic of travelling, proposes 'an ethical responsibility for the audience to travel adventurously among those stories, listening out for voices that are unfamiliar or uneasy on the ear' (Lacey 2013: 191). The ethic of travelling, which Lacey discusses, is not an easy practice. It requires the practice of 'listening out', which is 'an attentive and anticipatory communicative disposition', in contrast to 'listening in' which is 'a receptive and mediatised communicative action' (2011: 7). Listening out opens up the potential not only to listen out for voices, but to also listen out for fellow listeners. To travel away from predefined narrow goals (to click here, to sign up here, to donate here) opens up a potential to travel away from the 'home', 'the self' or 'the Empire'. By embracing travelling, the lives of people living in poverty are no longer confined to be packaged into a singular space controlled by the 'host'. Instead, travelling at a distance via the media, 'involves the imagination in travelling across boundaries physical, personal, social and temporal' (Lacey 2013: 191). In doing so, the temporality of experiences and the liquidity of interactions are recognised, not to permanently 'settle' but to continually 'listen out'.

To travel is a familiar practice for humanitarianism, which, as previously discussed, shares histories with missionary and imperial expeditions (c.f. Saunders 2009). In these contexts, travellers are associated with confidence and power, to the extent that they

are willing to impose their beliefs and practices on the places that they explore. Yet, by understanding an ethic of travelling as interdependent on a practice of listening (Lacey 2011, 2013), a new form of engagement emerges. Listening is a practice that 'is associated with humility *and* vulnerability, in part because ears cannot be willed shut against sound' (Ahmed et al. 2000: 17). When travelling, there is an ever present potential to listen and be exposed to the unknown. Kate Lacey, following the work of Arendt (1959: 179), proposes that 'listening without political judgement is simply a communicative act; it is not an intrinsic political good unless directed towards the virtues of political judgement and action' (2013: 197). Similarly, the ability for people in a global north to listen to voices from a global south, in particular those marginalised by structures of poverty, is not a practice of solidarity unless a mutual agreement to commit to action is achieved. This distinction is useful to understand the difference between 'humanitarian publics', where listeners to a specific discourse constitute a public, and 'humanitarian solidarities', where people commit to working together for a common aim.

While Lacey (2013) discusses an *ethic* to travel, to acknowledge an ethical obligation to listen out, I propose also understanding a *moral* requirement to radically travel, which contributes to a normative practice of solidarity. The Latin words for 'radical' and for 'obey' contribute to understanding this practice further. The Latin word for 'radical', *radicalis*, originates from the term 'roots', which, as Natalie Fenton argues, in relation to radical politics, 'is a politics that is of the people' (2016: 9). In the context of humanitarian communication, to radically travel requires people in a global north to 'listen out' (Lacey 2011, 2013) to stories that occupy different cultural contexts, as well as social statuses. To listen from below, in these unfamiliar spaces, recognises and acknowledges the 'voices' of people living in poverty. Radically travelling requires people occupying a global north to explore beyond their own cultural politics and practices. As previously discussed these global north and south positions are not geographical locations but are hierarchal places (see chapter one). In essence, to radically travel, while also crossing geographical borders, is concerned with a practice that disrupts hierarchies, whereby people that occupy a global south act as the 'guides' or to echo the language used in the hospitality model, are the 'hosts'.[52] Communication

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[52] Charles Husband, in the context of developing a normative model of a multi-ethnic public sphere, proposes a 'right to be understood' that 'places upon us all a duty to seek comprehension of the other' (1996: 209). Husband recognises that his vision is utopic and requires a 'revolutionary transformation of the status quo' (1996: 213). Husband discusses 'understanding as commodity' and 'understanding as

that promotes a global north to radically travel, to listen from below, creates communicative exchanges that values and privileges the perspectives, lived experiences and agency of the people living in poverty.

2.4.   Conclusions

> Solidarity means regarding others as capable of taking an interest in the world and speaking for themselves, capable of political action, and therefore meant to be listened to and not simply cared for. In other words, the action that solidarity guides is how we pay attention to one another; the public realm is characterised both by certain ways of talking, and certain ways of listening.
>
> (Bickford 1996: 77)

In this chapter, I have been influenced by Susan Bickford (1996) and Kate Lacey's (2011, 2013) work on listening to conceptually understand a practice of solidarity. Initially, by tracing the roots of solidarity, I argue that solidarity is a shared practice that requires mutual respect. To further explore solidarity descriptively, I examined the power exercised in humanitarian communicative spaces and publics that are created across borders, arguing that NGOs are currently imperialising a 'space of appearance' (Arendt 1958) by controlling the means of representation, as well as defining the cultural context of the space. I propose that NGOs move away from offering 'media hospitality' (Silverstone 2007), which implies a powerful host. Instead, NGOs could embrace a moral requirement to radically travel, where audiences move away from the 'self' and instead 'listen out' (Lacey 2011, 2013) and 'from below' for unfamiliar voices across differences. By examining the cultural politics of voice and listening, I have mapped how these practices are integral to a normative understanding of solidarity. In the following chapter, I reflect on the methodologies that I use in this study to show how communicating solidarity can be empirically examined. This involves a shift in considering humanitarian communication as the end 'product', and that solidarity is an identity, towards examining the structures that enable certain, sometimes 'purified', voices to be 'acknowledged' and others to be silenced.

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praxis'; the former is vulnerable to self-congratulatory narcissism, whereas the latter conceives 'understanding' as both a process and a catalyst for action (2009: 442). For Husband, the 'right to be understood… values difference and transcends simple egocentrism' (1996: 213). The right to be 'understood' and the duty to seek 'understanding' across difference resonates with a practice to radically travel, that requires participants to 'listen out'.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGIES

3.0. **Introduction**

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CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGIES

> Most of the empirical studies on the mediation of humanitarianism focus on the symbolic (textual and visual) construction of violence and suffering by mediated images and narratives. Studies of production and audience reception in this context are scarce and their contribution to informing the debate very limited.
>
> (Orgad & Seu 2014: 15)

This thesis is an empirical study that aims to provide a contextualised understanding of some of the cultural politics of production and practices of participation in humanitarian NGO campaigns. As Shani Orgad and Irene Seu (2014) argue, and I discussed in chapter one (see 1.1.2), these areas have been neglected in our field, which has predominantly been shaped by textual analyses of communication (Moeller 1999; Cohen 2001; Manzo 2008; Chouliaraki 2013). Principally, my motivation for this research project was to gather, collate, analyse and listen to stories that have previously been neglected from this field of research. Through multiple methodologies, this research aims to make an original contribution in the following areas:

1. To analyse humanitarian NGO communication that calls for publics to take protest action on global poverty.

2. To document and analyse how audiences further mediate and negotiate humanitarian NGO communication.

3. To investigate the cultural politics and practices that influence the production of humanitarian NGO campaigns.

This chapter considers the decisions that I made in designing this research, maps the process and reflects on my experiences. Firstly, I discuss the rationale for the methods adopted and show how the data was collected and analysed. Secondly, I reflect on my role as the primary researcher and how my previous involvement with NGOs, as well as my own positionality, shaped this project. Finally, I critique the choice to traverse disciplinary, empirical and theoretical boundaries in this research and the potential dangers in constructing a thesis as a singular narrative.

3.1. Mapping the Methods

> Our idea, against the grain of so much political science that is exclusive based on [and] dominated by survey methodology, was that *we needed to listen to respondents' own voices produced and recorded in their own time*, if we were to get a sense of what it 'feels like' to be a citizen in contemporary Britain, or not, as the case may be.
>
> (Markham & Couldry 2007: 679, my emphasis)

The work of Tim Markham, Nick Couldry and Sonia Livingstone (2010) in their study of *Media Consumption and Public Engagement: Beyond the Presumption of Attention*, have influenced the model of this research to be centred on using methods that listen to and analyse audiences' own voices. Similar to Markham et al. (2010) who employed the use of media diaries, interviews and focus groups, this research combines and adapts multiple methods to investigate humanitarian NGO campaigns. The research project was designed to use a grounded theory approach, whereby the analysis of data fed the development of theory (Hayes 2000: 184). I used a method of analytical memo writing alongside all empirical research to identify themes, recurring patterns and tensions that were explored in further empirical research and later developed into the theoretical arguments. I also kept a reflexive research journal that documented the process of conducting this research, which has informed my discussion in this chapter.

Using the cyclical process of grounded theory, the theoretical arguments that emerged from the data was then returned to the empirical data to be tested, modified and further developed until 'theoretical saturation' is reached to ensure the validity of the arguments made (Punch 2005: 15). An example of this, is my discussion on transient compassion in chapter seven. This was an argument that emerged from my interviews with young people, which I was then able to test in my interviews with NGO professionals, as well as my ethnographic research of Facebook. Some have reasoned that the knowledge produced through grounded theory, which is so strongly linked to empirical research, has only a limited reach, 'seen as a mushy, opaque form of inductive analysis, a fishing expedition in a pond of anecdotal data, far removed from proper scientific reasoning' (Wagenaar 2011: 260). Alternatively, knowledge grounded in identifying patterns, codes and relationships that can more widely be applied within society, 'can serve as a very strong basis for further investigations, as well as being a research finding in its own right' (Hayes 2000: 184). It is here that I situate my study,

acknowledging that this project can be understood as a catalyst for future investigations.

The following table (table 1) identifies the methodologies mobilised in this study to respond to the core research questions:

Table 1: Communicating Solidarity: Research Questions and Methods

Research Questions	Methods	Chapters
Q1. What are the cultural politics and practices that shape humanitarian communication?	Interviews with NGO Professionals	Chapter Five
	MPH Coordination Team Minutes (part of the MPH archive)	Chapter Five
Q2. How do humanitarian NGOs communicate, mobilise and facilitate protest action?	Content & Textual Analysis	Chapter Four
	Ethnographies including 8 Interviews with Young People	Chapter Four Chapter Six
Q3. How do audiences further mediate, negotiate and participate in humanitarian communication?	Ethnographies including 8 Interviews with Young People	Chapter Six
	155 Mass Observation Diaries	Chapter Seven

3.1.1. A Case for Case Studies

The case studies were the starting point for this research. I was aware that the IF campaign would launch in January 2013 and I believed that this would provide an opportunity to conduct much needed empirical research on the mediation of humanitarian communications that request protest action. Seminal work in the field, discussed in chapter one, had previously focused on humanitarian appeals and news reports (Boltanski 1999; Cohen 2001; Chouliaraki 2006). The IF campaign provided an opportunity to research the different mediations of the campaign across different environments. The IF campaign, within the NGO sector, was originally dubbed 'Make

Poverty History 2' (Elliott 2012). This perceived connection with the MPH campaign made it important to include the 2005 campaign as part of the research. The MPH campaign, launched nearly a decade earlier, also provided an opportunity to understand the longer term influence and how new media technologies, such as websites, were integrated into humanitarian campaigns at the time.

This study focuses on the first six months of the campaigns, which includes the coverage during the UK hosting the G8, a target for both campaigns. Ethnographers Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (2006: 48) warn of the temptation to attempt to document everything, which I admittedly endeavoured to do in the first month of the IF campaign. The IF campaign predominantly communicated across social networks, which provided a wealth of content that could be included in this study. With any case study, decisions had to be made about what to document and how (Hammersley & Atkinson 2006: 45). I applied a filter, based on the different forms of engagement generated, to ensure a range of material was included. This contributed to making sense of the data, as well as producing a more accessible archive (Hartley 2004: 324).

3.1.2. Content and Textual Analysis

> Although at first blush it might appear counterproductive to reduce the rich material in any photograph to a small number of codes, quantification does not preclude or substitute for qualitative analysis of the pictures. It does allow, however, discovery of patterns that are too subtle to be visible on causal inspection and protection against an unconscious search through the magazine for only those which confirm one's initial sense of what the photos say or do.
>
> (Lutz & Collins 1993: 89)

A method of content and textual analyses were chosen to investigate how humanitarian NGO campaigns are communicated. By conducting a content analysis of the data, I was able to discover some of the patterns in the reporting of the NGO campaigns. The dates provided the parameters for the research, which contributed to mitigating a bias. By working with a larger sample, I was able to map a wider terrain of the visual communications used. However, given the scale of both campaigns, it is important to acknowledge that the samples used are only a fraction of available material.

Sample

In the first 6 months of the IF campaign (23rd January – 23rd July 2013), 622 articles reporting the campaign were published on websites, which ranged from online newspapers to personal blogs. The articles were identified by using 'Google Alerts' with the search terms: 'Enough Food IF' and 'Enough Food for Everyone'. Each article was then read to determine if the article reported the IF campaign. I chose to exclude content that was published by the campaign, or by the campaign members. This was due to my interest being in understanding how these campaigns were reported, did they echo the media logics discussed by the NGO professionals in my interviews. The articles were then logged on an Excel spreadsheet. Due to my interest in the visual communication, I also logged the articles on a Pinterest page, which created a virtual pin board of the visuals used within the communication.[53]

The articles analysed for the MPH campaign were selected from 10 national newspapers within the first 6 months of the campaign (3rd January – 3rd July 2005).[54] The sample was selected using LexisNexis newspaper database with the campaign name as the search term, to ensure the campaign was a main feature in the article the campaign name needed to occur 3 or more times.[55] The sample included 70 articles that included 238 images.

Content Analyses

The visual communication was primarily coded for the subjects of the images (discussed in chapter four). I was interested in understanding who or what was visible in the reporting of the campaigns. The visual communication was also coded by their genre (documentary, comedy, animation or advert). These findings produced an understanding of who were the primary performers in the communication. For the images that represented people living in poverty, I performed a further content analysis to understand the dominant ways in which poverty is represented in the reporting of the MPH and IF campaigns. This included conducting an analysis of geographical location, activity and age. I also attempted to code the different emotions represented in the communication. I acknowledge that this presents many difficulties

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[53] Tavernor, R. (n.p.) Enough Food IF Coverage, *Pinterest* [online]
https://www.pinterest.co.uk/tavernor/enough-food-if-coverage/ [last accessed 17/07/2017]
[54] Although the official launch of the campaign was 1st January 2005, to include the G8 rally in Edinburgh on 2nd July 2005, I chose to take the sample from the 3rd of the month.
[55] The same sample of articles was analysed in an earlier study that I conducted in 2011 on the MPH campaign that focused on the role of celebrities.

as there are differences in the way in which emotions are represented in different countries, cultures and times. My analysis was informed by my interviews, in particular, how participants discussed the visuals presented on the playing cards (discussed in 3.1.4.). The focus on coding for emotion was to understand if a content analysis could show a shift in the representations of poverty, which was discussed in the interviews with NGO professionals.

Textual Analyses

By coding and identifying patterns, I was able to select a smaller sample for closer textual analysis that was representative of the content of the images being used in the communicating and reporting of the campaigns (Bell 2004: 10). I deployed a method of textual analysis to explore and unpack some of the metaphors, symbols and voices amplified in the communication.[56]

3.1.3. In the Archives

The Database of Archives of Non-Governmental Organisations (DANGO) project, based at the University of Birmingham, has contributed to mapping different NGO archives and promoting the value of NGO archives in research.[57] The project was involved in facilitating a relationship between the MPH campaign and the Modern records Centre based at the University of Warwick. After the campaign, the MPH coalition archived 19 boxes at the Modern Records Centre. The archive includes documents on the foundation and constitution, policy and administration, organisation, membership, communications and publicity, research and legal documents. I visited the archive at the start of 2014, at this stage the archive had not been indexed. I started the day unsure of what I would encounter but was interested in collecting any document that focused on the way in which the campaign was communicated. As with many archival research projects: 'Clues, happy accidents, eureka and serendipity seemingly lead chance encounters to become scholarly research.' (Moore et al. 2017: 15).

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[56] In the reporting of this part of the research, both in this thesis and sharing this research at conferences, I was aware that I was contributing to further circulating the images and visuals that I critique.

[57] DANGO (n.p) DANGO Database of Archives of Non-Governmental Organisations, http://www.dango.bham.ac.uk/Dango.Presentation.htm [last accessed 01/04/2017]

The Coordination Team minutes, documented in their entirety, wrapped in the archive with MPH ribbon, presented as the most useful documents in my search. I photographed the minutes, so that I could read, reflect and analyse them outside of the archive. I analysed the discourses presented in these documents, to understand some of the tensions, inspiration and decisions (discussed in chapter five). I understood these documents as a record of *some* of the discussions at the time. I recognise that a limit to these records are that they only partially, and sometimes quite crudely, documented wider discussions that were occurring within the coalition. These documents also informed some of the questions that I asked in the interviews with NGO professionals. It has also been relevant to draw upon a wider range of documents produced by humanitarian NGOs, including their analyses of their campaigns, codes of conducts and emails with the UK government. These documents have provided an insight into a number of different practices and discourses, which contribute to understanding the differing perspectives and practices within coalition campaigns.

3.1.4. Interviews with NGO Professionals

A central method of the project was the interviews conducted with NGO professionals. As Shani Orgad and Irene Seu (2014: 22) argue:

> the production of humanitarian messages by media and NGO sectors has received the least attention… This neglect mirrors a broader bias against media production/industry studies in the field of media and communications research.

I conducted ten semi structured interviews with NGO professionals who worked in campaigns or communications teams, with eight having worked on either MPH or the IF campaign. Potential participants were invited to participate in the research project via email. The email included basic information about the project and requested around 1hour 30 minutes of their time. The majority of people contacted accepted my request. On two occasions, I was directed to another member of their team, which they believed was more suitable. I did not recruit based on gender, and reflecting on those interviews, eight were men and only two were women. The interviews were conducted either in their offices or mostly in cafes, although I often met the participants at their organisation. I found the time between meeting the participant and arriving at a café valuable. It was a space to informally discus my interest in the topic and to gain an understanding of their background. As Pollyanna Ruiz acknowledges in her work on grassroots activism, her 'personal experience of activism equipped me with the cultural

capital required to successfully negotiate the field' (2010: 99). My prior involvement in NGOs contributed to building a rapport with interviewees, I was able to express enthusiasm for their work, empathy for their cause and an understanding of some of difficulties that they face.

Each interview started with an introduction of the project and an overview of the ethical guidelines (appendix A). I discussed the consent form at the start of the interview, conducted the interview, and then asked for them to sign it. Nine interviewees signed the form at the end of the interview, one asked to read the transcript before consenting. The interviews were structured by a series of around ten questions (appendix A). I approached my interviews with NGO professionals 'more as consultants than as objects of research' (Lee in Lunt & Livingstone 1996: 9). Many expressed how the subject of the interview questions addressed areas that were currently being discussed, reviewed and researched within the sector. I briefed participants at the start of the interviews that their contributions would be anonymised and I would use only their job title when quoting them. This decision was influenced by wanting to address the internal and intra organisational politics within the sector. However, what is lost in the data reported in this way is the differences from across the sector. In particular, the size of the organisation and the values and histories of the NGO.

Table 2: Interviews with NGO Professionals

Interviews with NGO professionals
Campaigns Manager A
Celebrity Liaison B
Head of Campaigns C (job title during MPH campaign)
Head of Campaigns D
Multimedia and Photo Editor E
Campaigns and Network Officer F
Director G
Head of Communications H
Digital Campaigns Manager I
Network Campaign Officer J

Some interviewees, from the 10 interviews with NGO professionals, contributed content that they requested was unattributed. I have included two quotes that are attributed in this way. I plan to redact these quotes for any publications of this research.

3.1.5. Ethnographies

Until the late 1960s, mainstream media were excluded from an anthropological analysis, 'mass media were seen as almost a taboo topic for anthropology, too redolent of Western modernity and cultural imperialism for a field identified with tradition, the non-western, and the vitality of the local' (Ginsburg 2005: 17). However, ethnographic research on media practices has since been a fertile area of research, progressed by the "ubiquitous penetration" of media as a cultural force' (Ginsburg 1994: 8). By selecting the IF campaign as a central case study for this research, I had the opportunity to conduct an ethnographic study of communities, cultures and practices that are situated across virtual and physical spaces. Similar to the content analysis, the ethnographic research was conducted in the first six months of the campaign. Primarily, I focused my research on Facebook and was able to investigate how people interacted with the communications published by the campaign. I chose to conduct this part of the research as an embedded member of the audience for three reasons. Firstly, all the websites that I gathered data from were 'public domains' that anyone in principle can enter (Hammersley & Atkinson 2006: 56). Although for some researchers 'this is a form of electronic eavesdropping that violates the speaker's expectation of privacy' (Wilson & Peterson 2002: 461), the act of publishing in open digital spaces is in itself a public act that contributes to a public conversation and, I would argue, should not be considered private. The data that was gathered from these spaces does not focus on individual actions but collective responses to the visuals circulated online. Secondly, it could have proved disruptive for both the campaign, and for the research, if I continually publicised that I was a researcher observing interactions (Hammersley & Atkinson 2006: 265). Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, I empathised with the campaign aim and was embedding myself within a community that I had previously occupied as an activist.

I also occupied physical spaces as part of this research project. I attended the IF campaign rallies in Hyde Park (6th June 2013) and Belfast (15th June 2013).[58] In both spaces, I encountered former colleagues and friends, and disclosed that I was conducting research on the campaign. Interestingly, this was often a catalyst for people to then disclose 'off the record' information about the campaign. While these conversations are not visible in this thesis, they contributed to considering different perspectives, which were then investigated in 'on the record' interviews.

Interviews with Young People

Central to ethnographies conducted were the eight semi-structured interviews with young people. They provided a space to explore some of the observations that I made when occupying both virtual and physical campaign spaces. I recruited and conducted interviews in Brighton (5 participants) and Newcastle (3 participants). I found this part of the study the most difficult to recruit for. I was not looking for 'expertise', I was interested in the everyday experiences of NGO campaigns and communications by ordinary people. In conversations with potential participants, I emphasised that there was value in discussing any interactions with NGOs. I produced a recruitment postcard, which I distributed at the rallies but did not recruit anyone this way. Participants were recruited through emailing university societies, organisations working with young people, campaign groups and distributing a short blurb on Facebook with an image (figure 3.1). I also recruited three participants, via a former colleague, who had been involved in the *Platform2* volunteering scheme. I started my interviews with young people before I had confirmation that I could collaborate with the Mass Observation. If I had not been able to collaborate and commission a Mass Observation Directive, I would have expanded this area of research.

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[58] Although not as part of this research, I had also attended the MPH rally in Edinburgh (2nd July 2005).
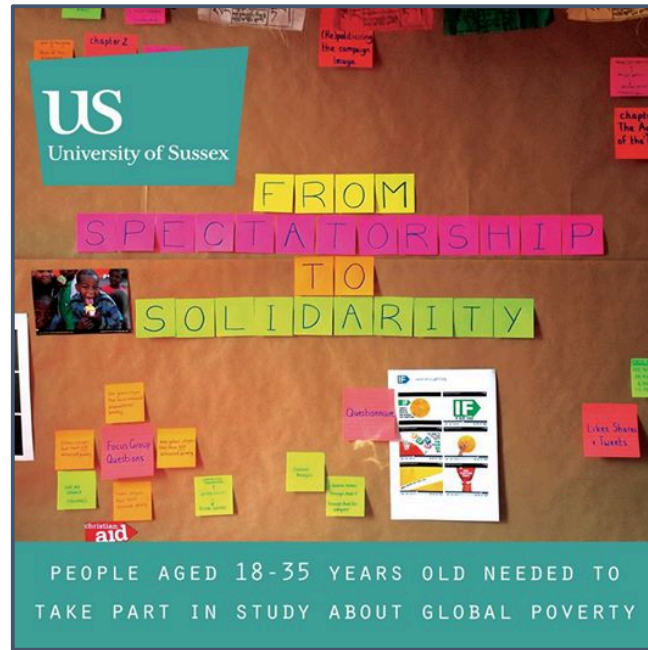
Figure 3.1. Social Media Recruitment Image[59]

I originally piloted a group interview in Brighton with three participants. I aimed for the questions asked during the group interview to remain fluid, for an open-dialogue to be encouraged and for subjects to speak for themselves (Morrison 1998: 155). However, the dialogue produced is arguably 'an unnatural and constrained an activity as participation in any other social science research endeavour' (McQuarrie 1989: 372). Participants often reflected that they had not reflected in their everyday lives on many of the topics discussed. One interviewee, after initially dismissing an image used in the IF campaign commented, 'if you think of it for a while, no one is asking for cupcakes… yeah I like that actually' (Becky, Interview participant).

Group dialogue is important in research, as 'our culture and beliefs are, after all, the product of collective thought and action' (Philo 1990: 22). However, several factors influenced my decision to change from group interviews to single in-depth interviews. The primarily reason was that I was aware that the participants who felt less 'active' with humanitarian NGOs may not vocalise their experiences as much as others. By conducting individual interviews, I was able to amplify these voices and mitigate against a skew towards the very 'active' participants. I was also able to follow the story in individual interviews and document a greater understanding of their own, sometimes personal, journey with humanitarian NGOs (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2011:

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[59] The recruitment image includes the original title of the project, *From Spectatorship to Solidarity*, which I changed after conducting the empirical research to *Communicating Solidarity*.

102). A supplementary factor was the logistics of coordinating group interviews. I felt that it would be easier to recruit participants if I could be as flexible and as accommodating to when they were able to meet. I chose to use social locations, with discreet recording equipment to conduct this part of the research, as to enable an informal as possible conversation (Lunt & Livingstone 1996: 7).

The interviews were semi-structured, lasting around one hour, with space for participants to contribute their own experiences and perspectives (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2011: 102). I used open ended questions, and frequently responded with follow up question, or an affirmation of what had been shared (appendix A). I aimed to mitigate my power as the researcher through active listening, creating questions from the participant's initial response (Kvale & Brinkmass 2009: 138). Like my interviews with NGO professionals, I shared my own story of participation as part of the briefing about the project. I also shared the consent form, discussed that contributions would be anonymised and asked that participants would sign the form at the end of the interview. A common problem with qualitative audience research, as is the case in this project, is that the participants are a self-selecting group; they are the people who are aware of the study, have the time to participate and choose to contribute (Gauntlett 2007: 7).

I was influenced by the 'gamification' methodology (Kapp 2012) used by *The Campfire Chats project* (2013) that aimed to document experiences of political activism. Anna Feigenbaum produced a card deck with images of *Occupy* protests to be used with participants of *The Campfire Chats* (2013) project to prompt discussion within small groups. I produced a similar card deck for this project, with images produced by the MPH and IF campaigns, and images used in the reporting of the campaigns by newspapers and websites (figure 3.2). I selected the images to show the diversity of the communication that is used in communicating humanitarian NGO campaigns. The red playing cards showed the IF campaign, whereas the black playing cards showed the MPH campaign. By mobilising 'game-based mechanics, aesthetics and game thinking' (Kapp 2012: 10), the images were introduced to participants as 'entertainment', echoing how they may have been presented in digital spaces. I spread the playing cards out on coffee shop tables. Participants instantly took hold of them, sifted through them, created groups and commented on them. If the interviews had been filmed, a further level of analysis could have been conducted on the way in which people

interacted with the different images. During the interviews, I also shared some of the videos produced for the MPH and IF campaigns. I was interested in exploring how the participants responded to the communications (see chapter six). The playing cards provided a space for participants to 'define issues in their own terms, and to represent their own perspectives (if they so wish)' (Buckingham 2009: 641).

Figure 3.2. Interview Playing Cards

3.1.6. Mass Observation Directive

In order to understand the case studies in a wider context of the mediation of global poverty and NGOs, I collaborated with the Mass Observation Archive (MOA) based at *the Keep*, Brighton. Mass Observation is an archive that documents everyday life in Britain. It was founded in 1937 and collects material via a national panel of volunteer writers, who regularly reply to questionnaires.[60] The founders of Mass Observation (Tom Harrison, Humphrey Jennings and Charles Madge) introduced the archive in a letter to the *New Statesman* titled 'Anthropology at Home', as an interdisciplinary enterprise that was a turn towards understanding the mass (Hubble 2006: 4). The

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[60] Mass Observation originally ran between 1937 – 1950s. It was revived as the Mass Observation Project in 1981 and continues today. Currently, around 450 people are volunteer members of the writing panel. Many have been writing for several years and their contributions can be traced through the archive. The 'directives', which are open-ended questionnaires, are sent (via post and email) three times a year. Each directive includes two or more themes. Further information about the requirements for collaborating with the Mass Observation can be found on their website: http://www.massobs.org.uk/the-archive/collaborating-on-research [last accessed 16/03/2018].

'mass' in Mass Observation has been questioned as 'whether mass-observation means observation *of* the mass or observation by the mass' (Marshall 1937: 49 cited in Hubble 2006: 2). This is a false dichotomy and working with the archive made me understand that these contributions are observations *by* the mass *of* the mass. Central to the project is that contributors 'speak for themselves', as Ben Highmore argues, this can be understood as a 'radical challenge to the disciplinarily of anthropology and its desire to write culture "from above"' (2002: 111). It is this grounded approach that made the Mass Observation Archive an appropriate collaborator for this thesis.

The *Mass Observation Project* (MOP) provides qualitative longitudinal social data by archiving material produced by 'ordinary' people about their lives that emphasises subjectivity and self-representation. The material is produced by members of the British public responding to 'directives' that are open-ended questionnaires around a selected theme. The data captured is not a statistical representative sample of the British population, which 'researchers using MOP data have been grappling with for some time' (Henson et al. 2010: 5). However, the content produced and held in the Mass Observation Archive is incredibly rich in both scale and depth in the nuanced responses given.

The directive was a collaboration between myself and the Mass Observation Project. The questions included in the directive had to contribute something 'new' to the archive. In 2008, an earlier directive was commissioned by the Institute of Development Studies that explored individuals' knowledge of global poverty. In particular, the study was interested in exploring how people perceived the causes of global poverty (Henson et al. 2010). I wanted to develop this strand of research in the archive by commissioning a directive that documented some of the ways people respond to humanitarian communication.

The directive was produced in collaboration with the Mass Observation Archive (appendix B), who advised on the phrasing of questions and informed the approach of this study. The directive received 155 diary responses, 3 people noted that they could not participate due to a family member being ill, 152 responses to the summer 2014

Mass Observation Directive on 'Global Poverty and Charities' were analysed.[61] From the limited demographic information given, I calculated that the average age of the writers included in this study is 58, with the youngest being 17 and the oldest 92.[62] The data also has a strong gender skew with 55.9% of the writers being female, 37.5% male and the rest unknown. The response rate for the 'Global Poverty and Charities' directive was 30.4%, which is below the typical 40% response rate. The self-selecting nature of the archive therefore limits the data further, by perhaps disinterested voices electing to exclude themselves from the study.

The project writers, who are all volunteers, respond to the directive either by letter or email, and include limited demographic data about themselves. The style of writing varies between the writers, yet, when reading the responses, I experienced many of them as personal and at times intimate conversations, with some including jokes or swearing to convey their response to the issues discussed. I treated these words as an insight into their world and perspective. Many responses stretched across several pages and constructed an in-depth understanding of how people respond to humanitarian NGO communications. The responses are archived in two boxes at the Mass Observation Archive and can be used by other researchers. For my analysis, I photographed each of the responses, printed them, annotated them on paper and kept them in my own archive box. I read all the responses to the directive twice, many I kept returning to and reflecting on. Both the quality and quantity of the stories in the project was overwhelming. I originally planned to conduct a content analysis of the data and produce an index to the stories. However, extracting and analysing the stories in this way, did not reflect the stories that I had encountered in the responses. To make sense of the data, I reflected on both the stories told in the archive, and the stories absent in the research in our field. I then decided to develop three themes for this project, which form an empirical response to the compassion fatigue thesis (discussed in chapter seven). My analysis of these stories is limited in this study, due to space, time and scope. The data in these stories are the ones that I most want to return to. They have the potential to inform several different strands of research that further investigates humanitarian relationships.

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[61] Mass Observation Project (2014) *Summer 2014 Directive*, http://www.massobs.org.uk/images/Directives/Summer_2014_Directive.pdf [last accessed 04/06/2017]

[62] Taken as a mean average of the 140 people who gave their age.

The Mass Observation Project promotes 'non-elitist notions of authorship, eschewed certainty and disputed the conventional authority of science' (Stanley 2001: 95). The responses to the directive begin to shed some light on how members of the public judge their own levels of concern on humanitarianism. Some participants, predominantly women, discussed being unqualified to discuss global poverty:

> I don't think I'm very qualified to comment on the causes of global poverty, because there are lots, and they're very complicated, and I don't understand economics.
> (C4131, Museum Consultant, 32 years old, North Shields, Female)

> Global poverty I feel isn't straightforward and has many levels to it that I know nothing about or understand.
> (F4605, Female, 62 years old, Homeopath & Counsellor, Leeds)

> Global poverty is the result of politics and economics, neither of which I can comprehend!
> (A1706, Artist/Ward Clerk, Shoreham by Sea, Female)

In contrast, the responses to questions on celebrities' involvement in humanitarianism and entertainment formats of communication were more assertively expressed, with their statements being given as social 'truths'. The responses to the directive contribute to understanding some of the ways humanitarian relationships are mediated by NGO campaigns and communications.

3.2.   Role as the Researcher

I began this research project with a preconceived idea of what an academic researcher was and how, through the process of this study, I would perhaps identify as one. At the start, the dichotomy between academics and activists was most apparent, the first an objective outsider, the second a passionate insider. I discussed in my first supervision that I would not be declaring my previous involvement with NGOs. Firstly, I did not want my research to be seen as anything other than an 'objective' account. At the time, I perceived that my personal involvement, although influencing my work, could be considered as producing a bias in the project. Secondly, my relatively short time campaigning with NGOs appeared insignificant to the many activists that have dedicated whole lifetimes to campaigning for global justice. As I traversed academic, activist and NGO spaces, while conducting this project, I began to understand the

fluidity of research, and discourses, across these spaces. In particular, in the informal spaces, during coffee breaks at conferences, many academics discussed their professional and personal involvement with humanitarian NGOs. Ethnographers Michelle Fine and Lois Weis, in their own words 'well-paid Thelma and Louise with laptops' (1996: 270), discuss how they 'interrogate in our writings who we are as *we* coproduce the narratives we presume to collect... talk about our own identities, why we interrogate what we do, what we choose not to report, on whom we train our scholarly gaze' (1996: 264). Influenced by this approach to be continually critical of the positions I occupied as a researcher, I documented my research in a reflexive journal. Some of my thoughts, the tensions that I experienced, I share in this discussion.[63]

3.2.1. The Personal is Political

As an activist and feminist, while initially understanding my research as distinct, through the process of conducting this research, my research has become integral to my feminist and activist practices. My feminist and activist practices, and the research of scholars, such as Sara Ahmed (2017), have shaped the design of this project in many ways. Firstly, following the feminist mantra that 'the personal is political', I have created spaces for everyday experiences to inform discussions. Political theorist Ernesto Laclau argues that if the objective, detached 'word of God can no longer be heard, we can start giving our own voices a new dignity' (1990: 14). Projects, such as the *Mass Observation Archive*, which I collaborated with for this research, contribute to amplifying and valuing lived experiences and life in the everyday.

Secondly, listening has not only informed the theoretical framework for this study, discussed in chapter two, but has also informed my approach as a researcher. I sought to listen to stories that I had not yet encountered in the seminal work that has shaped the field of humanitarian communication. To listen to the voices of the people who produce, negotiate and participate in NGO protest campaigns. I created spaces in interviews to actively listen, 'allowing that information to affect you, baffle you, haunt you, make you uncomfortable, and take you on unexpected detours' (DeVault & Gross 2012: 216). While the semi-structured interviews allowed for discussion to be guided by me, participants were able to create and guide 'detours', which I valued equally. In

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[63] How researchers interweave their practice of humanitarianism with their research and critiques on humanitarianism, is an area of research that could be pursued further. Due to the study of humanitarian communications being approached from different disciplines, it would be interesting to conduct focus groups with researchers, to initiate discussions on how these interweaving practices are performed.

my research journal, I discuss how one interview participant, after the formal discussion had ended, commented that it was the 'most honest interview that I've given', he then requested that he could see an interview transcript, in case he had been 'too honest' (celebrity liaison B). He had participated in many research interviews and commented that researchers were often looking for 'quotes' to 'prove' preconceived ideas. At the time, I reflected on whether my training in documentary filmmaking had contributed to creating this disclosed 'honesty'. I was attentive to the stories that he told, developed follow up questions and followed *his* 'story'. At times, I echoed back what my interviewee had said, emphasising value in the story that had been told and expressing my own understanding.

Thirdly, as Fine and Weis argue, 'researchers can no longer afford to collect information on communities without that information benefitting those communities in their struggles for equity, participation and representation' (1998: 32). The role of the disinterested researcher is rejected by activist research, which 'actively seek ways to be politically relevant in the "real world"' (Mendez 2008: 140). An aim of this project is to be meaningful to NGOs. In the conclusion, I reflect on ways that this research may translate into NGO campaign and communication practices. Conducting interviews with NGOs contributed to understanding ways that my research could be 'politically relevant' to them.

3.2.2. An 'Uncomfortable Truth'

Matt Baillie Smith in the opening of his talk, *Never mind the gap year: local volunteers, poverty and development*, introduced an 'uncomfortable truth' that he was a 'VSO baby'. His father was volunteering with VSO in Maharashtra (India) when he met his mother.[64] He spoke of the challenge of being critical of international volunteering whilst also, quite literally, being a product of these practices. Smith's acknowledgement that this was an 'uncomfortable truth' resonated with my own experiences while conducting this project. In 2005, the MPH campaign was the catalyst for my increased involvement with NGOs. I set up my school's campaign group, coordinated the making of a 200m MPH band to be wrapped around the school and organised transport for students to attend the MPH rally in Edinburgh (figure 3.3). I also pitched the story about our school to the media, who favourably reported

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[64] Smith, M.B. (2017) *Never Mind the Gap Year: Local Volunteers, Poverty and Development*, 16th May 2017, Talk, Pint of Science, Newcastle Upon Tyne

our actions on TV, radio and newspapers. During the process of this research, I reflected in my research journal on the communications that I was part of creating during the MPH campaign. The quotes used in media often focused on my concern for dying children, 'I feel ashamed that we are not doing anything to save these children'.[65] Equally, the communications that I produced while working with NGOs in India (2005), Tajikistan (2006) and Ghana (2008) included a wealth of images of me holding various children.

Figure 3.3. White Band around St Mary's Comprehensive School, Newcastle upon Tyne, June 2005

Several of the critiques in this thesis could be applied to the communications that I produced. To borrow the term from Smith, this could be considered as an 'uncomfortable truth'. I am critiquing and challenging the very practices that I was involved in. However, during the project I only experienced this *uncomfortableness* in certain academic environments. Whereby the actions of young people involved in humanitarian projects was discussed as naïve and often provoked laughter in the room. During these times I found it most difficult to vocalise my own experiences. In contrast, while conducting my empirical research my personal experiences were my asset. My experiences were validation that I empathised with their core vision to eradicate poverty. As well as being able to express an understanding of the complexity of producing communication for protest campaigns. I also quickly realised that my

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[65] Evening Chronicle (2nd July 2005) Thousands in bid to help make history, *Evening Chronicle*, last updated 28 February 2013, http://www.chroniclelive.co.uk/news/north-east-news/thousands-bid-help-make-history-1581546 (last accessed 20/06/2017)

experiences could not be silenced, whether an 'uncomfortable' truth or not, after one of my interviewees commented that they had 'googled' me.

3.2.3. Navigating the Field

This thesis is woven from diverse theoretical threads and empirical research. The interweaving of voices, combining different methods, contributes a new approach to the study of humanitarian NGO communication. As previously discussed the arguments in this thesis emerge through a 'grounded theory' methodology. I combine this approach with a method coined by Paula Amad (in Hartley 2002: 145) as 'theory shopping'. Amad uses the term to discuss a process of picking and choosing relevant material for he given inquiry. However, the analogy can be pushed further by describing my approach not so much 'pick and mix' that implies an ephemeral moment of consideration but a 'try before you buy' model. This study tested, adopted and refined a range of theoretical perspectives from Media Studies (both theory and practice), Cultural Studies and Development Studies. My approach in combining academic disciplines, and interweaving empirical research, is influenced by the 'notion that postmodern qualitative research requires a liberation of voice' (Miller in Holliday 2007: 120), that breaks previous disciplinary boundaries and opens up theories to new discussions. This approach is also influenced by my role as the researcher and my own academic background at the University of Sussex, where an interdisciplinary approach has always been encouraged.

Cultural theorist, Ien Ang, challenges academics to work beyond the 'walls of academia' and to revolutionise our own 'habits of discourse' so that serious dialogues of engagement can exist beyond the academic institution (2006: 195). Ang proposes moving away from the 'theory-laden deconstructive criticism an inventing modes of positive, reconstructive intervention' (2006: 195). As Michael Warner argues 'institutions allow people to speak in code and forget questions that might be posed from the outside' (2003: 116). However, by facilitating conversations that traverse disciplines, a renewal of cultural studies can be maintained that facilitates innovation (Ang 2006: 188). The interweaving of theories intersects with postmodernism reasoning that recognises that there are multiple 'truths' that is reflected in the multiple voices and woven lines of arguments in this thesis (Mouffe 2005: 74). In doing so, I navigate away from the enlightenment notion of grand narratives of 'truth' and universal identities (Merriam 2009: 10). Instead, weaving individual stories, that at

times are antagonistic, to show the complexities in the field. Although this project interweaves a multiplicity of voices in the production of this thesis, I author this text with my own voice, and acknowledge the implicit power in producing this narrative (Sanger 2003: 38). Throughout the thesis I have chosen to use 'I', to acknowledge my role as the researcher. I recognise that the knowledge produced in this thesis is 'contextual, situated and specific' (Stanley 1993: 49).

3.3. Conclusions

> I try to experience the world as you construct it for me, but this is not the same as experiencing it as you do; it is still, always, *for me…* This knowledge is not absolute, for neither my nor my interlocutors' perceptions are beyond criticism or amendment.
>
> <div align="right">(Bickford 1996: 147)</div>

The methods, as discussed in this chapter, are not 'passive strategies' (Fine & Weis 1998: 29). While I aimed to use methodologies that amplify the voices of people neglected in previous research, they are not stand alone, objective accounts. As Susan Bickford acknowledges, that while I attempt to understand the experiences of others, I recognise that the telling of the stories is 'for me' (1996: 147). Throughout this chapter, I have reflected on my role as the researcher and the decisions that I made in the collecting, analysing and curating of this research. I have discussed, and reflected upon, how I have navigated disciplinary and institutional boundaries. The range of methods deployed, and the interweaving of empirical and theoretical research, contributes to my argument for further interdisciplinary and collaborative research in this area. A core aim of this research project is to return full circle to the communities that the empirical research was taken. The interviews with NGO professionals acted as a catalyst for further collaboration in this area. As well as creating avenues for this research to be distributed to the people working in this area.

PART II
CULTURAL POLITICS AND PRACTICES OF PRODUCTION

The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story.

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Writer, Feminist and Activist

CHAPTER FOUR
PERFORMANCES OF POVERTY AND PLACE

4.0.   Introduction

4.1.   Producing Performances

4.2.   Spotlights: Content Analyses of Visual Communication

4.2.1. Enough Food IF Online Content Analysis

4.2.2. Make Poverty History (2005) Newspaper Content Analysis

4.2.3. Persistent Spotlights

4.3.   Spotlights and Shadows in NGO Campaigns

4.3.1. Childhood, Motherhood and Compassion

4.3.2. Celebrities and Sentiments

4.3.3. Signs of Support

4.4.   Conclusions

CHAPTER FOUR
PERFORMANCES OF POVERTY AND PLACE

> To achieve visibility through the media is to gain a kind of presence or recognition in the public space, which can help to call attention to one's situation or to advance one's cause. But equally, the inability to achieve visibility through the media can confine one to obscurity – and, in the worst case, can lead to a kind of death by neglect.
>
> (Thompson 2005: 49)

The ability to be visible via the media and the agency granted in that period of mediated visibility is the focus of this empirically based chapter. Representations, as Stuart Hall argues, profoundly matter: 'what we know of society depends on how things are represented to us and that knowledge in turn informs what we do and what policies we are prepared to accept' (1986: 9). John B. Thompson discusses how actors granted visibility achieve a 'presence or recognition in the public space' (2005: 49), drawing on my discussions in chapter two, the ability to gain recognition is a form of agency. The concept of agency in this thesis is both relational and context-dependent and is not employed as a classificatory dichotomy of subjects *with* agency or *without* agency, but as flows of differentiated levels of agency, affected by social structures. This chapter examines who and what is represented, and who and what fails to be represented during coalition campaigns. Research in humanitarian communications has predominantly focused on the representations of people living in poverty, especially during periods of extreme suffering caused by famines, conflicts and disasters (Benthall 1993; Moeller 1999; Franks 2013; Dogra 2014). However, people living in poverty are only part of a humanitarian relationship (as discussed in chapter two). In the context of the MPH and IF campaigns, humanitarianism is communicated as how the UK public 'acts out a sense of moral *responsibility* toward the impoverished part of the world and their threatened inhabitants' (Tester 2010: xii, my emphasis). Subsequently, it is relevant to include an analysis of how responsibility, not just suffering, are performed.[66] Using the IF and MPH campaigns as sites of investigation,

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[66] It is important to note that these visuals do not exist in isolation and belong to a wider body of humanitarian images. At the same time these visuals are woven within wider representations, which work beyond the poverty narrative. For example, in Martin Scott's (2011) empirical work on representations, he highlights that in 2010 mainstream UK television channels included 300 programme hours of non-news factual programming about developing countries.

I open the lens wider, to analyse the representations of relationships between global souths and norths.[67]

Historian Alexa Robertson, in her research on mediated cosmopolitanism, is guided by the question 'whether cosmopolitan things *are* happening, not whether they *should* be happening' (2010: 11). Robertson responds to a call, which I also seek to address, for research to explore the empirical dimension of cosmopolitan relations (Ong 2009; Cottle & Rai 2008; Scott 2014). In this chapter, I use a visual analysis of the representations of poverty and protest action promoted during coalition campaigns. First, I discuss the performance as part of a production process. Secondly, I conduct content analyses of the visuals used in the reporting of the IF and MPH campaigns. Thirdly, I conduct a textual analysis of a sample of visual communication to provide a paradigm for understanding the performances of poverty enabled by coalition campaigns. By conducting an empirical examination of mediated performances of poverty and place, I contribute a grounded understanding of the infrastructures of humanitarian communication.

4.1.   Producing Performances

It is first necessary to establish the reasons for adopting the conceptual framework of performance, to discuss the representations of poverty and place during coalition campaigns. Sociologist Erving Goffman originally argued, borrowing a metaphor from Shakespeare, that 'all the world's a stage' (1959: 254). In this way, social interaction in everyday life can be discussed as a series of 'performances' (1959: 22). Goffman proposes that for performances to be interpreted as 'authentic', the actor must have authority to give such a performance. In Goffman's dramaturgical perspective of cultural scenarios, authenticity is established when the actor adheres to an appropriate cultural script. Scripts are socially constructed and affirmed within everyday practices, and are kinds of 'unspoken social traffic rules that pervade everyday existence' (Branaman 1997: ixix).

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[67] See 1.1.1 for a discussion on why global norths and souths are referred to in the plural, as hierarchal places, rather than geographical spaces.

In Goffman's later work, he contributes a restricted definition of theatrical performance, as 'that arrangement which *transforms* an individual into a stage performer' (1974: 124, my emphasis). In his latter definition, Goffman notes that the performance 'looked for engaging behaviour by persons in an "audience" role' (1974: 124). The prominence of the performance requiring an audience relates to Warner's (2002) discussion of a public produced by the circulation of text requires an 'uptake' by audiences. Warner discusses how a theatrical public, has a sense of totality, 'bounded by the event or by the shared physical space' (2002: 50), whereas publics produced by discourse are multiple and occupy different spaces, places and times (2002: 90). It is Goffman's latter definition of performance, as an arrangement that requires planned labour, that I will work with in this chapter in relation to Warner's understanding of discourse.

I use the concept of performance as an organising metaphor to examine the ways in which communication constructs humanitarianisms, which produce differentiated levels of agency. Performance scholar James Thompson argues that an understanding of 'performance' is pertinent to analysing the theatrical structure of humanitarian relief (2014: 5, Hoffman & Weiss 2008). Thompson focuses on extreme examples, identifying the dramatic distribution of immediate aid during periods of conflict (Kosovo and Darfur) and emergencies (Asian Tsunami). For Thompson, the performance '*reduces* communities and individuals to a theatre of bare life that affects the structure of the response and scope of the politics of humanitarianism' (2014: 26, my emphasis). Performance studies, breaking from traditional dramaturgy, foregrounds 'paradox, conflict, ambiguity, and instability over coherence, structure, and consensus as the conditions of cultural communication' (Taylor 2002: 27). Here, I analyse visual communication and identify the conflict and consensus in communication.

Goffman discusses an infrastructure that 'transforms', while Thompson considers a theatrical process that 'reduces' individuals, and communities, into a 'performance'. The production of a performance acts as a catalyst. It produces something that is new. This is useful when thinking about visuals of humanitarianism that are produced by NGOs, as well as media institutions, who 'transform' the lives of people living in poverty, via communicative labour, into a public UK performance (figure 4.1). The lives of people living in poverty, in their plurality and fluidity, are extracted from their

communities and cultures, and are 'transformed' by NGO and media professionals, into a single performance, which remains static in time. The communicative labour contributes to producing a performance that has the potential to attract and maintain a UK audience.[68] The elevated stage produces a highly regulated space for performances to achieve visibility. The arrangement of a theatre privileges the end performance not the process.

Figure 4.1: Producing a Performance
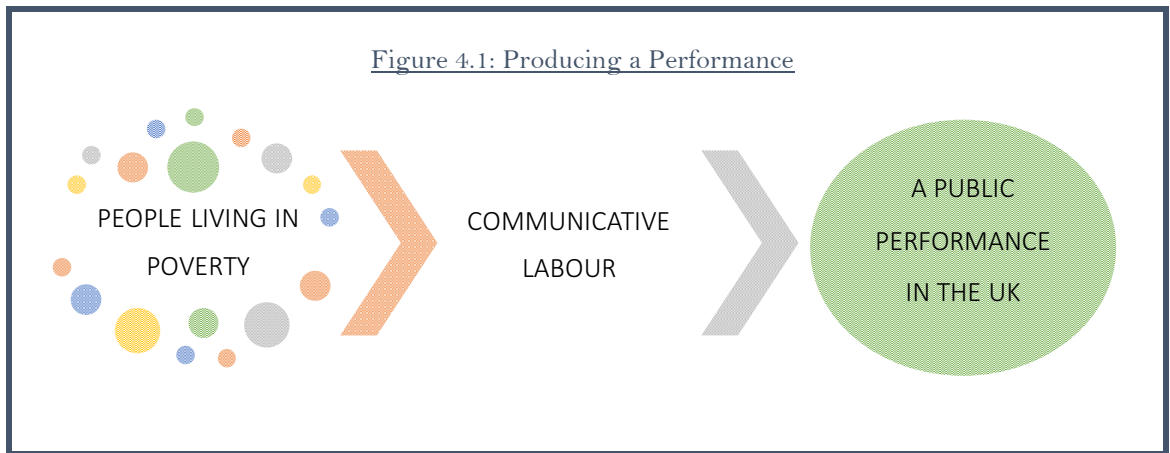
Karl Marx (1932) discusses a process of alienation that occurs under the capitalist condition, whereby workers are estranged from the products that they produce. Marx recognises that a process of alienation is inherent in the conditions of an industrial factory, which deprives workers of their creativity. Capitalists dictate and exploit the conditions of their workers. István Mészáros argues that alienation is 'characterised by the universal extension of "sale ability" (i.e. the transformation of everything into a commodity); by the conversion of human beings into 'things' so that they could appear as commodities on the market' (1970: 35). The production line of a capitalist factory is distinct from the context of a theatre production discussed earlier. However, I wish to draw parallels here to illustrate the process of alienation that occurs within humanitarian communication. Communication, like performances, circulates as commodities within markets. The communicative labour, as with many production processes, becomes invisible from the commodity that is produced. The production of a performance resonates with the commodification process. The lives of people living in poverty are considered the 'raw materials', which are processed (via communicative labour) to form a commercial product, which promotes the work of an organisation, as

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[68] In chapter five I investigate the actors (NGOs, media institutions, governments) involved in communicative labour.

well as the NGO brand. Entwined in the process of alienation is a process of extraction. The cultural context of the product / the performance, differs from the cultural context of the 'raw' materials'. What follows is an examination of how performances of poverty and place are promoted in British cultural spaces, during the MPH and IF campaigns.[69]

4.2. Spotlights: Content Analyses of Visual Communication

In this section, I analyse the content of the visuals used in the reporting of the IF campaign online and MPH campaign in the national newspapers. By focusing on the reporting of the campaigns, the aim is to identify the patterns that develop when media, for example national newspapers, further mediate NGO campaign messages. Research addressing visual humanitarian communication has primarily focussed on NGO advertisements (Manzo 2008; Suski 2009; Dogra 2014). In these cases, the content of the visuals is determined by the humanitarian NGOs and a 'spotlight' is achieved through purchasing a commercial space. Linguist Robert Ladd describes the interdependency of spotlights and shadows: 'If we shine the spotlight on one actor, everything else on stage is in shadow in comparison' (1979: 111). By conducting a large scale content analysis of 622 online articles reporting the IF campaign and 70 national newspaper articles reporting the MPH campaign, I identify the visuals determined by the editors and producers, and analyse which performers achieve non-commercial 'spotlights', and what agency, if any, is granted to subjects in these mediated spaces.

4.2.1. Enough Food IF Online Content Analysis

The prominence of visuals is noticeable, with 473 articles including images and/or videos, compared to 149 articles that were text only. In the 473 articles, 745 visuals were published (85% images and 15% videos). The visuals were coded to identify the key characters in the visual communications (figure 4.2). The three lead performers in the visual reporting of the IF campaign are supporters (46%), people living in poverty (21%) and celebrities (20%).

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[69] See chapter two for a discussion on the ethic of travel (cf Lacey 2013) and the potential to explore stories in different cultural contexts.

Supporters in the UK

The supporters were typically represented as engaged in activities organised by the campaign, for example attending the Hyde Park rally (35%). Supporters were also represented with people living in poverty (5%), UK politicians (5%) and in a minority of cases with celebrities (1%). These representations differ from the communications produced by supporters online that emphasised the individual, by requesting supporters changed Facebook profile images to include the campaign logo and produce YouTube videos that followed a diary vlog format (see chapter six).

People Living in Poverty

While people living in poverty did not occupy the primary 'spotlight' of the coverage, 94 articles, including 107 visuals represented people living in poverty. The visual of a child, or children, achieved the greatest prominence in the communications (47%) compared to adults (35%). The minority of visuals included both adults and children (18%). These images often represented a parental relationship, with the child being cradled or nurtured by an adult. People living in poverty were engaged in a range of activities. Farming, which was represented as people tending to crops by hand, was the most popular activity represented in the visuals (30%). This was followed by people eating (22%), attending school (7%) and campaigning (1%). People living in poverty were also represented as engaging in no form of activity (32%), or cropped to include only their hands (7%), either receiving water from a pump or holding crops.

The images were also coded for the performance of explicit emotion in the visuals. While emotion is difficult to code, due to the cultural specificity of displaying emotion, a discussion of emotions was prevalent in the interviews with NGO professionals. These interviews informed my analysis of the images.[70] The majority of content displayed no explicit emotion (44%). However, a display of happiness (36%) was most popular, compared to sadness (20%) and anger (1%). In part, this is due to several articles using the IF campaign 'poster' image of children smiling towards the camera and holding cupcakes.[71]

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[70] See chapter three, for a discussion on how the images were coded.
[71] See chapter five, for a discussion of how this image was selected by the coalition.

Celebrities

Celebrities were typically alone in the frame (18%). Frequently, celebrities were represented with a form of IF campaign or NGO branding, for example wearing a t-shirt or wristband. As mentioned above, in a minority of cases, celebrities were represented with supporters (1%) and with people living in poverty (1%).

Figure 4.2: Content Analysis of Enough Food IF Campaign
622 Articles published online (23/01/2013 − 23/07/2013)

- Supporters Only (35%)
- Celebrities Only (18%)
- People in Poverty Only (15%)
- Branding Only (8%)
- Supporters & People in Poverty (5%)
- Supporters & Politicians (5%)
- Stage Actors (4%)
- Supporters & Celebrities (1%)
- Celebrities & People in Poverty (1%)
- Celebrities & Politicians (0%)
- Other (6%)
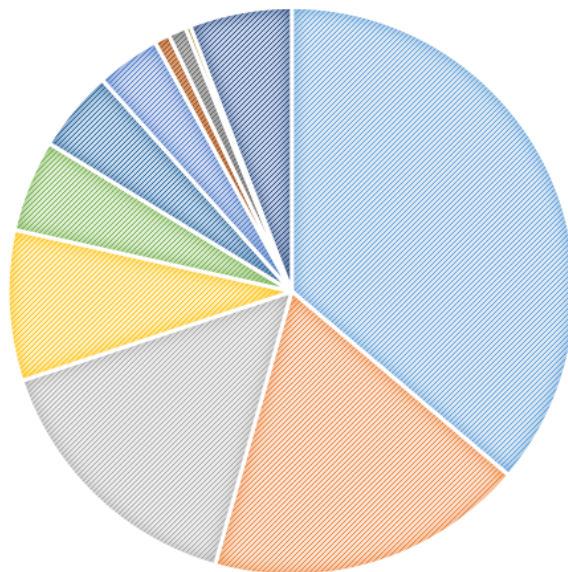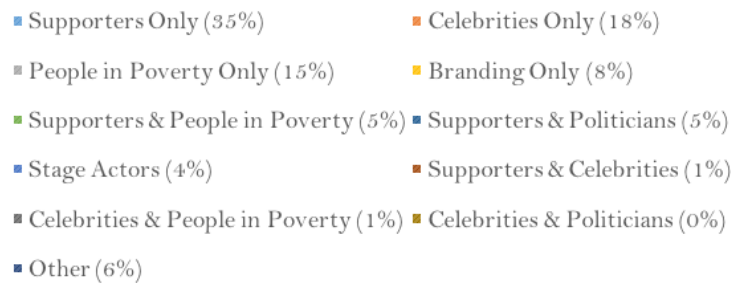
4.2.2. Make Poverty History (2005) Newspaper Content Analysis

Similar to the IF campaign coverage, the majority of articles included images. Only 1 article had no accompanying image. In the 69 articles that included images, 240 visuals were published. The same coding was used to identify the main characters included in the reporting of the campaign (figure 4.3). Celebrities (60%), supporters (16%), author

of the article (8%) and people living in poverty (6%) were popular subjects of the spotlights created by the reporting of the campaign.[72]

Figure 4.3: Content Analysis of Make Poverty History Campaign
70 Articles Printed in Newspapers (03/01/2005 − 03/07/2005)

- Celebrities Only (60%) ■ Supporters (16%) ■ Author of the Article (8%)
- People in Poverty Only (6%) ■ Politicians Only (4%) ■ Branding (3%)
- Other (3%)
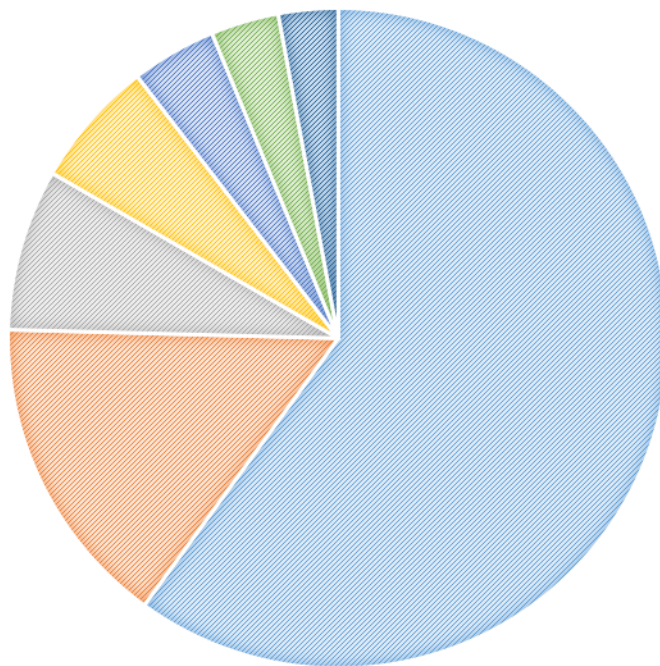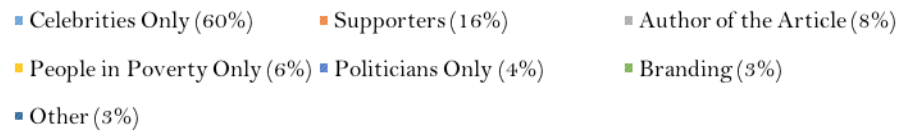
Celebrities

Celebrities achieved the greatest visibility in the reporting of the MPH campaign (60%). The majority of images of celebrities were musicians. In the lead up to the *Live 8* concert, and the coverage of the event, celebrities were pictured most frequently as individual professional performers on stage. Although photographed as individuals, many of the articles included multiple images, which contributed to emphasising the perceived popularity of the event.

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[72] The analysis included the images of author of the articles to identify how different contributions in the production process are recognised. In the UK, it is common practice to include headshots of journalists alongside their authored articles.

UK Supporters

Supporters of the MPH campaign were represented wearing a wristband, holding a banner or attending the *Live 8* concert or Edinburgh rally (16%). The majority of images represented UK supporters as parts of crowds and conducting a shared campaign activity.

People Living in Poverty

People living in poverty had a limited role in the reporting of the MPH campaign. Only 15 articles included images of people living in poverty. Each article included at least one image of people living in poverty, totalling 16 images. All images included an 'African' child in poverty, while a minority included both adults and children (20%). The majority of images represented people living in poverty engaged in no form of activity (93%) and with no background (80%). Two photographs included a wider context: a street and a school. One cartoon represented the people living in poverty in a rural location with huts. The majority of people represented living in poverty expressed sadness (67%), compared to happiness (20%), with a limited number expressing no explicit emotion (13%).

4.2.3. Persistent Spotlights

The content analyses identify persistent spotlights on celebrities and UK supporters during the reporting of the MPH and IF campaigns. People living in poverty achieve a limited space, with representations focusing on 'Africa' and 'children'. The emotive tone of the people living in poverty differs in the article samples; for MPH the explicit emotion when representing poverty was sadness (67%), whereas sadness featured in only a minority of the visuals (20%) reporting the IF campaign. Most notably, what emerges from the content analyses is the popularity of visual performances across media platforms. During the IF campaign, 76% of the online articles reporting the campaign included visuals, on average 1.6 per article. While 99% of the newspaper articles reporting the MPH campaign included images, on average 3.5 per article.

The quantitative content analyses contribute to mapping the terrain of visual communication in the reporting of the MPH and IF campaigns. However, quantifying the content is limited to only identifying where the 'spotlights' are directed. In the following section, I conduct textual analyses of a smaller sample of visuals to interrogate the performances produced *under* the spotlights.

4.3.   Spotlights and Shadows during NGO Campaigns

The spotlight 'lights up the humanitarian space and creates that space because of its light' (Thompson 2014: 41). Therefore, the spotlight requires two forms of analysis. First, I analyse the humanitarian space, produced by the campaigns, through a textual analysis of a sample of visuals. I examine both the representations in the reporting of the MPH and IF campaigns, as well as the visual representations produced by the campaigns. This approach enables a qualitative depth to the content analysis findings, by contributing a textual rather than numerical understanding of these communicative performances. Second, in the following chapter, I analyse the politics and practices involved in creating 'that space because of its light'. To do this, I analyse 10 interviews with NGO campaign and communication professionals. By bringing together these two lines of inquiry, I map the representations of poverty and place as both emerging from, and contributing to, the cultural politics and practices of NGO campaigns.

So far, in this chapter, the focus has been on humanitarian performances that have the ability to appear under the 'spotlight' (Thompson 2014) and achieve 'mediated visibility' (J.B. Thompson 2005). However, what is neglected is that the intense light of a 'spotlight' which illuminates subjects also produces pervasive 'shadows'. A practice of occupying a 'spotlight' is twinned with a practice of producing 'shadows'. Power relations manifest when subjects *under* the 'spotlight' have the agency to 'overshadow' persons and issues on the peripheries. I discuss subjects *under* rather than *in* the spotlight, to recognise that further power relations exist between the subjects and the directors of the 'spotlight' (i.e. institutional actors, discussed in chapter five). The following is an examination of the performances under the spotlights, identified by the content analyses, on Childhood, Motherhood and Compassion; Celebrities and Sentiments; and Signs of Support.

4.3.1. Childhood, Motherhood and Compassion

In the UK, in the early 20th century, as NGOs emerged as humanitarian actors, the largest leading organisation, *Save the Children,* consciously constructed a spotlight on children. As discussed in the opening chapter of this thesis, representations of childhood were strategically positioned in humanitarian communication. NGOs positioned children at the centre of their humanitarian performance, with the aim to represent their work as 'pure', apolitical and a project of 'hope' for future generations

(Holland 1992; Suski 2009; Fehrenbach 2015). In NGO communications, the mediated visibility of children has contributed to a performance of a specific notion of childhood, and subsequently motherhood, one which emphasises both vulnerability and compassion. French historian Philippe Ariés (1962) argued that childhood is a social construction that changes over time. Ariés' arguments arise from an analysis of early medieval paintings, which largely represented children as small adults, dressed in the same clothes. By the 16th and 17th centuries, a representation of childhood is constructed that romanticises children as special, innocent and distinct from the adult world: 'Children neither work nor play alongside adults; they *do not participate in the adult world of law and politics*' (Archard 1993: 29, my emphasis). Representations of childhood continue to shape humanitarian communications. I identify and examine two dominant performances of childhood, and subsequently parenthood, in NGO visuals, that emphasise action as an apolitical gift of compassion.

1.   An 'Orphaned' Child
2.   A Mother and Child Embrace

An 'Orphaned' Child

I put the 'orphaned' child in single quotation marks, as I am distinctly referring to an NGO framing of 'orphaned' children, whereby the individual child used in the images often is part of a family, culture and community that have been excluded from the frame (Harrison 2013: 149).[73] A persistent visual used in NGO fundraising appeals is 'a tight-shot close-up of a single child… looking, wide-eyed, directly into the camera' (Ruddick 2003: 341). The child's body, regularly motionless, performs both a degree of immediate 'need' for assistance and a decontextualized innocence, 'a victim of circumstance but she [or he] is no victimiser' (Linfield 2012: 127). In many ways, a child, represented in these images, experiences limited agency as subject of a spotlight. Yet, I first want to propose that the act of looking, although frequently perceived as passive, is a political act when used in performances of social suffering. By looking into the camera, the subjects have the ability to address an audience and command a degree of attention and acknowledgement. Psychologist Irene Seu and cultural theorist Shani Orgad (2014) conducted 20 focus groups in the UK on humanitarian communication.[74] Seu identified that visuals of suffering children remain emotionally powerful, 'evoke

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[73] *Water Aid* (n.p.) state, in their 'Ethical Image Policy', that 'the cropping must never be done in a way that alters the context or atmosphere of the image'.

[74] Seu and Orgad's (2014) study aimed to contribute to addressing the gap in audience research in this area (see chapter one).

empathy in audiences, and activate a wish to protect the children… with a more immediate and perhaps stronger force than rational moral codes of justice and fairness' (2015: 663).[75] For these reasons, children are described as 'ideal victims' for fundraising campaigns, which represent to audiences a responsibility to act (Moeller 1999; Cohen 2001; Manzo 2008; Seu 2015).

Over a century of images, children have remained the primary subject of humanitarian communication. Critiques of the iconography of childhood used within humanitarian communication have predominantly focused on campaigns asking for financial action. This is most evident in the child sponsorship schemes, where NGOs invite audiences to support an individual child pictured in the material. In return for the support given, individuals will receive letters and photos of *your* child.[76] This innocence of the child is emphasised by a cultural narrative that 'A Hungry Child Knows No Politics', first articulated by American Republican President Ronald Reagan.[77] In the context of humanitarian communication asking for financial action, emphasising that the suffering is apolitical, contributes to creating 'innocent' victims. It also contributes to romanticising the problem, where 'innocent' victims live in poverty, whereby there are no perpetrators of the poverty produced. However, the use of childhood as a narrative device that locates hunger 'outside' of politics, where there are no perpetrators (or 'innocent' perpetrators, if that is not a contradiction of terms), is paradoxical when asking publics to politically protest.

During campaigns asking for protest action, as illustrated in the content analyses (see 4.2), a spotlight on 'orphaned' children remains. Performances of childhood can be identified in both the reporting of the campaigns, and in the NGO coalitions' own communications. The MPH website featured four videos whose subjects are people living in poverty. Three of the videos were specifically commissioned for the campaign, all of which focused on children with no visible parents.[78] In one MPH video, the camera follows the lives of 'children living rough on the streets of Africa'

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[75] The ability to 'unsettle' and 'produce feelings of sadness, empathy and also guilt' (C4271) is also illustrated in many of the *Mass Observation* diaries that explicitly respond to the dominant iconography of a 'suffering child' (explored in chapter seven).

[76] As will be later discussed in this thesis, the *Mass Observation* diaries illustrate the powerful hold that visuals of children have on evoking a paternalistic duty to give money, for example, by paying for food and shelter for the child.

[77] Amartya Sen, in his work on famines, rebuked Reagan's slogan proposing that 'A Hungry Child Knows Only Politics' and positioned the issue of hunger as being inherently political (1999:175).

[78] One video, Orphans of Nkandla, explicitly focused on the process of two children becoming orphans as a result of their parents dying from AIDs.

(figure 4.4). The camera lingers from afar. The wide-angle shots document some of the symptoms of poverty: a lack of food, shelter and safety. Banal domestic acts, such as tucking a child into bed, are conducted by other children (figure 4.4). The video is narrated by the song, *Seven Years* (Norah Jones), including the lyrics 'Crooked little smile on her face, tells a tale of grace… A little girl with nothing wrong, and she's all alone', while the children do not speak.

Figure 4.4: Toddlers Video (2005), Make Poverty History Website

The visual communication, combined with the lyrics, articulates a performance of decontextualized suffering. While the meeting of the G8 leaders is promoted as an opportunity 'to change this' (figure 4.4). The 'this' referred to is represented as the visible suffering of the children in the frame. The political causes and historical roots are invisible in the audio-visual communication that focuses on the symptoms, not the structures, of poverty. The communication celebrates the campaign as the 'solution' to eradicate poverty, without first presenting how politics have caused the poverty. As Natalie Fenton argues, and I strongly agree, 'there is no politics without context, since it is the context in which a politics comes into being and against' (2016: 12). So, while protest action is promoted by the campaigns, without communicating the political context of the poverty, the request for action contributes to producing a utopic solution, which lies outside of the histories and political contexts of poverty. Protest action is represented as a part of a discourse of meeting the immediate, and often individual, needs of the children in the 'spotlight'. This produces a narrative of political change at a micro level. For example, participating in the campaign will 'change this', which overshadows the dimension of political processes. Participating in political and protest action on the structural causes of poverty is a long-term endeavour, not a project of immediate relief. Activism is a future making project, and this long-term

commitment is currently silenced in contemporary humanitarian communication that promotes a utopic vision that poverty can be ended today. This is where donating to a cause and a protest campaign should differ. For the children represented in the MPH video are likely to continue to live in poverty. While financially sponsoring the children may 'save' the children from living in poverty, protest action directed at the systems that create poverty have the potential to stop future generations being born into poverty.

A Mother and Child Embrace

While the external digital platforms represented poverty during the IF campaign with performances of an isolated child or children (identified in the content analysis), the embracing mother and child featured prominently in the NGO produced visuals. A photograph for the IF campaign published on the Facebook page for the campaign featured a mother feeding her child watermelon (figure 4.5). The image was posted twice by the campaign, originally on 16th February 2013 (97 likes, 39 shares), and again on 10th March 2013 (162 likes, 50 shares).[79] In the second reposting of the image, to coincide with Mother's Day in the UK, the accompanying blurb stated:

> Happy Mother's Day! Isn't this picture gorgeous? This little girl's enjoying a slice of watermelon with her mum in Niger. It is a rare treat in a country that has been hit by severe drought. Help mums across the world who are struggling to feed their families, find out how you can take action here: http://enoughfoodif.org/get-involved

The performance is anchored to a day that celebrates motherhood. Audiences are being invited to 'help' mothers 'struggling to feed their families'. The language used in the blurb locates action at a domestic level. The call echoes fundraising communication, emphasising that UK support is needed to 'feed' children due to a 'severe drought'. The request promotes protest action (via the hyperlink) the same as financially giving, requiring the same time commitment from participants and resulting in the ability to feed children. In a recent Oxfam crisis appeal, the same gendered language was used to appeal for funds, 'help Dads like Julius to support their family in a safe and sustainable way. You can help mums like Aisha to feed their

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[79] In chapter six, I will discuss how the architecture of Facebook contributes to determining this style of imagery.

children without having to resort to begging'.[80] While 'help' is needed to change political policies, the process of politics, and the time that political change takes, is silenced.
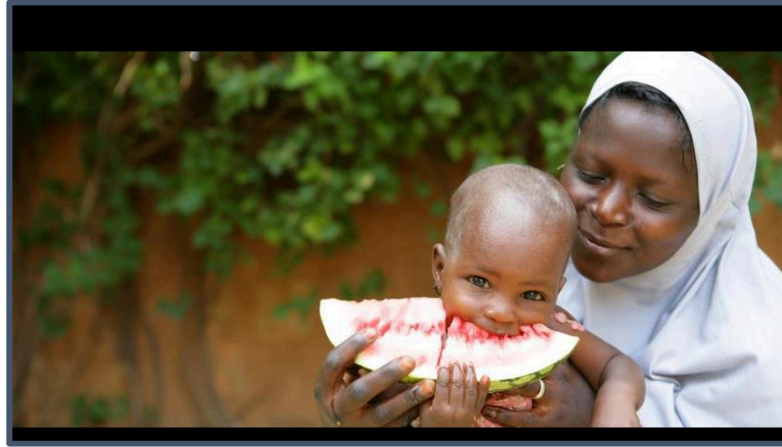
Figure 4.5: Happy Mother's Day Post, Enough Food IF Facebook, 10 March 2013

The framing of the subjects supports the narrative of domesticity and motherhood. The image is cropped closely to focus on the mother's hands around her child, nourishing her with food and a maternal embrace. The framing of the subjects produces both an intimate and gendered space. Audiences are invited to 'gaze' at the image and comment on 'Isn't this picture gorgeous?'. The phrasing of the question implies that audiences may wish to further endorse how 'gorgeous' the picture is. One supporter comments 'What a beautiful photo!' (figure 4.5) and publics created by this performance are invited to gain pleasure in the gorgeousness of the picture. The mother and child are left unnamed in the blurb, positioning the subjects not as individual subjects but part of a symbolic framework.

Mary Mostafanezhad examines how celebrities like Madonna and Angelina Jolie contribute to popularising a form of humanitarianism that focuses on 'the innocence of child and motherhood' (2013: 486). Motherhood is promoted as part of a 'common and universal "condition"' (Dogra 2012: 40), which attempts to silence the cultural politics (of class, race, gender) that are involved in mothering. The embracing mother and child are prominently used in visuals, most iconic in the depictions of *Madonna and Child*, which contributes to symbolising motherhood as both a divine and domestic role. The relationship depicted in these visuals of mother and child, and also in the

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[80] Oxfam (2017) *Hunger Crisis Appeal: major food shortages across Africa*, https://www.oxfamireland.org/blog/hunger-crisis-appeal [last accessed 1 April 2017]

visuals of celebrities holding babies, reflects traditional representations of mothering as being about compassion and care. An example of how gendered discourses underpin humanitarian representations are the different discourses mobilised to discuss fathers. NGOs also use Father's Day to promote their work, however the language differs to the celebration of Mother's Day. Audiences are not invited to comment on how 'gorgeous' the image is but to '*honour* the passion and dedication they show towards, *not only their children*, but their communities also in the most difficult circumstances' (Christian Aid Facebook, 21ˢᵗ June 2015, my emphasis). Men are represented as contributing to relationships outside of the home, with their communities, and the invitation to the audience is not to 'gaze' but to 'honour'.

Compassionately Giving

Humanitarian NGOs cultivate an institutionalised performance of motherhood, which emphasises compassionate relationships. Hannah Arendt, in her work *On Revolution*, distinguishes activism from compassion that a 'talkative and argumentative interest in the world is entirely alien to compassion, which is directed solely, and with passionate intensity, towards suffering man himself' (1963: 86). Arendt (1963) identifies compassionate relationships – as in the parable of the Good Samaritan – as action towards a specific suffering other. Compassion differs from solidarity. It may 'like other forms of caring… reinforce the very patterns of economic and political subordination responsible for such suffering' (Spelman 1997: 7). Feminist scholar Sara Ahmed argues from her analysis of a *Christian Aid* letter (published 9 June 2003) that discourses of compassion 'show us that stories of pain involve complex relations of power' (2004: 22). Mobilising compassion in performances of poverty can contribute to representing the 'problem' as 'theirs': 'it fixes the other as the one who 'has' pain, and who can overcome that pain only when the Western subjects feel moved enough to give' (Ahmed 2004: 22). The relationship promoted is one of altruism. What becomes overshadowed are the prior political relations, and subsequent responsibility, that a global north has for the inequality that exists (see chapter two). Subsequently, it places people living in poverty as the recipients of a benevolent 'gift', not just of maternal care, but the ultimate maternal 'gift of life'.

French anthropologist Marcel Mauss studied exchanges within cultures, which take place in the form of the gift – 'in theory these are voluntary, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily' (Mauss 1990: 3). Mauss proposed that no gift is ever

free, as 'objects are never completely separated from the [wo]men who exchange them' (1990: 31). Gift givers have the agency to select the gift, and the recipients in return give a part of themselves. In Mauss' detailed study of Polynesian cultures, the need to reciprocate a gift is most apparent (1990: 23). Drawing on Mauss' study of the gift, Stirret and Henkel (1997: 73) also examine how NGO gifts have changed from typical commodities, such as food for the hungry, towards gifts of advice. Although development approaches have changed, the physical and imagined gifts are still used in humanitarian performances for both fundraising and protest campaigns. In the case of the IF campaign, 'African' children explicitly thanked the UK supporters in a video published by the campaign on YouTube and World Vision published a public thank you message to the UK Chancellor, George Osborne (figure 4.6).[81] By representing action as a gift to the poor, the idea that humanitarian intervention is 'charitable hand-outs to the helpless' (Manzo 2008:641) is reinforced.

Although not legally binding, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, implemented in 1948, is discussed by major NGOs as underpinning their international development agenda (appendix C). Yet, their communicative practices that emphasise 'gifts' rather than 'rights' is paradoxical to the NGOs' own claim that the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) underpins their development, which asserts:

o All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights (Article 1)

o Everyone has the right of freedom of opinion and expression (Article 19)

o Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social service (Article 25)

Representing action as a 'gift' of 'food, clothing, housing and medical care' (Article 25) from a global north to a global south further contributes to representing the relationships between people in a global north, as powerful, and people in a global north, as in need of 'charity'.

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[81] *Enough Food For Everyone IF campaign – Thank You*, Enough Food IF YouTube, 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wivj2hQarp0

Figure 4.6: Thank you, George (2013), Enough Food IF World Vision

While the gift may be presented as altruistic and benevolent, Stirret and Henkel argue that 'it is motivated and maintained by a recognition of difference' (1997: 80). When the gift is used in humanitarian performances, either as a physical or imagined gift, social hierarchies are reinforced. John Durham Peters argues that a 'gift must play strategically with the horizons of difference and deferral: it must be different enough in kind and asynchronous enough in time to seem a spontaneous act of goodwill rather than a payment' (1999: 58). Peters introduces a temporal dimension to the practice of gifts, which differs from exchanges that occur simultaneous (considered as trade) or exchanges of identical objects at deferred times (considered as a loan). By representing protest action as a 'gift', NGOs present action as 'spontaneous' rather than 'radical' (see discussion in 2.3).

4.3.2. Celebrities and Sentiments

Celebrities have increasingly occupied the 'spotlight' in humanitarian performances. The content analysis of the MPH campaign coverage shows that the media grant a platform to celebrities, in particular musicians, to communicate the work of NGOs. Celebrities not only replace performances of poverty by people with lived experiences of suffering, but produce a discourse that they themselves represent the people living in poverty. Musician Bono, for example, states: 'I represent a lot of people who have no voice at all… I now represent them' (cited in Assayas 2005: 249). Although celebrities

have become a new 'face' for performances of global poverty, the representations of responsibility remain the same. In this section, I analyse the way in which celebrities perform and adhere to cultural scripts, which reinforce prevailing power relations between the UK public and people living in poverty. Goffman's work on performances and cultural scripts helps to shed light on addressing representations of humanitarianism as part of a system.[82] In the last decade, academic attention has been given to the relationship between celebrities, NGOs and advocacy (Cameron & Hanstra 2008; Littler 2008; Tester 2010; Biccum 2011; Darnton & Kirk 2011; Chouliaraki 2013, Kapoor 2013; Brockington 2014).[83] Central to celebrities' involvement in humanitarian work are the communications produced, ranging from photo shoots in the UK to NGO-led trips to Africa, Asia and South America.
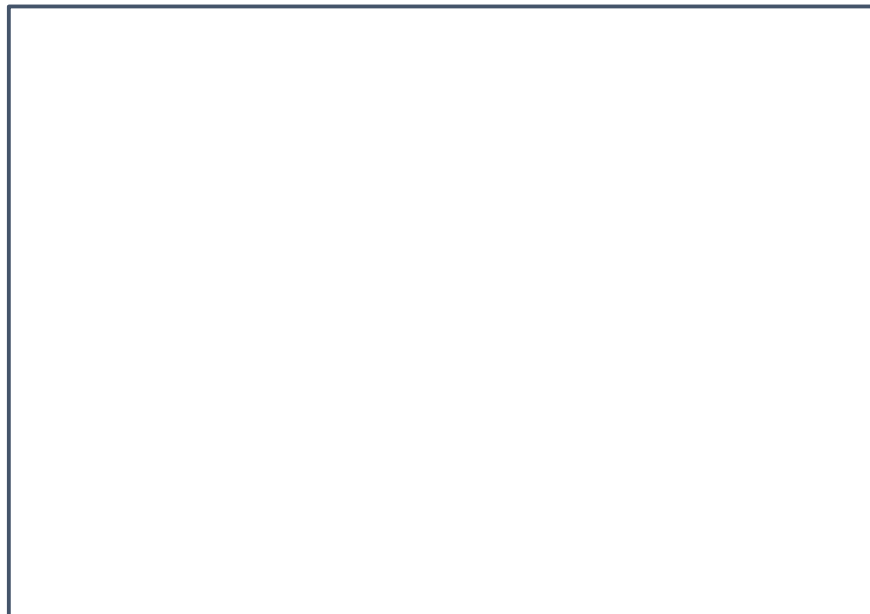
Figure 4.7: Saving lives with a click of the fingers, The Daily Telegraph (21/05/05), page 4

The MPH and IF campaigns employed two genres of celebrity performances. One adopts advertising practices, with celebrities filmed and photographed in front of a mute, often white, background. These visuals echo commercial adverts with celebrities looking towards the camera and conducting a staged performance. In the case of the

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[82] Dan Brockington (2014), in his work on celebrity advocacy, argues that instead of focusing academic attention towards individual celebrity actions, focus should be given towards the wider political economy that produces celebrities as 'commodities'. Brockington (2014) in his book, *Celebrity Advocacy and International Development*, does this by rigorously analysing the NGO and media institutions that produce celebrity advocates, alongside audience research. Brockington demonstrates how 'celebrity is an integral part of an iniquitous economic system that produces profound inequality' (2014:162)

[83] Consequently, this contributes another academic 'spotlight' on celebrities.

MPH 'Click' campaign video, the performance included celebrities dressed in white clicking their fingers while modelling the campaign wristband (figure 4.7). The pre-scripted action further highlights that the celebrities have the wristband, visibly branded as part of the campaign.[84]

There are strong links between celebrity and consumer culture, and the performances produced echo commercial advertisements. Sarah Banet-Weiser highlights that the 'neoliberal brand culture situates political actors as political, but in a way that is removed from collective action or social justice' (2012: 140). Celebrities are visually represented as individual agents, occupying the full frame of the image, but also contribute to a discourse that emphasises their individuality and subsequent power:

> *You see, I've seen real hunger.*
> Myleene Klass (Klass 2013a)

The above quotation from musician Myleene Klass illustrates the language used by celebrities emphasising their own agency. The ability to have 'voice' and to 'see' people living in poverty contributes to representing themselves as authoritative agents. Similar to the NGOs needing to justify their own actions, individual celebrities still need to construct themselves as authoritative and legitimate. There is a process through which celebrities become legitimate agents and a trustworthy presence within humanitarian communication. To do this, celebrities construct their authority by bearing witness to global poverty in person. This also facilitates a space for celebrities to move away from the commercial arenas within the campaign, to a documentary style of performance. The act of visiting Africa, Asia and South America and being pictured alongside people living in poverty is a tactic used by NGOs to produce celebrities as 'authentic' actors. In the narratives produced, emphasis is placed on 'being there' and 'seeing' global poverty. John Durham Peters distinguishes between different degrees of witnessing, where people 'being there' matters, 'since it avoids the ontological depreciation of being a copy' (2001: 726). For Peters, while witnessing can occur at a distance, witnessing in person gives authorisation to 'speak by having been at the occurrence' (2001: 710). This form of authority is emphasised in Klass' assurance to the audience that 'I've seen real hunger' (2013a).

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[84] The photographs of celebrities modelling the campaign wristband were replicated by the IF campaign.

Unlike the first style of performance, where celebrities promote NGO campaigns without necessarily having witnessed poverty in person, the visuals produced during overseas trips emphasise the unfolding of events in real time, with the potential to produce a series of performances (figure 4.8). The visual appearance of the celebrity also changes when captured on these journeys. For example, Klass, in her trip to the Philippines for the IF campaign, is pictured with no make-up and her hair loosely tied back (figure 4.8). Importantly, Klass is not pictured on her own, but with 'local' children and they are pictured in front of what appears to be a shanty. Klass' appearance here differs from her typical appearance as a made up celebrity. Instead a 'natural' appearance is promoted, which is appropriate to the context of the image. The location and the children all contribute to establishing Klass' performance as an authentic actor, who can claim, 'I've seen real hunger' (Klass 2013a). The production of the performance of authenticity is not limited to just celebrities – within specific emotional cultures, 'people learn these ways of speaking about themselves such that their authenticity is apparent to others, and also learn to interpret what an authentic performance means and what kind of claim an authentic voice makes on others' (Holden & Schrock 2009: 204). Celebrity performances are akin to performances by UK volunteers, and promoted by international volunteer schemes, centred on seeing poverty up close.

Figure 4.8: Enough Food IF YouTube Video, Myleene Klass, Philippines (2013)

During overseas trips, celebrities' emotions, although perhaps experienced impulsively, are framed to build an authentic performance. Celebrities, such as Myleene Klass, perform emotions that are scripted by both the context and NGOs, for example, empathy and compassion when encountering social suffering, which in turn supports the dominant NGO narrative that publics have a sense of duty to also feel compassion. In her newspaper article for the *Daily Mirror* during the IF campaign, 'We can help prevent these tragedies': Myleene Klass's crusade to save babies through better breastfeeding, Klass describes her experiences: 'As we cried together, we didn't need to talk. I could feel Vilma's pain and the thought that nothing divides us bar a genetic lottery is very sobering' (Klass 2013b). The feature image to the story pictures Klass with a detached look holding a baby (figure 4.9), her expression is serious and sad, and along with her description of her encounter with Vilma, she emphasises the empathy and structural affinity she has with Vilma as a mother. Klass adheres to a scripting of benevolent care towards the specific suffering child, which endorses the NGO as a benevolent actor. During celebrities' overseas trips, NGOs do not literally script their dialogue and actions. However, celebrities negotiate cultural scripts, emotions and roles that are predefined by cultural contexts, within these performance spaces. As a result, an analysis of Klass' involvement in the IF campaign can contribute to identifying the involvement of celebrities more widely. Celebrities' compassion towards people in poverty is most notably emphasised during these overseas trips as the 'right' emotion.

Figure 4.9: 'We can help prevent these tragedies', The Daily Mirror (18/02/16), Online

During the MPH and IF rallies and demonstrations, celebrities perform a degree of indignation that poverty exists but not anger towards governments.[85] In part, this is due to the complicit relationships formed between NGOs and governments (see chapter five). As their ambassadors, celebrities have to echo the sentiments of the NGOs. Although NGOs adopt a discourse of injustice, the emotional position that they currently hold within the UK is not one of anger.[86] In her work on lesbian and gay responses to AIDS, Deborah Gould identifies a shift in the emotion culture of the HIV and AIDS movement from anger towards governments' inadequate responses in the 1980s towards compassion and pride within the community,

> …the political effect of these expressions of pride was to submerge anger and to encourage an inward orientation that trumpeted volunteerism and community self-help rather than a more externally oriented activist response.
>
> (Gould 2001: 144)

Similarly, the externally-oriented activist responses to global poverty are not achieved within humanitarian communicative performances, when NGOs as well as celebrities trumpet compassionate and charitable action. My argument is not that anger should replace compassionate sentiments, but that the advocacy of cultural scripts for both celebrities and audiences, who are visible only when they respond compassionately to the problem of poverty, acts to restrict their liberty to experience a plurality of sentiments.

Sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1979), in her analysis of workplace cultures, proposes that spaces dictate the 'right' emotional performance and that, if 'emotional work' is correctly performed, individuals come to be seen as 'authentic' and 'real'. Heather Nunn and Anita Biressi further developed Hochschild's 'sociology of emotion', which had focused on physical spaces, to propose that media spaces are 'also spaces where specific 'feeling rules' operate' (2010:50). Nunn and Biressi (2010) focus on the 'emotion work' of the 'disgraced' celebrity who attempts to operate within the rules of emotion to affectively reconnect with their publics. 'Emotion work' is also visible within celebrities' overseas journeys to 'witness' people living in poverty. During

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[85] Bob Geldof is the most prominent celebrity who displays anger at the problem of global poverty, but is not formally linked to any NGO. His role in the MPH campaign was perceived by organisers as 'problematic' as they had no influence on what he was saying about the campaign (Harrison 2010: 404).
[86] This is in contrast to William Gamson's work on emotion, which aligns injustice to the 'righteous anger that puts fire in the belly and iron in the soul' (1995: 91).

overseas trips, celebrities perform an emotional connection to those living in poverty, to authenticate their own intervention. Klass acts as an emotional broker between Vilma and the audiences. By articulating her empathetic response to the situation, Klass contributes to reconstructing normative understandings of how people, in particular individuals, should respond to social suffering. Although Klass has not experienced living in poverty herself, she attempts to authenticate her intervention, by expressing how she has felt Vilma's pain and has shared the act of crying with her. By mediating Vilma's experiences through Klass, the *Mirror* article denies Vilma a space to articulate and authenticate her own pain (further explored in chapter seven). Instead the spotlight is used to articulate and authenticate the celebrities' own emotions and experiences.

4.3.3. Signs of Support

Increasingly, in the last decade, supporters have featured in the visual communication used for political mobilisation by NGOs. The content analyses of the MPH and IF campaigns identify a marked increase in supporters occupying the spotlight. The newspaper coverage of the MPH campaign featured supporters in 16% of the images, whereas the online reporting of the IF campaign included supporters in 41% of the visuals. Digital stages that were included in the analysis, such as blogs, contribute to cultivating a culture of self-presentation (Papacharissi 2002, 2009). The difference in platforms will be discussed in chapter six. However, I will focus here on how supporters are represented in visual communications. In particular, I investigate the different forms of agency represented and how performances of public support differ from celebrity performances, as well as from performances of poverty.

Figure 4.10: Enough Food IF Hyde Park Rally, Research Photo (8/06/13)

In the content analyses, campaign 'props', for example placards, wristbands and campaign t-shirts, were used to identify people as supporters of the MPH and IF campaigns. These campaign props are habitually the focus of the performance. Props are part of a culturally specific system of symbols. In the case of the IF campaign, the Hyde Park rally entrance was a contested space, where NGOs petitioned supporters to carry their placards and be represented as a supporter of their organisation (figure 4.10).[87] Placards petitioning the UK government, wristbands and branded t-shirts are props that perform as institutionalised humanitarian NGO voices of the campaign.[88] Although the visuals frame supporters as agents, their ability to 'voice' is determined in these protest spaces, to endorse not only the anti-poverty message but also the campaign 'brand'.

The rallies, as well as the campaign actions, coordinated by the MPH and IF campaigns mobilised a different set of emotions. Supporters performed both indignation (at the 'problem' of poverty) and joy (that they are being part of the 'solution') in the visual communication. During the IF campaign, supporters were photographed at campaign events, rallies and stunts. Each situation was highly regulated by the campaign coalition; supporters were only 'visible' in mediated spaces when they are engaging in these pre-determined activities, for example, forming the 'IF' logo with their bodies in public. Similar to the motionless bodies of the performances of people living in poverty, these scripted spaces place supporters not as individual voices, but as representative 'props' to articulate the NGO performance.

Unlike celebrities and people living in poverty (who frequently achieve individual performances under the spotlight), supporters are habitually represented as being part of a collective. As the subjects of the image, supporters have agency to address the audience, with capacity to mobilise them to be part of the campaign. Although pictured with other people, audiences are still invited to engage as individuals; the placards dictate that 'I'm here', not 'we' (figure 4.11). The selected campaigner occupies the foreground of the frame, which overshadows the crowds in the background (figure

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[87] Similarly, individual organisations produced MPH placards for the Edinburgh rally. The UK newspaper *The Mirror*, which was a prominent supporter but not a coalition member of the campaign, also produced placards for the rally. Some MPH supporters, while agreeing with the newspaper's campaign slogans, removed the newspaper branding from the top of the placard. This illustrates that supporters are aware that they are contributing to 'branded' performances and have agency in these spaces to negotiate what 'props' they hold.

[88] See chapter two for a discussion on how a 'purified' voice of protest is produced by humanitarian NGOs.

4.11). In a current culture of neoliberalism, which emphasises 'individual initiative and heroism' (Kapoor 2012: 46), humanitarian NGO campaigns work with, rather than against this status quo (see chapter five). Lilie Chouliaraki, in reference to celebrity advocacy, argues that the promise of individual power, that creates an 'illusion of a single person fighting against structures of injustice' results in 'a reduction of the complex problems of development' (2010: 4).

Figure 4.11: Hunger Summit secures £2.7bn as thousands rally at Hyde Park, The Metro (8/06/13), Online

Chouliaraki, using the work of Gross (2006: 110), argues that agency is now promoted as 'a playful engagement… without visionary attachments' (2010: 121). A playful engagement and visionary attachments are not mutually exclusive categories. The MPH and IF campaigns coordinated rallies that included musical performances, games and spaces for picnics. These playful spaces were visually reported in communications. A playful performance during a protest march, with supporters marching and carrying placards, maintains a visionary attachment. Urban designer and researcher, Tali

Hatuka, discusses how the route of marches, which pass government buildings and city plazas, 'indicate the intention of the protesters to communicate with officials and challenge or sway their decisions' (2016: 215). However, visuals reporting the IF campaign also contained playful props in the context of a picnic. A picnic in Hyde Park, which in Britain, is a symbol of a leisure time and gentile lifestyle, does not have a visionary attachment. A picnic, in a designated public park, does not disrupt, antagonise or is even visible, to the campaign's target of the UK government.

4.4.   Conclusions

In this chapter, I discuss visual communication as part of a production process, which has the potential to 'transform' and 'reduce' the lives of people living in poverty into commercial and strategic performances. Using a content analysis of the visual communication promoted in the reporting of the MPH and IF campaigns, I identify persistent spotlights on celebrities and UK supporters. People living in poverty achieve a limited space, with representations focused on 'Africa' and 'children'. I investigate these performances by conducting a textual analysis of a sample of communication to provide a paradigm for understanding these representations. I analyse the way in which celebrities perform and adhere to cultural scripts, which reinforce prevailing power relations between the UK public and people living in poverty. I focus on the politics of the spotlight, attempting to understand the implications of NGOs performance of parental relationships that convey action as a compassionate 'gift'. I argue that a spotlight on compassion does not demand a restructuring of unjust relations or political structures. What becomes overshadowed are the historical obligations, and subsequent responsibility, that a global north has for the inequality that exists. The following chapter builds on this analysis by exploring the contrapuntal practices of coalition campaigns. Through an analysis of interviews with NGO professionals, I explore a myriad of tensions that exist between producing 'dehumanizing' performances that 'work' and producing representations that are 'fair'.

CHAPTER FIVE
NGOs' Contrapuntal Practices

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CHAPTER FIVE
NGOs' CONTRAPUNTAL PRACTICES

As Roger Silverstone argues, 'mediation is not just a matter of what appears on the screen, but is actually constituted in the practices of those who produce the sounds and images, the narratives of the spectacles' (2007: 42). This chapter contributes an analysis of the politics and practices involved in producing humanitarian campaigns and communications. These organisational structures can be considered as the infrastructure of humanitarian communication. John Durham Peters discusses infrastructure as 'often defined by being off radar, below notice, or off stage' (2015: 36), it is the 'mischievous work done behind the scenes' (2015: 33). While the previous chapter analysed the visual communication granted spotlights, this chapter explores and critiques the 'off stage' practices that construct these performances. By focusing on the 'behind the scenes' practices, and making visible internal discourses, I contribute to widening the debate beyond individual images and the content of the frame. An analysis of the critical infrastructures of coalition campaigns, and the discourses it enables, responds to my critique, discussed in chapter one, that an analysis of humanitarian visuals must traverse a terrain of cultural politics and practices that *produce* communications, not just the tangible material.

I analyse the language used by NGO professionals as 'discourse', recognising that the internal conversations within NGOs contribute to flows, and struggles, of power. Consequently, functioning discourses produce 'relationships of power' between NGOs, government, media institutions and publics. For Michel Foucault, 'discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it' (1982: 101). Power manifests in sets of practices, in the choices made and the actions taken, with both the potential to enable and disable agency. Through an analysis of semi-structured interviews with NGO professionals, and an examination of the MPH internal documents, including the coordination team minutes (archived at the *Modern Records Centre*), I investigate the production of the communications created during the campaigns. In particular, I interrogate the extent to which organisational relationships between NGOs, media institutions, governments and celebrities, shape communications that reinforce rather than challenge pre-existing social orders.

I argue in this chapter that the voices of humanitarian NGOs, UK governments and media institutions, while different and distinct, perform contrapuntal melodies to one another. Edward Said's (1993) contrapuntal method of analysing histories shapes my understanding of the relationships and discourses produced, sustained and re-produced during coalition campaigns. Said (1993: 59) argues:

> As we look back at the cultural archive, we begin to reread it not univocally, but contrapuntally, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and altogether with which) the dominating discourse acts.

Said takes the counterpoint, a term borrowed from music, to refer to a whole being produced by multiple voices and themes that play off one another, 'yet in the resulting polyphony, there is concert and order' (1993: 59). A contrapuntal composition includes different melodies, including opposing melodies, which are performed in harmony.

I propose that the dominant social order in the UK performs a voice / melody, which currently asserts a neoliberal social order. Natalie Fenton (2016: 73) argues:

> Neoliberalism and its practices tell us that we are all individuals and should be treated as such except when we act with others (usually for free) to relieve the state of its duties. As individuals we are given rights that are translated into choice based on consumption… neoliberal practice refuses to take account of the socio-structural causes of poverty.

Fenton's description of neoliberalism can be understood as a voice that 'tell[s] us that we are all individuals' and neglects the 'socio-structural causes of poverty'. NGOs, in particular during coalition campaigns, produce a voice / melody, which attempts to harmonise with a neoliberal social order. By producing a melodic 'voice' that is harmonious with the status quo, NGOs have the potential for their voice / campaign to be amplified by being 'in tune' with pre-existing structures of power, such as the UK government and mainstream media. However, as will be explored in this chapter, this produces a series of tensions within anti-poverty activism.

Firstly, I map the organisational structures developed by NGOs that enable broad coalitions to operate. Secondly, I critique the relationships NGOs negotiate with the UK government, as both a campaign target and ally, adopting both 'outsider' and 'insider' strategies. Thirdly, I attempt to unravel the relationships between NGOs and

media institutions. In particular, I focus on the dominant discourses within NGOs that celebrities and starving children 'work'. I conclude this chapter by examining some of the consequences of NGOs forming contrapuntal relations with governments and media, which amplify, but also, I argue, pacify, their voice(s) on eradicating poverty.

5.1.   Coordinating Civil Society Coalitions

It is widely assumed that civil society rests upon altruistic aims and values. Robert Hassan refers to the term evoking 'a warm, fuzzy feeling. It connotes something "good" like motherhood' (2004: 100). Civil society is characterised as a sphere of local, national and global collaboration for the common 'good' that is independent from the state (Ray 2012: 241). However, civil society actors, in particular NGOs, while distinct from the state and the market, are still subject to state influence and market competitiveness (Cooley & Ron 2002: 13; Hassan 2004: 103).

In this section, I examine the relationships established between NGOs during the campaigns and how the coalitions were constructed.[89] In particular, I focus on the discourse coalitions formed, understood here, as 'a group of actors who share a social construct' (Hajer 1993: 45), who attempt to resolve a problem by collectively working together. In the case of the MPH and IF campaigns, global poverty was constructed as '*the* problem' and public action in the UK was defined as '*the* solution'. My emphasis on 'the' is to acknowledge that both campaign discourses constructed the problem and the solution in the singular, rather than plural. The production of humanitarian communication by NGOs is identified, as in the work of Shani Orgad, as a site of 'conflict, negotiation and compromise' (2013: 295). These tensions are further amplified during coalition campaigns that bring together diverse organisations with distinct histories and values. Exploring how these discourse coalitions are formed, as well as their organisational structures, contributes to identifying the different relationships of power that operate when producing humanitarian communication.

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[89] The MPH and IF coalitions were formed by a broad range of civil society actors. Primarily, the campaigns were led by humanitarian NGOs, which is the focus of this chapter. However, it is important to note that MPH included trade unions, religious groups and a broad range of NGOs. While trade unions declined to participate in the IF campaign.

5.1.1. Dominant Discourses

In 1963, the largest leading humanitarian organisations founded the *Disasters Emergency Committee* (DEC), with the aim to reduce inter-organisational competition and 'to make joint emergency appeals on television' (Jones 2015: 576).[90] While the founding of the DEC indicates a collaborative approach to raising funds, which includes partnerships with businesses and broadcasters, it remains an exclusive membership body. The membership criteria for the DEC limits partnership to the wealthiest of the UK registered NGOs, requiring an annual expenditure on emergency work of at least £10 million.[91] Consequently, the DEC, with their broadcasting partnerships, have the potential to monopolise mainstream media during emergencies, through a combination of advertisements, as well as commentators on the unfolding emergency.

While significant funds can be raised by powerful institutions acting multilaterally, the discourse coalition produced by the DEC produces complex inter- and intra-organisational tensions. When the DEC was established in the early 1960s, many of the member NGOs, such as *War on Want* and *Oxfam*, were increasingly constructing poverty as a political 'problem' (see chapter one). However, as members of the DEC, NGOs agreed to construct emergencies as 'non-political'. As Brendan Gormley, DEC's chief executive, reinforces: 'We are totally apolitical and are driven by the principles of the Geneva conventions in terms of impartiality and neutrality' (quoted in Percival 2009). In part, this is due to the committee's partnership with public broadcasters.[92] In exchange for media institutions granting free airtime, the DEC is required to perform political impartiality. From the very beginning, the BBC and ITV have been 'included in decisions as to whether there would be an appeal or not' (Kilby 2015: 91). At times, this has resulted in conflict between the NGO committee members and broadcasters. In 2009, the DEC launched an emergency appeal to raise funds for the people in Gaza affected by an Israeli military operation. The BBC refused to publicise the appeal. Mark Thompson, BBC Director General, argued 'inevitably an appeal *would use pictures…* with the objective of encouraging public donations. The danger for the BBC

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[90] The Disasters Emergency Committee was founded by the *British Red Cross, Christian Aid, Oxfam, Save the Children,* and *War on Want.*

[91] DEC (n.p.) Membership Criteria,
http://www.dec.org.uk/sites/default/files/PDFS/membership_criteria_2013.pdf [last accessed 01/04/2017]

[92] Another element, which I will later discuss, is that is easier to create and mobilise around a position that is perceived 'neutral', instead of negotiating an overtly political stance.

is that this could be interpreted as taking a political stance on an ongoing story'.[93] Mark Thompson identifies the visual communication, *the pictures*, as the threat to presenting an apolitical position. In this context, visuals are recognised as articulating a voice that is inherently political (see chapter two, c.f. Khatib 2013). The dominance of the DEC, as a coalition of the major relief agencies in the UK, contributes to maintaining a discourse that humanitarian emergencies can operate outside of politics. By creating public communications that focus on the immediate needs of people in poverty, their lack of food, shelter or safety, rather than the historical and political contexts of the famines, wars and natural disasters.

Unlike some NGOs' sustained commitment to fundraise for emergencies via the DEC, there is no formal alliance for NGOs to campaign together politically for the eradication of poverty.[94] Therefore, each new campaign has to form a new coalition and negotiate a new discourse, as well as relationships and structures. The MPH and IF campaigns did not aim to raise funds. In the case of the MPH campaign, members were asked 'not to use reference to Make Poverty History in their fundraising at all' (MPH Coordination Team Minutes, 1st June 2005). Before discussing the organisational structures of these campaign coalitions, I want to first show how a fundraising discourse, illustrated in the DEC coalition, continues to shape, and to a certain extent dominate, public communications.

Starving Children 'Work'

The content analyses of the reporting of the MPH (2005) and IF (2013) campaigns illustrated a spotlight on 'African' children remain in the reporting of humanitarianism (see chapter four). In the interviews with NGO professionals, a prominent theme emerges that starving children, like celebrities, 'work'. However, children in the spotlight 'work' differently to celebrities. Celebrities, NGOs argue, 'work' as luminaries by attracting the spotlight or by producing their own spotlight. Visuals of 'African' children, NGOs strongly argue, 'work' in commercial terms:

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[93] Thompson, M. (2009) *BBC and the Gaza appeal* [online] http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/theeditors/2009/01/bbc_and_the_gaza_appeal.html [last accessed 01/04/2017]

[94] Although issue based coalitions have been formed on topics, such as debt (*Jubilee 2000* founded in 1996), trade (*Trade Justice Movement* founded in 2000) and climate change (*Stop Climate Chaos* founded in 2005).

> I think everyone who works in development agrees that we don't want to use images that are dehumanising, but there is a difference between what works and what we should be doing. And test after test will tell you that people find it such a struggle to move on from those images because they work.
>
> (Head of Communications H)

> We all know and agree that we perpetuate a representation of other communities that are no way representative of the whole and how do we move beyond that? When the data shows that it is those kinds of images that do illicit emotional response from people. People aren't immune to those images anymore; they do still work and produce an emotional response. So maybe there is still a place for them. It hasn't lost its power to shock although a lot of people think it has; I don't think it has.
>
> (Multimedia and Photo Editor E)

However, entwined with a discourse that starving children 'work' is an apparent argument to change the internal politics of the spotlight:

> For years obviously we've had NGOS and charities display rich white person helping poor black person in poverty. You know, I don't think personally that is sustainable, to get people to invest both emotionally and financially in Africa. It's only fair that the people in these countries should be able to tell their own stories.
>
> (Celebrity Liaison B)

> We don't want to portray Africa as look at those poor Africans they need our help.
>
> (Campaigns Manager A)

This tension between the NGO sector's long history of promoting performances of a 'rich white person helping poor black person' and the interest in changing representations that are 'fair' is inextricably interwoven with the ethics of practicing solidarity. NGOs' awareness that the performances produced, and regularly repeated, 'are dehumanising', reinforces an understanding that NGOs prioritise visual practices that raise revenue over challenging representations. In the case of fundraising campaigns, a humanitarian performance that reinforces a model of powerful 'giver' and poor 'recipient' may work in securing income. However, in coalition campaigns that evokes a verbal, but not visual, discourse of 'solidarity', such a performance has the potential to undermine a narrative calling for 'justice' (see chapter seven).

'Unless you show an African'

The heritage of the spotlights continues to shape contemporary politics and practices. In the interviews with NGO professionals, emphasis was placed on the dominance of 'Africa' in earlier campaigns, communications and appeals:

> I really don't want us using sad African children or really happy African children to sell what we do… it is just, the idea of charity is so deeply imbedded in this idea of Live Aid, African Famine etc.
>
> (Director G)

> Which was that the whole point of Africa, and we're talking about Africa specifically is that it should probably be allowed to determine their own way out of poverty. So, that means it should be the author of its own story. And for years obviously we've had NGOs and charities display rich white person helping poor black person in poverty.
>
> (Celebrity Liaison B)

> It's not often that people will see a picture of a starving child that is not black. Asians and Latin Americans. If you're really wanting to go to the crux of where the emotion… unless you show an African, it doesn't tap into the Ethiopia, the Live Aid, the heritage of these things.
>
> (Head of Campaigns D)

While some NGO professionals acknowledged that 'I really don't want us using sad African children' (Director G), and that Africa 'should be the author of its own story' (Celebrity Liaison B), the spotlight on 'Africa' remains. Keith Tester argues that communications of distant suffering, in particular from 'Africa', have created unquestioned visuals that promote an emotional response for the audience to directly respond, either financially or politically, to 'make sense of the suffering of others' (2010: 34). Tester, using the work of Gramsci (1971: 419), terms this understanding of the world as 'common sense humanitarianism' (2010: 8). The dominance of representations of 'Africa' in these campaign spotlights have contributed to creating 'Africa' as the 'archetypical continent of suffering that requires charitable intervention' (Muller 2013: 475). I opened this part of the thesis with the words of the feminist writer and activist, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, who argues that 'the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story' (2009). By maintaining a spotlight on 'Africa' and by echoing earlier appeals, such as *Live Aid* (1985) and the famine in Ethiopia (1983 – 1985), humanitarian communication continues to tell the same story. Attempting to 'tap' into, rather than challenge a reliance of depicting a 'poor black person in poverty' (Celebrity Liaison B).

'What we should be doing'

In large humanitarian NGOs, fundraising and campaign communications are produced by discrete teams with distinct aims: 'Mainly, it's not on our agenda to get people to get fundraising and vice versa' (Digital Campaigns Manager I). Both large and small NGOs discussed 'a big tension line between fundraising and campaign communications' (Director G). The communication created by fundraising teams is frequently characterised by their colleagues as displaying 'rich white person helping a poor black person in poverty' (Celebrity Liaison B). This is considered to be implementing a short-term 'pragmatic amorality' approach, images are used to 'grab attention and shame audiences into giving money' (Cohen 2001: 179), regardless of whether they patronise the people experiencing poverty or the audiences of the communication. This fundraising discourse is further supported by campaigners and educationalists who, although challenging it, reinforce the power of this perceived 'logic'. While articulating that their communication 'should' give 'people a proper structural understanding of why people are poor' (Director G), they define fundraising practices as 'pragmatic':

> I think everyone who works in development agrees that we don't want to use images that are dehumanising, but there is a difference between *what works and what we should be doing*. And test after test will tell you that people find it such a struggle to move on from those images because *they work*.
>
> (Head of Communications H)

> I've always said my job's like being an agony aunt. *In a perfect world it wouldn't be needed, but it works. Celebrities work.*
>
> (Celebrity Liaison B)

The discourse of ethics is discussed as subservient to a discourse mobilised by fundraisers. Shani Orgad, in her analysis of interviews with NGO professionals, acknowledges the frustration experienced by campaign professionals that the prevailing 'fundraising logic' is 'accorded greater power and influence over decisions about how to communicate and visualise solidarity since it can "prove" success by showing responses to communications in the form of money donations' (2013: 301).[95] This dominant discourse reinforces that there is a 'logic' that NGOs have to adhere to:

Image of a Starving 'African' Child = Successful Fundraising Campaign

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[95] In the following chapter, I discuss how this prevailing 'need' to monitor numbers, which is inherent in NGO internal discourses, determines the actions promoted.

However, the 'success' of these practices, and the language that it 'works', constructs a knowledge that reinforces the status quo of humanitarian communication. The limited parameters of the evaluation, which focuses on the monitory gain from 'tested' humanitarian performances, silences alternative practices and discourses. The counter-rhetoric, advocated by campaigners, is presented in predominantly abstract terms by NGO professionals. Interviewees used conjectural language: 'we should' (Head of Communications H), 'we want to' (Head of Campaigns C) and 'how do we' (Multimedia and Photo Editor E) to discuss an alternative to the dominant fundraising discourse.

In the following section, I analyse the discourses formed during the MPH and IF campaigns to illustrate how these dominant discourses penetrate campaign practices. I propose that this, in part, is due to the organisational structures of the coalitions.

5.1.2. Organisational Structures

Interviewees discussed that producing a shared discourse during coalition campaigns is a 'struggle' due to wider divisions within the NGO sector. Interviewees mapped a spectrum of practices from across the sector from conservative to radical.[96] *Save the Children* was used as a reference point by several interviewees as an organisation promoting traditional communications with significant influence, due to its size, in constructing coalition campaigns. *War on Want* and *Global Justice Now*, who are significantly smaller organisations, were placed at the radical end of the spectrum. The semi-structured interview questions did not include any NGO names, yet NGO professionals named these organisations to discuss particular approaches to campaigns, communications and strategies:

> The institutional funding drying up for all of us and the austerity landscape has made a lot of organisations turn in because it's a survival strategy, so they're after their own. So *Save the Children* have gone back to producing pictures of the starving crying babies because actually it's about guilt and goes back to this Victorian philanthropy, which is what the Tories [UK Conservative Party] want any way and is *totally apolitical and completely the wrong thing…*
>
> (Campaigns and Network Officer F)

> *Save the Children* will say wear a jumper day, but I can't imagine *War on Want* doing something so twee.
>
> (Head of Communications H)

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[96] I use the term 'radical' to refer, like Natalie Fenton (2016: 9), to a progressive politics of the left.

> If you enter a coalition with *Save the Children*, they're going *to blast you out of the water…* I think that's what happened with the IF campaign.
>
> (Director G)

The terms used by NGO professionals indicate that divisions run deep within the humanitarian sector. Military terms, such as 'battle', 'blast' and 'conflict', were used to describe the difficulties encountered. During coalition campaigns, while a united image may be publicly presented, the internal discourses show how communications are a contested space which is shaped by relations of power that dictate how, who and what is publicised to the public.

The differences in practices, as well as contexts, have produced a fractured landscape of internal politics. Forming coalitions with organisations that are not politically aligned is identified as problematic: 'If you're in an alliance with people and you don't *politically agree*, it's not going to go well' (Head of Campaigns C). As one director commented, due to their differing politics and practices, 'It's impossible to imagine *War on Want* and *Save the Children* in any coalition today' (Director G). The MPH campaign coalition included NGOs from across this spectrum, involving smaller radical organisations, such as *War on Want* and *Global Justice Now.* However, both organisations decided not to join the IF campaign coalition. John Hilary, *War on Want* Director, stated that 'we were told if we joined the campaign we couldn't be critical of the Government' (quoted in Birrell 2013). The relationship that both coalitions formed with the UK government will be further critiqued in the following section. Here, however, I want to acknowledge that the politics and practice of producing communications for a public spotlight are disputed, and recognise that the humanitarian NGO sector is not a homogenous, or even a harmonious, entity.

During coalition campaigns, the largest leading NGOs (for example *Save the Children* and *Oxfam*) have the capacity to provide senior staff to take leading roles in the campaigns.[97] This has resulted in the agenda being dictated and steered by these large and longstanding organisations:

> There is a problem if you look across the [IF] campaign. There is one or maybe two agencies that *hold a lot of power* and don't discuss things fully

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[97] The MPH (2005) Coordination Team included members from *Trade Justice Movement, ActionAid, Tearfund, Christian Aid, Oxfam, CAFOD, Save the Children, Jubilee Debt Campaign, Comic Relief, NIDOS, Stop Aids Campaign, UNISON, TUC, BOND, 3E Foundation, World Development Movement* and *World Vision.*

with other members and the way they would do things is not the way others would do things and that's been constant with our imagery especially.

(Campaigns Manager A)

The coalition working group structure, proposed by the NGOs as a collective working strategy, produces power dynamics in both campaigns that privilege already powerful organisations and discourses. The MPH and IF coalitions operated through a number of working groups that reported to an Organising Committee. The MPH was referred to as a 'three tier' structure that consisted of an Assembly (for all members), a Coordination Team (elected by the members) that was supported by a series of working groups, and a Support Centre that acted as a point of contact between the Assembly and the Coordination Team (figure 5.1). Similarly, the IF coalition formed a series of working groups that reported to an organising committee with elected members (figure 5.2).

Figure 5.1: Make Poverty History Campaign Organogram
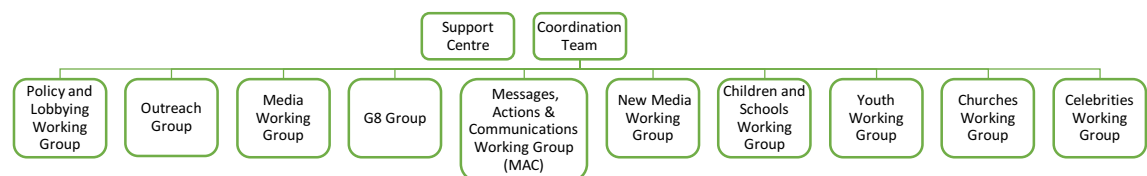
Source: Organogram produced with information from *Make Poverty History 2005 Campaign Evaluation* (Martin, Culey & Evans 2006)

Figure 5.2: Enough Food For Everyone Campaign Organogram
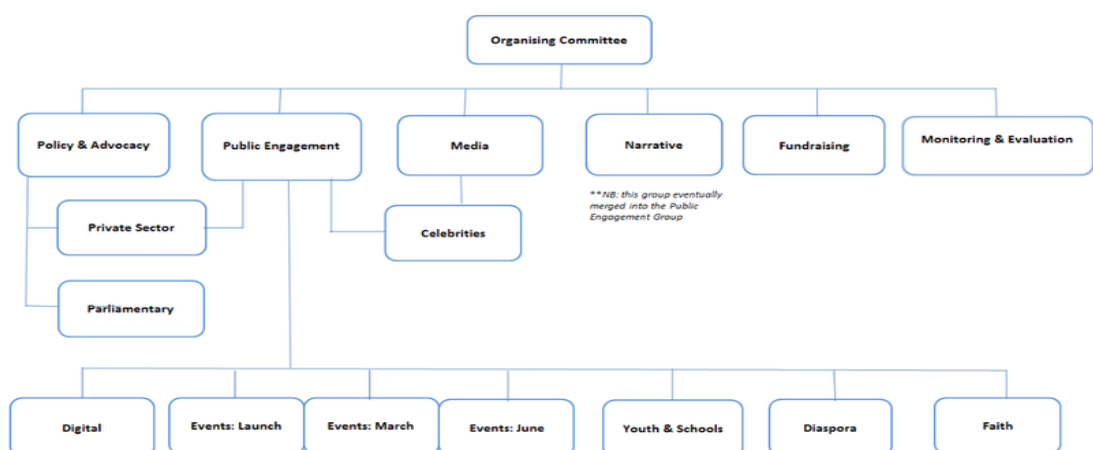
Source: *Enough Food For Everyone IF Campaign: Diaspora Engagement Review Report* (2014: 3)

The MPH campaign reported that their organisational structure was 'flat' and 'inclusive' to members (Martin, Culey & Evans 2006: 18). However, an analysis of the internal decisions indicates that organisational structures produced hierarchal power relations. The experiences of the Messages, Actions and Communications (MAC) working group illustrate how counter-discourses were actively silenced. Several working groups, including Media, MAC, New Media and Celebrities, shaped the visual politics and practices of the MPH campaign. Although communications were developed by several working groups, each working group directly reported to the Coordination Team, and relationships between groups were not facilitated or encouraged (figure 5.1, Head of Campaigns D). This produced the Coordination Team as a central organising power of the coalition. In March 2005, the MAC working group raised concerns about the mass communications produced by the advertising agency, Abbot Mead Vickers (AMV), which is documented in the MPH Coordination Team Minutes:

> Some MAC members complain that there is too much talk about marketing and not enough attention to campaigning; this issue is now being addressed. Some of the ads should be shown to the CT for comments, to *see if the MAC group position reflects the position of the CT.*
>
> If the MAC Group prepared the initial briefs for the ads how did we end up with something completely different and that they would not accept?...
> The MAC group needs *more people with marketing experience.*
>   (MPH Coordination Team Minutes, 7th March 2005, my emphasis)

The response from the Coordination Team illustrates two ways in which the organisational structure of the coalition was able to silence counter-discourses. Firstly, there was the discrediting of their complaint. The Coordination Team implies that only if the MAC group's position reflects their position will action be taken. Secondly, the solution that the Coordination Team present to the objection that 'there is too much talk about marketing and not enough attention to campaigning' is that the MAC team requires 'more people with marketing experience'. This exchange, documented in the internal minutes, shows how the structure of the coalition silenced the concerns raised by MAC. The Coordination Team assumed greater power, by implementing a sign off process, which they determined, for all communications. As well as implying that the MAC group's concerns were due to a lack of 'marketing experience'. The people that mobilised a more radical counter-discourse, tended to be from smaller organisations, and had limited resources to further their aims.

In an independently commissioned report of the MPH campaign, a member of the MAC group discussed the two discourses in relation to the carrot and the stick, 'the carrot people had all the money, the advertising agency, and sign-off, so stick comments were made but ignored' (quoted in Martin, Culey & Evans 2006: 21). The 'carrot' is about enticing people to act by rewarding them for doing so. For example, people participating in humanitarian campaigns will be rewarded by having fun and looking 'cool'. Whereas the 'stick' starts from the position that everyone should act, and that there will be negative consequences if action does not occur. The tensions that occurred during the MPH was not confined to intra-organisational differences. The organisational structures, with specific working groups, facilitated spaces where small inter-organisational alliances formed. This recreated the same 'tension line' within the coalition, between fundraising and campaigns, that exists within organisations.[98]

Figure 5.3 IF Launch Campaign Poster, 2013

The IF coalition adopted a similar organisational structure to MPH, with a central Organising Committee and several working groups (figure 5.2). The coalition working group structure, although proposed as a collective working strategy by members, was still subject to a hierarchy of organisations, whereby certain organisations (notably *Oxfam* and *Save the Children*) had the ability to navigate and set the agenda. How

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[98] This relates to my earlier discussion, in chapter two, about how solidarity is communicated, either as an act of altruism or as an act of responsibility. This distinction is not a simple binary and will be further explored in chapter seven.

communication, in particular the visuals, was decided is an example of the imbalances of power that occurred. The central image used by the IF campaign for their launch poster was 'African' children holding cupcakes (figure 5.3):

The structures created during the IF campaign, as well as the MPH campaign, made the working groups accountable to the Organising Committee. However, accountability was not reciprocal. Decisions made by the Organising Committee, while 'in theory' were collaborative, were not accountable to the wider coalition. This provided a space for 'one or maybe two agencies' to thwart the direction of the campaign. Members of the IF coalition who raised concerns about the promotional poster visual, due to a lack of context when used 'the posters that have that image on don't have the story with it', struggled to impose any checkpoints that 'in theory' were already in place (Campaign Manager A).[99] The case of producing the IF campaign poster, shows how collaborative practices, and mechanisms, can be disrupted by larger organisations.

5.1.3. Collaborative Relationships

The formation of civil society coalitions requires the coordination of a series of relationships. The MPH and IF coalitions demonstrate how these relationships, while publicly promoted as collaborative, are often fraught with internal differences. In particular, the MPH documents show how the Coordination Team placed emphasis on outwardly promoting an inward 'togetherness':

> Need to design and agree rapid response mechanism <u>soon</u>… Including considerations of when we need to speak with one vice [sic, voice] and when it's ok to speak separately.
> (MPH Coordination Team Away Day, 13th December 2004)

> We take it as given that we will always have differences within our coalition on some aspects of campaigning around the core issues of Make Poverty History… We agree to not convey differences or negative opinions to media regarding the MPH campaigning of other members in

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[99] The children were photographed at a party in South Africa celebrating the political campaigner, Nelson Mandela, and were given cupcakes by *Save the Children*, as part of the celebrations.

any way which is critical and/or opens up any sense of anything but a unified coalition. We recognize that to do so is unhelpful and often harmful to our joint aims this year.

(Glen Tarman, MPH Coordination Team Member, 27th May 2005)

Please do not make any direct comment as an organisation – we are anxious to avoid stories which indicate internal divisions and disagreements within the Coalition, simply because these could be a massive distraction…

(News for Media Group, 16th June 2005)

Jodi Dean argues that conventional solidarities promote that 'being a member of a group means that other members are entitled to expect certain forms of behaviour' (1996: 18). For those that challenge the leadership, and in the case of the MPH campaign the dominant discourse, there is a risk of ostracism (1996: 19). Sara Ahmed (2017) in her work on *Living a Feminist Life* demonstrates how the person calling attention to a problem can be perceived by others, due to institutional structures and cultures, as 'the problem'. Whereby, counter arguments, differences and disagreements are discussed as a threat to the perceived togetherness of a group. In the case of MPH, disagreements were discussed as 'unhelpful' and 'harmful' with the potential to 'be a massive distraction'. For the IF coalition 'the principle of solidarity and collaboration was appreciated by many, perhaps because it felt important to come together in the current social, economic and political context' (Tibbett & Stalker 2014: 42). The MPH Coordination Team required members to favour cohesion over discussion. Members were expected to 'sign up and respect that position… rather than try and compete with it' (Martin, Culey and Evans 2006: 87). This privileging of unity, by imposing togetherness, in turn limits internal communication. In particular, in the cases of the framing of both campaigns, these decisions were not made collaboratively. While the members of both coalitions were diverse, the organisational structures of the campaigns imposed a public image of a homogenous struggle.

5.2. UK Government as Ally and Target

An outsider strategy based on mass mobilisation often needs stark, unchanging messages, but these can alienate officials and political leaders, and limit the insiders' access to decision-makers. Conversely, an insider strategy muddies the waters with compromises, undermining mobilisation and raising fears of betrayal and co-option.

(Green 2008: 63)

In the 1970s, 'insider' techniques began to emerge in the practices of NGOs, who recruited staff to lobby decision makers, prepare parliamentary briefings and develop relationships with civil servants (Hilton, McKay & Mouhot 2012: 115). A decision to pursue either 'insider' or 'outsider' campaign strategies is discussed by Duncan Green, a Senior Strategic Adviser at Oxfam UK, as a 'regular source of tension' (2008: 63). Campaigns may include both 'insider' and 'outsider' strategies. For NGOs, these positions are not concrete and neither are the relationships produced. These relationships are influenced by the political position of the NGO, as well as the political party of the government. When working in coalition, these strategies are regularly negotiated by NGOs, and in the case of the MPH and IF campaigns, were an apparent source of conflict and compromise. In this section, I focus on the relationships coalitions form with governments and how this influences their messaging in public communications. The MPH and IF campaigns are interesting sites to investigate, as they were developed in different political landscapes. The 2005 MPH campaign was formed during a Labour government and a period of economic prosperity. While the 2013 IF campaign was formed during a Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition government, which introduced a period of austerity (see chapter one).

5.2.1. UK Government as Ally

In 1997, the Labour party, after winning the General Election and following their manifesto pledge, formed the Department for International Development (DfID).[100] The government articulated a commitment to universal social welfare: 'What we want for our children, we want for all children. These principles form the basis of our international as well as our national policies' (Short 1997: 16). During this period, New Labour reintroduced 'poverty' into the political lexicon (it had been absent under the Conservative government), making discursive connections between combatting 'national' and 'international' poverty (Legge 2012). The newly formed Department, like the NGO campaigns team formed in the early 1990s, wanted to move beyond the idea that development is all about aid money (Legge 2012: 141). The creation of a government department, with a Secretary of State (Clare Short MP), produced a central point of contact for NGOs, making the government more visible and accessible.

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[100] The Secretary of State for the Department for International Development was made a cabinet position.

The MPH campaign is an example of how the UK government developed their relationship with NGOs. While traditionally, 'insider' strategies are discussed as campaigners attempting to penetrate government, the MPH campaign could be considered as a case of the UK government attempting to infiltrate NGOs. Gordon Brown, the UK Chancellor, initiated the idea of a campaign:

> I went to lots of the NGOs and tried to persuade them that if they came together and they led a worldwide pressure, then we the British Government could be in a position to persuade other governments as well.
> (Gordon Brown interviewed in *Give Us The Money – Why Poverty?* (2012))

This was further supported in my interviews, where NGO professionals discussed the campaign being 'commissioned' by the government, 'to make a concertive noise… a noise that the government wanted to hear' (Celebrity Liaison B). Before the campaign was publicly launched, the Coordination Team Minutes show how the government applied 'pressure' for the MPH coalition to change their campaign:

> Disappointed on how we responded to *the pressure from government* and changed our requests on aid volume, we might have come to the decision anyway but *we should have done it by ourselves*, not because they said so;
> (MPH Coordination Team Minutes, 8th October 2004, my emphasis)

The UK government also steered the coalition, who was aware that the government was wishing to 'use international development as a counterpart to war, to cover up the [Afghan and Iraq] war' (MPH Coordination Team Minutes, 8th October 2004). Although the 2005 coalition was branded as a 'diverse' coalition, membership was denied to particular organisations, such as the *Stop the War* campaign group. When the Coordination Team discussed the *Stop the War* membership, there was concern about 'what of the membership criteria do/don't apply to them?' as they 'are not a political party and they don't promote violence'. In public, the coalition argued that *Stop the War* was denied membership, due to 'issues of economic justice are separate from those of war' (Hodkinson 2005). However, the distinction made was challenged by members of the public, who wrote several letters expressing 'shock' and 'concern' that an 'organisation whose objectives are very much linked to the elimination of poverty' had been denied membership (Letter from Andrew Jack, 25th May 2005, MPH Archive). These examples contribute to understanding the influence of the UK government - while not a member of the coalition – in shaping the discourses that addressed publics.

It illustrates that an imbalance of power operated within this alliance. The MPH coalition responded to the 'pressure' from the government to change their actions, but in the minutes analysed, there are no examples of the coalition applying internal 'pressure' to the government to change their practices.

The government as an ally to NGOs can be further contextualised by the IF campaign in 2013. The political context of the IF campaign, with a Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition in government, presented new challenges for the NGOs. The Conservative Party, which held many of the key positions in government, had traditionally not been supportive of the international aid budget. This was also a time whereby the coalition government, who had formed in 2010, was implementing an austerity budget with large cuts to the UK welfare state (Tibbett & Stalker 2014: 13). Whereas Gordon Brown 'commissioned' the NGOs to produce the MPH campaign in 2005, it was the NGOs who 'pitched' the idea of a campaign to the government in 2011:

> They [NGOs] wanted to work with DFID. The SoS said there was a lot of common ground in our thinking. But we would never replicate 2005 [*Make Poverty History*] … The SoS advised they work closely with Nick Dyer [Director of Policy Division].
>
> Justin Forsyth [*Save the Children*] said that they could a) mobilise a global coalition if the SoS showed leadership (noting they would need 2 years for this) and b) keep the 'home fires' of UK public support burning. They agreed on the Olympics [hosted by the UK] as a moment to put a flag in the ground and suggested engaging with non-G8 partners.
>
> (Extract from internal DFID e-mail reporting meeting between Secretary of State and BOAG representatives, 22nd September 2011)

The extract from the email shows how Justin Forsyth, CEO of *Save the Children*, positions the NGOs as subservient to the UK government, requesting that the 'SoS showed leadership' and could strengthen public support for the government's actions on international development. Following my discussion in the previous chapter of the imperial imaginaries promoted during coalition campaigns, it is interesting to note the language used. The talk of 'home fires' burning, and 'a moment to put a flag in the ground', evoke an imagery of an alliance at war, and an opportunity to conquer. Here, in these internal discourses, the government is presented as a friend to the NGOs.

The sequence of the NGOs' discussions with government is also important. Members of the British Overseas Aid Group (BOAG), 'pitched' the idea of a campaign to the UK government, before discussing it with the NGO sector. By the time that the IF campaign was discussed with more radical NGOs, like *War on Want*, a working relationship with the government had already been formed. John Hilary, the Director of *War on Want*, argued that:

> we were told if we joined the campaign we couldn't be critical of the Government… This seems a very dangerous precedent whereby NGOs are co-opted to provide cover for the government.
>
> (John Hilary, *War on Want* Director in Birrell 2013)

The excerpts from internal minutes and emails, as well as the interviews with members of the MPH and IF coalitions, illustrate some of the complex relations NGOs formed with the UK government. The ability that the Labour government had to 'pressure' the MPH coalition to change their demands on aid, and the consultation granted to the Conservative and Liberal Democrat government during the formation of the IF campaign, contribute to understanding the entangling of NGO and government discourses. For John Hilary, an alliance between NGOs and the government is 'very dangerous'. During coalition campaigns, if NGOs can not independently act as *Non Governmental* Organisations they contribute to producing spaces that limit their autonomy, as well as contributing to spaces where the government can co-opt civil society:

> I don't think you can talk about IF without talking about *Make Poverty History*… it was co-opted and I think the *journey of that co-option* is really important…
>
> (Campaigns and Network Officer F)

> He [Richard Curtis, *Comic Relief*] believes that we should support the efforts of the UK government to bring other G8 countries into its line on aid and debt, and is adamant that Brown and Blair should not be criticised.
>
> (MPH member cited in Hodkinson 2005)

> They [*Oxfam*] have decided that, in the longer term, their lot is best served by being in with Labour and they go out on a limb to endorse the government.
>
> (Senior NGO Official, quoted in Quarmby 2005)

Humanitarian NGOs forming close relationships with the UK government, whereby they offer 'endorsements' and silence 'criticism', stifle democratic discussions. As Chantal Mouffe argues, 'agonistic pluralism', which acknowledges opposing different

viewpoints, should not be seen 'as a threat, we should realise that it represents the very condition of existence of such democracy' (1993: 4, see chapter two). Sociologist Philip Selznick contributes an understanding of co-option as 'the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organisation as a means of averting threats to its stability of existence' (1966: 13). Understanding the UK government's actions as co-option, presents two significant problems. The first is the government 'absorbing' a rhetoric of justice, with the aim to 'make poverty history'. In the case of the MPH, the UK government even used the campaign name and slogan, before it was officially launched:

> [Gordon] Brown is using the slogan deliberately but the problem is that the public and the Labour party heard the slogan from Brown before they heard it from us;
>
> (Coordination Team Minutes, 8th October 2004)

The coalition acknowledged this as a 'problem' and recognised that the 'government is tactically using MPH's slogan' and that they were '*loosing* the slogan as a challenge' (Coordination Team Minutes, 8th October 2004, my emphasis). Nick Sireau and Aeron Davis argue that the government's 'co-option' of the MPH campaign was perceived by some members, 'not to be judged as a failing but, in certain ways, the true signifier of success itself' (2007: 143). For Adrian Lovett, a member of the MPH Coordination team, 'it [was] strategically wrong to directly attack the government… the fact that government wanted to appropriate the campaign's discourse was a positive step in itself' (in Sireau & Davis 2007: 142). This positive perspective presents the government adopting the NGOs discourse as an achievement. However, the UK government did not neutrally absorb or appropriate the discourse of the campaign.

The UK government, which had contributed to the very policies that the MPH and IF campaigns publicly targeted, strategically presented itself as part of the campaigns:

> His [Gordon Brown's] goals for the UK's EU and G8 presidencies included doubling aid from donor countries and eliminating debt owed by the poorest nations.
>> (*Brown's plan to end world poverty*, BBC News, 28th December 2004)

> We need to tackle the root causes of hunger and poverty, not just the symptoms.
>> (David Cameron, *Message to Anti-Hunger IF Campaign*, 2013)

The UK government adapted the discourse to strengthen its own power. The UK government, by presenting itself as part of the coalition, was in a position to shape the public discourse of the campaign. As the MPH Coordination Team recognised:

> We should have expected that they would use the language; it's good that they think we are right BUT the problem is that they use the slogan to distract from what we are actually asking. See Brighton: the event was about trade justice, Brown made an announcement about debt cancellation – to divert attention!
>
> (*MPH Coordination Team Minutes*, 8th October 2004)

During MPH, Gordon Brown focused in his speeches on 'more aid' and to 'drop the debt', rather than 'trade justice' (BBC, 26th September 2004). This facilitated a space for the government to silence the MPH campaign's more radical request for 'trade justice'. This contributes to the second problem with co-option that I wish to discuss.

Co-option is 'a means of averting threats' (Selznick 1966: 13). This is important, for averting threats is different to addressing threats. In 2004 and 2005, global poverty, and the UK government's actions on international development, were not perceived as the threat. In this case, it was the public's perceptions of the government's military actions. As previously discussed, the MPH coalition acknowledged that the government wished to use the campaign as a 'counterpart to war, *to cover up the war*, especially now the elections are closer' (Coordination Team Minutes, 8th October 2004, my emphasis). By 2005, anti-war protests in the UK had called into question the legitimacy of the wars in Afghanistan (initiated 2001) and Iraq (initiated 2003). On 15 February 2003, a coalition of anti-war campaigners had mobilised an estimated 2 million people to march in London. Extensively covered in mainstream media, the campaigners claimed that Prime Minister Tony Blair, and New Labour, were 'war criminals'. The Labour government faced a General Election in 2005 and forming an alliance with the MPH campaign created an opportunity for Blair and Brown to attempt to promote a humanitarian government.

Global poverty, and its structural causes, do not present an immediate threat to the UK government or their citizens. The everydayness of poverty, which is *not* the result of famines, wars or disasters, which can be mediated as 'crises', do *not* threaten to disrupt the status quo. The perceived threat for the UK government was the anti-war movement that was challenging the legitimacy of their actions. Similarly, in 2012 and 2013, the threat to the UK government was not the existence of global poverty but

UK poverty. At the time, civil society groups were attacking the Conservative and Liberal Democrat government for an increase in child poverty and rise in dependency on food banks. In 2012, *Save the Children* estimated that 3.5 million children in the UK were living in poverty, 'and this figure is expected to soar by 400,000 in the coming years' (Whitham 2012: 2). The IF campaign was presented as an opportunity to the UK government to be leaders in tackling hunger. *War on Want*, in their explanation for not joining the IF campaign argued:

> It is unacceptable for NGOs to suggest that David Cameron's government is a leading force for social justice at a time when its austerity programme is driving unprecedented numbers to food banks in Britain…
>
> (War on Want, News, 25th January 2013)

The co-option of protest is not unique to governments. Protests, and social movements, have been co-opted by corporate companies to sell products. In a similar way, the UK government, in both campaigns, used the coalitions to promote and amplify their own political agendas.

5.2.2. Government as Target

The MPH campaign promoted the UK government as the target of the campaign. Publics were engaged by communication that requested that they petition the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, for action on trade, debt and aid. However, the internal discourses, documented in the Coordination Team Minutes under 'Who is our target? People or politicians / gov?' focuses on the target being 'more supporters' and to 'move the public opinion' (Coordination Team Minutes, 8th October 2004). Here, the internal discourse makes a crude distinction between targeting people *or* politicians/government. Typically, this distinction is more fluid, where garnering public support for a campaign is a way to show public pressure for the government to change policies. However, the internal documents for the MPH campaign, distinguish them as separate targets (Coordination Team Minutes, 8th October 2004). The campaign internally defining their aim to be 'more supporters' is paradoxical to their public communication targeting the government for political action during the G8 meeting in Gleneagles. As the government had already been consulted and had inputted into the campaign demands, the public demanding action from the government was perhaps not politically needed. However, the public involvement served a purpose for both humanitarian NGOs wanting 'more

supporters' and for the government wishing to use the campaign as a public distraction, 'a counterpart to war'.

For April Biccum, in her study of the marketisation of international development, the mass spectacles of public support during campaigns are effectively 'a theatre of legitimation for neoliberal global governance' (2007: 1120). Both the MPH and IF campaign situated the UK Government and the meeting of the G8 as powerful actors on global poverty. By positioning them as the public targets of the campaigns, with the ability to 'solve' global poverty, a neoliberal status quo in the world is supported and reinforced. Biccum argues, using the *Live 8* concert as her example, that the anti-globalisation movement has been co-opted by marketing campaigns that stage manage 'democracy-at-work' (2007: 1120). Humanitarian NGOs, alongside the UK government and supporters, 'need each other because the perceived difference between each one helps to justify the legitimacy of all three types of development actor' (Lewis 2007: 122). Importantly, within protest campaigns, there is a need to present both a 'target' and an antagonistic voice that demands a change. The communications produced by the campaigns, and the unfolding of the story, is important. The public narratives contributed to reinforcing the power of the state, as well as the NGOs, to make significant changes. The UK government hosting the G8 meeting was presented as the primary target for both campaigns. As Kate Nash argues, 'the fact that the UK had the presidency for the G8 in 2005 was presented as if the UK were leading the world in ending poverty' (2008: 175). People in the UK were asked to lobby the UK government and 'send a message to the G8' to 'Stop them dying'.[101] In 2005, the MPH campaign led to 225,000 people marching at a demonstration in Edinburgh. While 45,000 people gathered in Hyde Park for the IF campaign in 2013. Communicating the mass numbers of people that the campaigns peacefully mobilised further validated the process promoted by the coalitions. *Save the Children* argued that 'It's proof that campaigning works – that when enough of us speak out, our leaders listen and move in the right direction'.[102]

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[101] Make Poverty History: Sign this page to send a message to the G8: Stop them Dying, *The Mirror*, 29th June 2005, Page 3
[102] Save the Children (n.p.) *IF Enough Food For Everyone: What it Achieved* [online] http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/get-involved/campaigns/impact/if [last accessed 01/04/2017]

5.3.   Media Institutions as Arbiter and Amplifier

Although Eglantyne Jebb stood in Trafalgar Square to distribute her handbills, which called attention to her campaign, it was her arrest and the subsequent mainstream coverage that amplified her cause.[103] Throughout the histories of humanitarian NGOs, mainstream media institutions have been recognised as the amplifier of their work. Stanley Cohen argues that the mass media and humanitarian organisations are the 'two most powerful institutions to have appropriated social suffering' (2001: 168). In times when the majority of people occupying a global north will not experience, or witness, extreme mass suffering, media institutions have secured their space as the arbiter of 'worthy and unworthy victims' (Herman & Chomsky 1988: 38) and ultimately 'worthy' and 'unworthy' humanitarianism. To conclude this chapter, I discuss how humanitarian NGOs negotiate the 'media spotlights', discussed in chapter four, which media institutions produce.

5.3.1. Media Logics

> I don't think it's just the NGO's problem, it's also the media. In terms of a lot of the development coverage, there is a certain narrative that they demand; it is a certain narrative around Africa, a certain narrative around celebrities.
>
> (Celebrity Liaison B)

Media institutions have often been discussed, by both researchers and NGO professionals, as the 'stubborn' gate keepers of 'media attention' (Cottle & Nolan 2007: 869). Sociologists David Altheide and Robert Snow (1979) developed the concept of a coherent 'media logic' to understand 'how material is organised, the style in which it is presented, the focus or emphasis on particular characteristics of behaviour, and the grammar of media communication' (1979: 10). Media logic is an understanding that media institutions influence the practices of social, cultural and political institutions. As Andrew Chadwick argues, 'over time the boundaries between media and non-media fields become highly porous' (2013: 19). A media logic penetrates internal practices, producing 'procedures of selection, form, tempo, informational density, aesthetics, contents, modes of address, and production schedules' (Dahlgren 2009: 52). Simon

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[103] The unfolding story of Jebb's arrest and court case attracted media attention, which included a reproducing her handbills in newspapers (see chapter one).

Cottle and David Nolan (2007), through an analysis of interviews with NGO communication officers, show how a media logic operates in the reporting of humanitarian emergencies. For Cottle and Nolan, media logic is 'as an expression of wider corporate interests and changing media environments… we have seen how it variously and deleteriously impacts the ideals and ethos of global humanitarianism in media-directed communication practices' (2007: 875).

Cottle and Nolan (2007), influenced by Altheide and Snow's (1979) original concept, develop an understanding of a singular, coherent media logic that humanitarian organisations negotiate within an increasingly competitive field. In this section, I argue that humanitarian NGOs now have to negotiate a plurality of media logics. As sociologist Knut Lunby argues, it is 'not viable to speak of an overall media logic: it is necessary to specify how various media capabilities are applied in various patters of social interactions… a focus on a general media logic hides these patterns of interaction' (2009: 117). In particular, I focus on how Facebook asserts a different logic to mainstream media. The plurality of media logics also connects with 'waves of mediatization' (Couldry and Hepp 2017, Hjarvard 2008; Hepp and Krotz 2014), which I discuss in the following chapter.

'Celebrities are Catalysts for the Media'

The proliferation of celebrities in humanitarianism has reconfigured the relationship between NGOs and media institutions (Kapoor 2013, Brockington 2014). Celebrities, by definition, attract media spotlights. For NGOs, it is about widening the spotlight, which is already angled towards the celebrity, enough for their work to be also visible. For NGOs, celebrities are positioned as tactically necessary to achieve visibility for their work (Cottle & Nolan 2007: 869):

> The misconception is that a celebrity is stopping someone from the world's poorest country from having a voice and having a debate. The presence of a celebrity will mean that the debate happens; otherwise the media tends to do something else instead, like Kim Kardashian's waistline or something equally important.
>
> (Celebrity Liaison B)

During the MPH campaign, NGOs articulated that the objective for working with celebrities was 'to help secure media coverage in titles or programmes where a celebrity may be needed to secure support' (MPH Celebrity Strategy 2005). NGOs

articulate an understanding that celebrities are part of a logic to media spotlights that typically does not focus on humanitarianism. These spotlights favour the celebrity, Kim Kardashian's waistline, over the bodies of the people living in poverty. Therefore, to penetrate these spaces, the lives of people living in poverty are accompanied by a wider, in particular celebrity, narrative. NGOs illustrated a confidence in knowing how the logic of the media spotlight functions: 'there is no doubt that celebrities are catalysts for the media – they work' (Celebrity Liaison B). While NGOs argue that involving celebrities in humanitarian performances 'work' in achieving a spotlight for their own actions, these performances can also be problematic:

> With *Make Poverty History*, the messages that came across were the messages that the celebrities chose to communicate, you know, that was where the profile was, and their starting line was that we can't communicate trade, that it's too complicated. So, if you've got that level of noise, saying a completely different message, a much simpler message about aid, you know the dying, then no way are you going to be able to communicate how the international trade works.
>
> (Head of Campaigns D)

In these mediated spotlights, celebrities can be understood as offering 'media hospitality' (Silverstone 2007: 14) to the NGOs by participating in a shared performance of humanitarianism. However, as argued in chapter two, the host, in this case the celebrity, 'takes responsibility for the welcome' (Silverstone 2007: 142) and dictates the terms of the performance. NGOs are welcomed into the space of celebrities, and have to conform to the rules of a celebrity game. At the start of the MPH campaign, celebrities argued that 'we can't communicate trade', which was the original focus of the campaign. Instead, celebrities wanted 'a much simpler message about aid, you know the dying' (Head of Campaigns D). Andrew Darnton and Martin Kirk, drawing upon audience research, discuss the message for justice being 'drowned out by the noise of celebrities, white wristbands and pop concerts' (2011: 6). Celebrities, as the 'hosts' of the performances, have the ability to 'literally become the story… they don't just become the story but they actually think that they understand what is good for people in the developing world better than they do' (Director G). Implicit in these mediated spaces are the power relations between celebrities, people living in poverty and the NGOs themselves. By widening the spotlight that is angled towards celebrities, NGOs and people living in poverty are granted a degree of

temporary visibility. However, during this time, NGOs have to negotiate, compete and compromise with celebrities for control of the performance.

'One banner, one person, one expression'

NGOs discussed creating visuals, and designing stunts, that have the potential to be amplified in mainstream newspapers, which continue to be a focus for campaigners. These practices, over time, have been learnt. The NGOs understanding of the media has penetrated not only the content, adapting stunts to ensure a strong image, but also the framing of the subjects:

> We've learnt very quickly that we need to get a semi-professional or professional to take those shots. And this is because of our press officer who thinks like *The Sun* or *The Daily Mirror*. If they take a wide shot of a lot of people at a demonstration, which is a very campaign image with NGO staff. No, what they want is a very tight shot of one banner, one person, one expression… we've learnt that.
>
> (Campaigns and Network Officer F)

> I think if you're trying to get a good picture in the newspaper, I think the tradition is to have someone wear a t-shirt with your slogan on or carry a placard with your slogan on works better… and hope lots of people turn up with lots of homemade stuff, that makes the best photos.
>
> (Head of Campaigns C)

The press officer described as thinking like tabloid press editors illustrates how mainstream media practices have penetrated NGO communicative practices. Back in the early 1990s, Altheide and Snow recognised that 'today all social institutions are media institutions' (1991: ix). When I discus media institutions as the arbiter and amplifier, I also include NGOs' own publication practices, whereby a media logic is interwoven into their own these practices (further discussed in chapter six). An instrumental approach is presented, a checklist of what to include, which strongly echoes the logic of fundraising appeals. While these appeals focus on a 'tight-shot close-up photograph of a single child' (Ruddick 2003: 341), the campaign equivalent presented is to 'have someone wear a t-shirt with your slogan' (Head of Campaigns C) and create 'a very tight shot of one banner, one person, one expression' (Campaigns and Network Officer F). The individual continues to be paramount when negotiating these media logics, where contexts and communities are cropped in favour of a 'tight shot'.

Principally, in a highly competitive sector, commercial strategies, such as a brand, are important for NGOs to distinguish their work from others (Kapoor 2013: 86; Cooley & Ron 2002; Cottle & Nolan 2007). In the case of the MPH campaign, the guidelines for using the MPH logo were extensive. All communications had to use the MPH logo without individual NGO brands. The IF campaign differed in its approach, with organisations using their own NGO logo alongside the coalition campaign's trademark. At the entrance of the IF campaign rally at Hyde Park (8th June 2013), NGOs competed for the campaigners to carry their banner (see chapter four). Despite having agreed as a coalition not to produce t-shirts with individual logos for their Hyde Park Rally, one organisation (CAFOD) broke ranks and produced their own t-shirts. As a marketing strategy, producing the t-shirts with both CAFOD and IF branding was effective, as both mainstream social media published visuals of the campaigners, many of whom were wearing the branded t-shirts. Even people that did not directly support the work of CAFOD wanted to wear the t-shirt. For CAFOD, it ensured that communication amplified their organisation. Similarly, when NGOs negotiate digital spaces, like Facebook, organisations have to compete not only with other NGOs but also commercial brands.

'That's why Facebook has a like button but doesn't have a dislike button'

Facebook aims to be a positive network, where 'users are constantly prompted to like, enjoy, recommend and buy as opposed to discuss or critique' (Gerlitz & Helmond 2013: 25). In 2009, the 'like' button was introduced as a way for users to acknowledge content and contribute to the positivity of the network. To 'like' content and 'pages' is now the most popular action taken on Facebook; every day the 'like' button is hit 3.2 billion times across the world contributing to what some have termed a 'like economy' (Carter 2011; Gerlitz & Helmond 2013). Facebook's architecture scripts actions that conform to an 'affirmative atmosphere, in which people only agree and do not disagree or express discontent and disagreement' (Fuchs 2014: 160). Consequently, paradoxical relationships are produced when NGO campaigns, which protest *against* hunger communicate through Facebook. In the case of the IF campaign, Facebook users were no longer confronted by images of a suffering child, which audiences may wish to 'dislike' but were invited to engage with poverty through visuals of satirical videos, smiling children and even cats promoting the campaign (figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Enough Food IF Facebook Page (5th March 2013)
An image of a cat holding an IF budget briefcase

NGOs occupying social networking spaces produces a new, and arguably different, media logic to negotiate:

> So Facebook has these algorithms so they want *specific content to be used*, for example recently they've really been wanting people to put videos up on Facebook rather than using YouTube video and they don't want people to use it to go away from Facebook, they don't want people to go visit another website. So the previous person, who was looking after the Facebook channel [for a large NGO not the IF campaign] was very very keen to avoid ever trying to lead any new post that would push people off Facebook because they knew they'd get demoted.
>
> (Digital Campaigns Manager I)

> [I]t's the more positive kinds of imagery that people are more likely to engage with and share and disseminate and respond more. That's why Facebook has a like button but doesn't have a dislike button because all of their interpretation of our data is that people generally like sharing stuff that is interesting, funny, happy, positive and emotional stuff. And don't share stuff that is utterly depressing very much.
>
> (Multimedia and Photo Editor E)

In September 2015, Zuckerberg announced that Facebook was working on a button for users to 'express empathy' because for some posts, users 'may not feel comfortable to 'like' that post, but your friends and people want to be able to express that they understand' (cited in Rundle 2015). Yet, the architecture of Facebook is shaped by corporate actors who define the need for the social to be positive. On social networks,

corporations aim to build 'positive' relationships with consumers, who will *endorse* rather than *reject* their brands. While news articles reported that Facebook is creating a dislike option (McCann 2015), the button did not take the form of a 'dislike' button. In 2016, Facebook launched a range of 7 emoticons: 'Like', 'Love', 'Haha', 'Yay', 'Wow', 'Sad' and 'Angry'. The emoticons still privilege the 'like' button, which remains the primary button that users have to click to access different responses. NGOs are now negotiating different media logics, which at times are conflicting. The original logic that starving 'African' children 'work', is now silenced on platforms, such as Facebook, which favour cat pictures (further discussed in chapter six).

5.3.2. Structured Silences

Simon Cottle discusses the structural silences of news media, when 'the media's silent moral scream unwittingly colludes with the dark side of contemporary warfare and, by its silence, encourages and enables its most inhumane expressions' (2009: 118). The perceived logics within humanitarian NGOs contribute to creating structured silences, colluding with media, to render certain voices as not 'worthy' of the spotlights. The structured silencing of people living in poverty was acknowledged in several interviews:

> You're representing sometimes the most suppressed people and it's their voices that really need to be heard.
>
> (Celebrity Liaison B)

> It's only fair that the people [living in poverty] in these countries should be able to tell their own stories.
>
> (Celebrity Liaison B)

> I guess the other side of things is that actually, as agencies we're representing our partners in this. We have a duty to our partners, with the people we work with around the world to be voices for them in those meetings. But it could be a lot stronger; it could be *a lot* stronger.
>
> (Campaigns Manager A)

The voices of people living in poverty, expressed on their own terms, can be understood as disrupting the contrapuntal harmonising of the status quo. For these voices to be heard, in their diversity and plurality, there requires a restructuring of communication. To facilitate spaces which invite people to 'listen out' (Lacey 2013), not just to one tune, the dominant tune, but to the songs that produce counterpublics.

5.4.   Conclusions

By mapping the relationships formed between humanitarian NGOs, I have demonstrated how the organisational structures of coalition campaigns privilege and amplify already dominant voices in the sector. At the same time silencing the very people that they promote that they are in solidarity with, the people living in poverty. A privileging of togetherness, resulted in differences being positioned as 'unhelpful' and 'harmful' by the MPH Coordination Team. Being a member of the coalition came with an expectation that humanitarian NGOs would *adhere* to the 'voice' of the campaign.[104] In many cases, this was a voice that NGOs did not contribute to forming. In the case of the IF campaign, the *Diaspora Engagement Review Report* shows how the diaspora groups were invited to join after the 'most significant decisions about the campaign had already been made' (2014: 9). Margaret Nyudzewira, a member of the Diaspora Working Group who attempted to engage her community, argued that 'People thought we were doing a job for somebody else' (ibid). The hierarchal organisational structures of both coalitions contributed to NGOs that are already dominate in the sector maintaining control. The large number of members in both coalitions were not mobilised to input into the strategic decisions of the campaigns. Instead, as Nyudzewira demonstrates, marginal organisations were used to amplify the voice of an already dominant discourse.

In this chapter, I have also examined the relationships that the MPH and IF coalitions formed with the UK government. Traditionally, the dominant strategy for humanitarian NGOs was to be independent of governments and be positioned as 'outsiders' who are 'willing to speak truth to power' (Cox 2011: 5). An early example of this, discussed in the opening of this thesis, is the 'Stop the Blockade' handbills produced by Eglantyne Jebb. The handbills identified government practices as perpetuating hunger, and presented an antagonistic voice to their practices. Using the MPH internal documents as a site of investigation, I have shown how *the* voice of the coalition and *the* voice of UK government became intertwined. It developed to the point where the UK Chancellor Gordon Brown was using the campaign slogan before it had been officially launched. Consequently 'the public and the Labour party heard

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[104] In the MPH Membership Criteria for Organisations (Agreed by the Coordination Team 7th February 2005), members must 'Agree to respect the decision-making processes set by the Coordination Team'.

the slogan from Brown before they heard it from us [MPH]' (Coordination Team Minutes, 8th October 2004). The harmonious relationship formed between the MPH coalition and the UK government, benefitted from validating the actions of one another. The MPH coalition communicated that the UK government had the power to be world leaders on global poverty. While the UK government, in particular Gordon Brown, articulated that the power is in the hands of campaigners:

> Let me say to faith groups and NGOs – your moral outrage at avoidable poverty has led you to work for the greatest of causes, the highest of ideals, and become the leaders of the campaign to make poverty history.[105]

Consequently, NGOs benefitted from the UK government endorsing their campaign actions by articulating that their changes in policies were a result of the mass mobilisation of people. The relationships formed, and the communications produced, contributed to amplifying the 'voice' of the coalition due to harmonising the campaign message with the UK government. However, the contrapuntal practices contribute to pacifying the problem of poverty. As this chapter has shown, the UK government exerted pressure for the MPH to change campaign asks. In both the MPH and IF campaigns, the 'solution' to the problem of poverty was achievable through the current global neoliberal structures. In contrast to the anti-globalisation movement, these coalition campaigns presented neoliberal governance as *necessary* for making poverty history (Biccum 2007). In this context, the agonistic struggle, which Chantal Mouffe argues is 'the very condition of a vibrant democracy' (2013: 7), is limited. For the melody that the campaigns performed, and the position that the NGOs adopted, did not confront the UK government for their historical practices that have perpetuated poverty. The campaign demands were framed as 'asks'; for the UK government to do more, to contribute to 'the cause', not to be accountable for their own practices.

Finally, in this chapter, I have explored the internal politics of creating performances for the spotlight. While the previous chapter discussed the performances that are granted spotlights, this chapter has explored how these spaces are negotiated and continue to cause internal conflicts. From an analysis of interviews with NGO professionals, I have discussed how NGOs understand that the media 'demands' a certain narrative if their work is to be amplified. Most notably, NGO professionals positioned themselves as subservient to the logics of media and audiences. Whereby

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[105] Brown, G. (2007) *In full: Brown's speech at UN*, BBC News [online] http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/6924570.stm [last accessed 05/04/2017]

celebrities and representations of starving children and 'Africa' continue to be used because they 'work'. NGOs consider that these representations 'work' by achieving media attention. As well as 'working' by creating discourses that echo previously financially successful campaigns, such as *Live Aid* (1985). Intertwined in the discourse that these representations 'work' is an assertion that it is 'wrong', but that 'they're doing something wrong because the right thing doesn't quite work' (Head of Communications H).

PART III
CULTURAL POLITICS AND PRACTICES OF PARTICIPATION

History tells us that it is by no means a matter of course for the spectacle
of misery to move [wo]men to pity.

Hannah Arendt, Political Theorist

CHAPTER SIX
DIGITAL ARCHITECTURES AND ACTIONS

6.0. Introduction

6.1. Digital Architectures

6.1.1. Websites

6.1.2. Social Networks

6.1.3. Quantifying Action

6.2. From Starving Children to Satirical Saviours

6.2.1. Negotiating Visibility

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CHAPTER SIX
DIGITAL ARCHITECTURES AND ACTIONS

> The logic of mediation involves not only the act of engagement with technologies, either to make 'friends' or to protest in the street. It also relates to systems of filtering information, images and relationships.
>
> (Georgiou 2013: 141)

Humanitarian NGOs working within digital spaces, such as websites (since 1996),[106] and social media sites, such as Facebook (founded 2004) and Twitter (founded 2006), have changed media practices and subsequently altered the ways in which supporters and publics are engaged (Bond 2015: 21; Nah & Saxton 2012: 295). This chapter focuses on the 'everyday' engagement people living in the UK have with mediations of humanitarianism. In this thesis, a broad understanding of engagement is considered, including but not limited to, an awareness of a subject, the ability to voice an understanding and take a form of action. Terms such as 'engagement' and 'participation' are increasingly used within NGO discourses, carrying normative values that have been described as 'fulsomely positive' (Cornwall & Brock 2005: 2).

The act of clicking a button to support a campaign or cause has been criticised widely, both within NGOs and externally, that 'clicktivism' is a downgrade of activism proper (Morozov 2009; Shulman 2009; White 2010). The focus on the 'click' is an oversimplification of the many practices that take place in digital environments. The way in which technologies change the request for publics to act, but also the act itself, is critiqued in the work of Jodi Dean (2005), Lilie Chouliaraki (2010, 2013), Mirca Madianou (2013) and others. Chouliaraki discusses how the 'technologisation of action' has resulted in acts being simplified, with an absence of justification (2013: 70). Activism within digital environments is promoted as 'effortless' action, without the need for a sustained commitment to the cause. Chouliaraki further juxtaposes the ease of expressing 'solidarity' from the 'comfort of her living room' with the suffering of the 'distant other' (2011: 370). A grand narrative emerges that activism in the 20th century

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[106] Oxfam (n.p.) Oxfam goes online, *History of Oxfam* [online] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/about-us/history-of-oxfam [last accessed 03/03/2017]

was harder, lengthier and more time consuming. However, the 'ease' of a practice, or even the time that it takes, should not be a reason to dismiss an action as activism.

In this chapter, I focus on the communicative architectures that facilitate participation. I examine not only what is represented in these spaces, with an analysis of the digital architectures, but also how these spaces are experienced. As part of this study I conducted 8 semi-structured interviews with young people to explore how they participated in humanitarian NGO campaigns and navigate digital spaces. While this chapter focuses on the practices that occur in digital spaces, it is important to note that they are intertwined with wider open sets of actions, discussed in the following chapter in relation to practicing solidarity. Couldry argues that practice theory can contribute to translating the hype of a 'digital revolution' by asking: 'what types of things do people do in relation to media? And what types of people say (think, believe) in relation to media?' (2012: 40). This will be explored by addressing the acts that are preconditioned by media, the architectures of websites and social networks, as well as the acts performed through media, for example sending emails, 'liking' content and 'presencing' participation.

6.1.   Digital Architectures

> People are moving away from broadcasting information to the masses to start to have conversations. This is really important because the old model that if you have a website and put information there that people came to your website saw the information and went away. That's not how communications work anymore
>
> (Head of Communications H)

As a daughter of architects, who continually brought to my attention how buildings structure social spaces and everyday experiences, I consider it relevant to regard social networking sites, and websites, as digital architectures that structure the social and how people experience these spaces. Discussing the architecture of online spaces is not a new perspective (Bassett 2008; Papacharissi 2009; Madianou 2013; Sajuria et al. 2014), yet limited attention has been given to the way in which people experience these spaces. The MPH campaign is understood as one of the first humanitarian NGO coalition campaigns to develop a 'new media' strategy (Raymond 2006: 6). Similarly, the IF campaign is discussed within the sector as 'the first campaign of its sort since

the birth of social media' (Bond, February 2013). For these reasons MPH and IF make interesting sites to investigate how humanitarian NGOs initially negotiated these 'new' digital spaces.[107]

6.1.1. Websites

The development of digital technologies, at the end of the Cold War, 'ushered in a paradigmatic change in the ways we are invited to perceive ourselves as moral actors' (Chouliaraki 2013:2). Digital communication brought new opportunities. NGOs created their own branded websites, which became 'dominated by visual, rather than written communication' (Cohen 2001:185). The digital activity of the MPH campaign included a coalition website and an email list, with 49 emails being sent to supporters over the course of the campaign (Raymond 2006:30). Digital technologies have shaped the way NGOs engage with supporters, old and new, in their campaign work. NGOs now offer audiences the ability to engage by clicking a button to pay, in the 'solidarity of salvation', or clicking a button to petition, in the 'solidarity of revolution' (Chouliaraki 2013).

The MPH and IF coalitions both created websites for their campaigns. The MPH website was archived by the UK Web Archive in May 2006 and it is this copy of the website that I refer to in this research, although a copy of the website currently remains live but is not active. The IF website was archived for this project on 23rd January 2014, a year after the launch of the campaign, and is no longer live but can be accessed via the UK Web Archive.

The MPH website consisted of a number of pages, which included information about the campaign, ten short videos held on the site and a section on how to take action. The IF campaign website, archived for this research a year after the launch on 23rd January 2014, included 40 webpages with a total of 56 visuals. The focus for both websites was to provide further information, rather than conversations, about the campaigns after being 'enticed' in different spaces. While websites are presented as interactive spaces, the potential ways for people to navigate these spaces are limited. In 1994, Philip Agre argued that rules structure activity within closed spaces: 'people

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[107] Due to space this discussion is limited to websites and Facebook. For an analysis of how the IF campaign used Twitter see Sajuria et al.'s (2014) article on 'Tweeting Alone? An Analysis of bridging and bonding social capital in online networks'.

engaged in captured activity can engage in an infinite variety of sequences of action, provided these sequences are composed of the unitary elements and means of combination are prescribed by the grammar of action' (1994: 752). People could navigate the IF website from the homepage, which directed people to register their support on the 'landing page' and explore further themes from the homepage. While the websites for both campaigns can be considered closed architectures, they were connected to alternative spaces. The MPH campaign asked backers to show 'their support for the campaign by adding a banner or button [which was a virtual white wristband] on their website' (Raymond 2006: 11). This contributed to creating a flow of towards the website, which was also promoted in offline communications, such as adverts. Similarly, the evaluation of the IF campaign reported that the website had achieved 2.25 million views of webpages (Tibbett & Stalker 2014: 4) and social media was the largest referral to the website. It is important to understand that the architectures of websites are part of larger entities and are part of, and depend upon, being connected to other spaces to achieve visibility. This will be further explored in the context of Facebook.

6.1.2. Social Networks

In 2009, the introduction of Facebook 'pages' facilitated a space for organisations, including NGOs, to create public profiles. Facebook 'pages' mirror individual profiles, with the ability to publish content to a 'timeline' and interact as a 'friend' in a user's 'news feed' (Facebook 2009). The Facebook page for the IF campaign was launched on 23rd January 2013. In the first twelve months, content published by the campaign received an average of 125 likes per post, totalling 52,217 and 77 shares per post, totalling 31,953. The IF coalition, in their Digital Insights report, suggests that 'social media was the hero in this campaign. With strong engagement rates on content, social media was also the largest referrer [to the campaign website]' (Culley 2013). The coalition communicated within a number of social networks (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Pinterest). As a coalition, the IF campaign organisers agreed to have a tight – loose control of their social networks (Campaigns Manager A). For the key moments: the launch in January, the UK budget stunt in March and for the G8 rallies in June, the steering group took tight control of their messaging, branding and media image. During these 'moments', the visual communication, which included videos, images and info-graphics, achieved the most interaction on Facebook. However, in the time between these 'moments', there was a loose arrangement of NGOs (varying in

size) authoring communication for the Facebook page each week. During these times the frequency of the posts increased, however the circulation of the material reduced. This indicates that the coalition, who were advised by social media consultants, were better equipped at producing communications that fit the architecture of Facebook.

6.1.3. Quantifying Action

> So we're not very good at getting away from just counting a number. And its kind of ok – those numbers are really useful when you can show that x people care about something. I think sometimes that all that you need.
>
> (Digital Campaigns Manager I)

The success of the IF campaign on social networks was not measured by the *quality* of the supporters' engagement with the issues (by analysing their YouTube Videos, Facebook updates or Tweets); instead the success was measured by the *number* of actions taken as an indication of public engagement.[108] Jodi Dean, defines a post-political formation of 'communicative capitalism' where the 'only thing that is relevant is circulation' (2005: 58). The request by the IF campaign for supporters to produce and circulate communications contributes to a 'massive stream of content, losing their specificity and merging with and into the data flow' (Dean 2005: 58). While producing a 'flow' of communication acts as a catalyst for further Likes, Shares and re-Tweets, the 'flow' has a pace, dictated by algorithms, that produces fleeting weak communicative affinities between supporters and/or NGOs, not shared political actions (Barassi 2015: 15). Facebook users individually interact with the NGO communication visible in their News Feed – the practice of 'following', 'liking' or 'sharing' are individual endorsements. Endorsements differ from exchanges, as the 'flow' of communication is linear, with the 'endorser' absorbing the politics of another, not exchanging their own understanding.

Although the request to 'take action' has become digitised, the online 'action' has many similarities to the traditional act of petitioning one's government for 'redress of personal grievances' (Zaeske 2003:3). The act of petitioning, whether physically or digitally, has always been a brief action for one to engage with. Often the drive is for the campaign organisers to amass names to demonstrate the support for the cause

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[108] The focus on numbers reflects a longer trend in determining engagement by circulation figures and ratings in print and broadcasting. As well as the 'engagement' measured in fundraising communication by the amount of revenue raised.

with the use of 'measurable indicators' (Chouliaraki 2013:8). The IF campaign homepage included digital counters that informed viewers of how many Signs Ups, Tweets and Likes the campaign had achieved. The *Make Poverty History New Media Review* defined a success of the campaign as 'having over 800,000 people take action on the site' (Raymond 2006:12). Even though the act of petitioning is brief, and does not demand a deep engagement, it has contributed to changing significant laws, such as the abolition of slavery in Britain (Zaeske 2003:43). Accruing Tweets, Likes and Sign ups, also has the benefit of making audiences feel that they are part of something bigger (see 6.3.3).

6.2.   From Starving Children to Satirical Saviours

Since the 1970s, the images of extreme hunger communicated by NGOs have been widely criticised as overtly negative and representatively inaccurate, depicting starving children through a colonial gaze (Lissner 1977, Holland 1992, Lidchi 1999, Cohen 2001, Chouliaraki 2006, Dogra 2013, Tester 2001). In 1989, the General Assembly of European NGOs adopted a new Code of Conduct on the 'Images and Messages relating to the Third World' (1989). The document called for NGOs to avoid using apocalyptic or pathetic images that fuel prejudices and a sense of Northern superiority (1989: 2). Despite the adoption of new codes, decades later, the representations of humanitarianism in NGO adverts still include isolated suffering children in need of a 'saviour'. Most notably, these representations are mobilised in daytime television adverts; using close up shots of skeletal bodies, habitually children, surrounded by flies.[i] However, on Facebook, dominant images of starving children are now filtered by a structure that privileges content that users can Like, Comment or Share.

6.2.1. Negotiating Visibility

In the 20th century the communication of humanitarianism was governed by traditional media powers, including mainstream newspaper and TV news editors. Humanitarian NGOs creating websites produced a new communicative space for them to distribute information about their work without the need to negotiate these traditional gatekeepers. The power to govern visibility of contemporary humanitarianism in social networking environments shifts from traditional media

editors towards 'technological mechanisms and algorithmic selections operated by large social media corporations' (Poell & Dijck 2015: 534). I propose that these algorithms and their producers, which dictate a set of rules, are the new 'gatekeepers' that NGOs have to negotiate with to achieve visibility. While Facebook 'pages' facilitate a space for organisations to have editorial control and to directly publish their own communications, research conducted in Northern America shows that only 6% of users return to a page once liking it (Hampton et al. 2011). For communication to achieve visibility on Facebook, NGOs need to penetrate the News Feeds of Facebook users, where people spend the majority of their time online (ibid).

The Facebook News Feed was created in 2006 and is controlled by algorithms to contribute to the personalisation of users' experiences (Poell & Dijck 2015: 533). At the time of the IF campaign the News Feed was governed by the Edge Rank algorithm, which determined what was displayed in a user's News Feed by calculating:

> 1. The Facebook relationship between the NGO and the Facebook user. For example, how often the user interacts with the NGO, defined in the algorithm as the <u>Affinity</u>.
> 2. The type of content and how people have engaged with the content, classified as the <u>Engagement.</u>
> 3. And finally the <u>Time Decay</u> of the Post: Facebook wants the News Feed to contain recent posts
>
> (Bucher 2012)

On 6th August 2013, Facebook announces that the Edge Rank algorithm has been updated to include more factors. However, users' interaction with the content is still valued in selecting material for the News Feed. In particular, older content can return to users News Feed if it is 'still getting lots of likes and comments' (Backstrom 2013). The visibility of content is dependent on these numerical interactions.

Michel Foucault, with reference to Jeremy Bentham's design for the panopticon penitentiary, 'the diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form' (Foucault 1977: 205), identifies the power relationships that are rooted in visibility and surveillance. For Foucault, visibility is an apparatus of control that governs human behaviour. In the case of social networking environments, visibility is not a punishment but 'functions as a reward' (Bucher 2012: 1174). For interactions to take place, users and organisations need to be visible. Facebook dictates that only specific communications, which fulfil the algorithmic selection, will penetrate a user's News

Feed and be granted a temporary degree of visibility (Kaun and Stiernstedt 2014). Unlike the circular panopticon, where the threat of visibility is continuous, the Facebook News Feed is a linear space that is continually updated by the algorithm, with posts at the top being most prominent. Achieving visibility on social networking platforms is only a temporary status.

The Facebook algorithm calculates the 'time decay' of communication, privileging recent posts by granting them visibility as well as pushing them towards the top of the News Feed. Although the algorithm dictates what communication temporarily penetrates the News Feed, the user's command of the space brings a further degree of transience to the visibility. Michel De Certeau, in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, discusses the practice of walking in the city, 'the networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces' (1984: 92). Similarly, Facebook users scrolling through their News Feed can be perceived as 'walkers' temporarily experiencing spaces in flux, following fragments of stories encountered on their journeys. While photos, status updates and shared links may be visible to the user 'walking' their *individual* News Feed, the whole is not encountered and neither is the collective. De Certeau positions the 'walker' who is 'below the threshold at which visibility begins' (1984: 93) in contrast to the 'voyeur' who has an elevated experience of the city, who sees the city as a whole and 'allows one to read it, to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god' (1984: 92). The architectures of social networks, as discussed earlier, are not designed for the complexities of humanitarian politics but for consumerism.[109] Facebook users are prevented from the elevated view of the 'voyeur' who might read humanitarian communication as a complex process that maps across different inequalities (economic, social, gender, racial). Users encounter only fragments of humanitarian stories, which fit the commercial design of the platform.

In the case of the IF campaign, supporters were encouraged to 'like' Facebook content and 'share' YouTube videos with their Facebook 'friends'. These ideologically driven actions were determined not by the NGOs themselves but by the architecture of Facebook. The adoption of commercial strategies in humanitarian communication has

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[109] Although embedded links within Facebook have the potential for users to experience an 'elevated' view of a subject by following the link to an external platform. Similar to the potential for Twitter to contribute to a discussion not by the 140-character post but by an embedded link to a site.

a long history. Visual communication used by NGO campaigns is often developed by external corporate branding organisations. While this signals a change in the communications produced, the NGO maintains control of the messaging of these materials. However, in the case of Facebook, the architecture is imposed not by the NGO but by the social networking platform, which dictates both the type of communication produced and how users can respond to issues, such as having to 'like' global poverty. The act of 'liking' content on Facebook is recognised by interview participants as a visible act that has the potential to address a public by penetrating the News Feed of their 'friends'. Similar to Michael Warner's understanding of publics existing by participating in reading, writing and watching 'the discourse[s] that addresses them' (2002: 54, see chapter two), the act of 'liking' is perceived as a semi-public act that calls a public into existence, whereby strangers meet by being addressed by a mutual friend's action.

Participants understanding the potential for their actions to be visible discussed that the ability to engage with NGO communication online was normatively positive (Becky, Jenny, Sarah, John). Eleftheria Lekakis, in her study on the politics of Fair Trade consumption, highlights that the social is conducive to mobilising support for a cause, although in the case of Fair Trade mobilisation, digital environments were less effective (2012: 116). In contrast, the interviews conducted illustrated how young people perceive social networks as spaces to mobilise friends. Sarah rationalised her action of 'liking' having the potential to make 'other people see it' and persuade Facebook 'friends' to also act:

> I think because I know if you 'like' it or 'share' it – I think maybe even if you just 'like' it – it comes up on your feed that you like something and then it will come up on my friend's News Feeds – so hopefully other people will see it and be persuaded to take action.
>
> (Sarah, Interview Participant)

Although interview participants all agreed that sharing NGO communication on Facebook is normatively positive, each participant discussed being selective about what they chose to share. The self-imposed criteria were either feeling 'really strongly about something and I feel that I want to encourage other people to do it' (Jenny) or because they believe that their friends will interact with it (Alice). However, Jenny was

conscious that 'I don't want to put it [global poverty] in other people's faces', implying that the act of sharing communication could invade friends' personal spaces.

Sarah, reflecting on her relationship with NGO communication on Facebook, commented that although she would 'like' many posts by NGOs, she discussed being more selective with the NGO material that she shared. Sarah wanted only to share content that would achieve interaction with her friends (likes, shares & comments) and that when communication achieved a lot of interaction, she felt that she was part of something bigger. However, typically the NGO communications that she has shared 'haven't got a massive amount of likes and comments and I think the problem is that only certain people will look at it – you know some of your friends on Facebook will look at it and others won't' (Sarah, Newcastle). Sarah's reflection on her use of Facebook and her 'friends' reception of NGO communication illustrates how campaigns are only visible for 'friends' that are actively willing to 'look'. Returning to my earlier argument that users 'walk' their News Feed, Sarah's reflection illustrates that another degree of visibility/invisibility occurs once the communication penetrates the News Feed. As 'walkers' users are positioned as both practitioners and publishers, who have the ability to participate in the News Feeds of their Facebook 'friends' (discussed further in 6.3).

6.2.2. Humouring Hunger and Pacifying Poverty

Since 1985, *Comic Relief* has been producing telethons that include a juxtaposition of comedy performances alongside emotive pleas to help people living in poverty. Yet the use of humour in the narratives of global poverty produced by NGOs has a much shorter history. Since 2005, in the era that Lilie Chouliaraki (2010, 2013) defines as post-humanitarianism, the humouring of poverty has been used intermittently in protest campaigns (MPH and IF), fundraising appeals (*Comic Relief*) and in educational campaigns critiquing NGO representations (*Radi-Aid*). The humorous narratives have included self-reflexive critiques of the NGOs' own fundraising practices, subverting the traditional emotive plea, dramatic music and starving child (discussed in chapter four). According to John Cameron, using humour in public engagement, in particular for protest and education, has the potential 'to work as a hook to attract initial public interest in serious issues… [and] promote a sense of hope that change is possible' (2015: 286). The humouring of hunger, which parodies the traditional narratives of poverty and humanitarian action, has gained large online audiences. 'Africans for

Norway', a spoof charity single that asks Africans to send radiators to Norway because 'Frostbite kills too', has been watched by nearly 3 million YouTube viewers (published online 6/11/12).[110] As a result of NGOs' need to produce communications that circulate across social networks, the visuals used by campaigns have radically changed. The adoption of digital environments with implicit rules has challenged NGOs to produce satirical narratives of global poverty. The iconography of a starving child, who still remains a dominant focus in televised NGO adverts, is replaced on social networks by 'likeable' content.

An early example of NGOs use of humorous narratives is a video produced as part of the MPH campaign. Actor Ewan McGregor is in the Sahara and needs additional funding for a film:

> *Orange Film Funding Board:* What's your film about?
>
> *McGregor:* It's a film about poverty in Africa.
>
> *Orange Film Funding Board:* Yeah that sounds like a bit of a downer. We're looking to fund only positive, upbeat films this year.
>
> *McGregor:* But we could be saving people's lives
>
> *Orange Film Funding Board:* Yeah it's just that death, poverty and starvation, you know they don't do too well in the box office.
>
> *McGregor:* Forget the box office, people are dying.
>
> *Orange Film Funding Board:* It's just that death tends to bomb during research. Bomb. Could you lighten things up a bit?
>
> *McGregor:* Lighten things up a bit, how?
>
> *Orange Film Funding Board:* Maybe we could get the Africans kids to do a little rap?

The video takes place in a humanitarian tent in 'Africa' and a corporate board meeting in the UK.[111] Humour, which is always culturally specific, is revealed in the juxtaposition of ideas, the celebrity humanitarian wanting to 'be saving people's lives' in contrast to the corporate film board looking to fund 'only positive, upbeat films this year'. The ability to be the comedian, to tell the joke, holds implicit power and often

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[110] Africans for Norway (November 2012) *Africa For Norway – New charity single out now!*, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJLqyuxm96k [last accessed 5 September 2015]

[111] Make Poverty History, http://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/orange-ewan-mcgregor-gold-spot-mother-london/895350

the same framework of stereotypes are used without subversion. People living in poverty are imagined, as in the *Make Poverty History* video, as passive, hungry and helpless - in need of a celebrity-endorsed video. The audience are not invited to laugh at the celebrity humanitarian, and his desire to be "*saving* people's lives" but at the corporate film board, who requests to get the "African kids to do a little rap". The scenario depicted resonates with the apparent tension NGOs face when making poverty 'likable' by humouring hunger. Facebook's aim to be a network of *positive* sentiments echoes the fictitious film board demanding an upbeat message in which NGOs not only debate the 'positive' and 'negative' use of visuals (discussed in chapter four) but also whether their communication fits the defined 'positivity' of Facebook.[112]

Figure 6.1: What has aid ever done for anyone? YouTube Enough Food IF video

The IF campaign's Facebook communication that achieved the most 'likes', 'shares' and comments is a satirical video that asks 'What has aid ever done for anyone?'.[113] *Save the Children UK* produced the video, which is directed by Paul Weiland (*Blackadder* and *Mr Bean*) and includes actors Peter Serafinowicz, Joanna Scanlan and Matt Berry. The video was introduced by the organisation in a colloquial and friendly tone:

> Hope you all had a great and eventful weekend! We certainly did – without giving too much away, it involved going undercover at an anti-aid rally and documenting what really goes on behind the scenes…

The short video, less than 3 minutes long, was published on 18th March 2013, 2 days prior to a UK budget announcement, a key 'moment' in the campaign that asked for

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[112] While writing this chapter, Facebook banned a Royal National Institute of Blind People's (RNIB) campaign advert for breaking their advert guidelines by the use of "profane, vulgar, threatening or generates high negative feedback", the decision was later overturned after the decision attracted media attention (Sweney 2015).

[113] What Has Aid Ever Done For Anyone? (2013) Enough Food IF, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AlKaNJzHdF0 [accessed 5 September 2015]

the UK government to spend 0.7% of Gross National Income (GNI) on international aid. The question posed in the video resonates with the public scepticism on the value of aid. Henson *et al.* (2010) conducted an analysis of Mass Observation diaries on the topic of aid in 2008, which showed that people in the UK 'tend to be much better at picturing aid "failure" than aid "success"' (2010: 3). The video mimics a popular skit from *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (1979) that ironically asks, 'What have the Romans ever done for us?' with the conclusion being that they did an awful lot. Similarly, in the IF video, British characters are on their way to an anti-aid rally, determined to campaign against aid even after their discussion on the bus about the many 'successes' of international aid. The video satirises traditional NGO protest action, with the characters participating in a demonstration, singing their protest song and holding placards displaying their anti-aid messages, including 'Make Aid History' in the same font as the 2005 MPH logo (figure 6.1).

The larger audiences that humorous narratives of global poverty have achieved online illustrate that laughter can be a successful 'hook' for audiences to click and watch. However, the way in which social suffering is represented determines the type of engagement provoked (Chouliaraki 2008: 374) and contributes to the social relations formed between a north and a south. Thomas Hobbes, writing in England in the mid-17th century, developed a theory that humour was based on superiority and that laughter was the 'roar of the victor' at the 'defects of others' (1651: 46). Hobbes' theory of humour as depending on superiority is challenged in the work of Robert Solomon, who proposes 'laughter as the great leveller, beyond contempt or indignation, antithetical to pretention and pomp… to avoid the supposed bad taste of enjoying the Three Stooges [a 1920's American comedy group] we encounter the much greater danger of taking ourselves too seriously' (1996: 608). Hobbes and Solomon are absolute in their divergent theories about the uses of laughter, yet both kinds can be identified in NGO communication.

The premise for 'What has aid ever done for anyone?' video is that the characters on the bus are both dim-witted and ignorant about the value of international aid. The humour is revealed in the incongruity of their determination to campaign an anti-aid message even after their discussion about how aid is:

> Providing 2 million people with clean water and sanitation, enabling 5 million children to go to school, vaccinating over 80 million children against killer diseases, helping people dying from preventable illnesses, nearly eradicating polio, and responding to 32 natural disasters across the globe in the last year.

Applying Hobbes' theory, the laughter in the clip is provoked by the 'superior' audience witnessing the 'defective' view of the anti-aid campaigners, performed not by the people who hold these positions, but by the actors who create caricatures of the 'ill informed'. The humour of the video is contingent on the audience already supporting, or adopting during the clip, the pro-aid position of the IF campaign.

Solomon's (1996) understanding that the authors of the comedy in truth laugh at themselves can be identified in many of the NGOs' self-reflexive narratives of the work that they conduct. Yet NGOs are specifically only self-reflexive on their public engagement activities with people living in the global north. NGOs deconstruct and satirise development fundraising adverts: the 'caring' celebrity, the emotive music and their use of 'African' children, but not their development project work in the field.[114]

The focus by the NGO sector to only parody their public engagement work, in an effort to further engage the public, produces a communicative feedback loop. NGOs are inviting audiences to be part of the game, using their cynicism to acknowledge the inferiority of their communications. Although the humorous narratives address public cynicism, the social relationship between a global north and people living in poverty remains the same. In the case of the IF video: celebrities remain the dominant voices, the people living in poverty are not only silent but are now also invisible, and the NGOs' work in the field is still promoted as providing the gift of clean water, sanitation, education and, more generally, *'saving* people's lives'. The agency to be the comedian, and to tell the joke, holds implicit power and often the same framework of stereotypes are used without subversion. People living in poverty are imagined, as in the IF video, as passive, hungry and helpless - in need of campaigners in the UK.

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[114] The Feel Bad Four (2012), Sightsavers, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=goIDLArYsK0 [last accessed 5 September 2015]

Ricky Gervais (2007), Comic Relief / BBC, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5DgIRjecItw [last accessed 5 September 2015]

Drive Aid (2012), ActionAid UK, https://www.youtube.com/watch?t=4&v=4n3uD5iSQP0 [last accessed 5 September 2015]

Let's Save Africa! (2013), SAIH Norway, https://www.youtube.com/watch?t=87&v=xbqA6o8_WC0 [last accessed 5 September 2015]

Each of the interview participants was asked to watch and reflect on MPH and IF visual communication (including video clips and photographs). As part of the process, I asked what communication, if any, they would interact with in their News Feeds (see chapter three for methodology). All participants rejected the imagery of a starving child, used in a MPH campaign, interpreting the image as 'negative' and 'repetitive'. Visuals of children smiling were generally perceived as 'positive' imagery and were a result of people already receiving international aid. Several participants commented that they would share the 'What has aid ever done for anyone?' and believed humour 'works':

> Obviously from that it shows how much it actually has done and it's a really positive video – I think its completely different to the MPH negative images – I think those types of videos work so much better because you can see the changes you've made rather than just feeling guilty with the negative imagery… I think humour is a good way to engage people, it wasn't used in a way to make it seem light hearted – so I think it draws you in more – obviously everyone likes to laugh and I think positive images are always going to work much better than negative images because people see it as something different. I think it definitely works.
>
> (Sarah, Interview participant)

Interview participants understood humour and 'positive' imagery as 'working' due to it being 'something different'. The attraction to 'new' communication as a result of it being 'different' indicates that there is a perceived need, by audiences, for humanitarian communication to be continually changing if it is to 'work'. In the following chapter, *Beyond Compassion Fatigue*, I argue that the fatigue is not with compassion, people continue to participate in humanitarianism. However, there is a perceived need, from an analysis of *Mass Observation Diaries*, for communication to show 'something different' and to show progress. To show progress, humanitarian NGOs must communicate time (past, present and future).

John Cameron argues that 'in the context of low levels of public engagement in a global North with issues of global injustice, the strategic use of humour is a risk worth taking' (2015: 286). However, the current use of humour in humanitarian communication deflects attention towards celebrating a temporary subversion. Humanitarian NGOs' adoption of humour in the context of their public engagement work can be understood in relation to Mikhail Bakhtin's (1984) discussion of the carnival as folk-humour. For the carnival only suspends dominant hierarchies, it is a

'celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the stablished order' (1984: 10). The carnival, like the humour used in NGO campaigns, is only visible when 'permitted by the culture which is operating these hierarchies as norms, leads us to see carnival's long term effect as constraining rather than liberating' (Purdie 1993: 126). Humanitarian NGOs satirise their communication practices on their own terms. While they offer a degree of self-deprecating humour, by parodying their communication traits of starving children, celebrities and dramatic music, this rarely results in a change in how the organisations communicate poverty more widely.

6.3. Mediatizing Participation

> Contemporary society is permeated by the media, to an extent that the media may no longer be conceived of as being separate from cultural and other social institutions. Under these circumstances, the task before us is instead to try to gain an understanding of the ways in which social institutions and cultural processes have changed character, function and structure in response to the omnipresence of media.
>
> (Hjarvard 2008: 106)

Stig Hjarvard argues that a mediatization of society can be understood as a 'process whereby society to an increasing degree is submitted to, or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic' (2008: 113). Processes of mediatization, and the way in which media permeates humanitarianism, can be examined in a number of ways. Here, I focus on examining the ways in which technology based means of communication are embedded in NGO practices (i.e. NGOs adopting websites and Facebook), as well as examining the social and experiential consequence of this (i.e. how users navigate and negotiate these spaces).

6.3.1. Participation as 'Presencing'

> People rarely self-identify as performers in everyday acts of self-presentation even though they frequently adjust or adapt behaviours to different social settings, situations and audiences.
>
> (Papacharissi 2015: 96)

Using the work of Erving Goffman (1963), Zizi Papacharissi (2002, 2009) develops an understanding that digital environments are conducive to online users participating in a performance of self-presentation. By *adjusting* and *adapting* their behaviour, people present different 'faces', understood by Papacharissi as 'an information game', where

information is concealed, discovered and revealed (2009: 210, Orgad 2012: 157, Zoonen 2013). Building on Goffman and Papacharissi's work on self-presentation, I wish to deploy Couldry's theory of 'presencing' to contribute to understanding individuals' practices of participation in NGO campaigns and communication.

Couldry (2012: 48 & 50) defines 'presencing' as:

> acts of managing through media a continuous presence-to-others across space… oriented to a permanent site in public space that is distinctively marked by the producer for displaying that producer's self… It responds to an emerging requirement in everyday life to have a public presence beyond one's bodily presence, to construct an objectification of oneself.

Similar to NGOs authoring communication that contributes to producing themselves as authentic and legitimate actors (discussed in chapter four), individuals are 'presencing' themselves as campaigners of certain causes. Intertwined with individuals 'presencing' participation is the personalisation of politics and communications. Bennett and Segerberg define 'personalised' communication, for organisations or coalitions, which 'broker' action as involving 'opportunities for customisation of engagement with issues and actions' (2013: 14). The customisation of engagement and 'presencing' of individuals as 'supporters' contributes to a practice of self-expression. By organisations brokering action across social networks, which are increasingly reflectors of individual self-expression (Zoonen 2013), the customisation of action has focused on visually 'presencing' the self.

The IF campaign included several opportunities for supporters to visually presence their involvement in the campaign with Twibbons, visual petitions and YouTube videos, all of which, I propose, contribute to customising engagement that looks further towards the 'self'.[115] The Twibbon was developed in 2009 by *Storm Ideas,* as a tool for users to customise their profile picture on Facebook and Twitter by adding a brand or charities' logo to show their public support for a 'cause' (Twibbon 2015). The Twibbon is the contemporary version of the traditional supporter ribbon, badge or car sticker.[116]

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[115] The need for communications and supporter actions to look beyond the 'self' is explored in chapter six.

[116] A survey of 186 Australian blood donors, conducted by Chell and Mortimer (2014), identified virtual tokens, such as the Twibbon, are perceived as a reward for altruistic behaviour.

Figure 6.2: Enough Food IF Twibbon

In the case of the IF campaign, supporters were invited to add an IF logo to their profile image (figure 6.2). Changing a Facebook profile image, the most visible part of the profile (due to the enforced public setting), is a practice of self-expression, which is typically temporary but contributes to a public archive of profile images, unless actively deleted. The visibility of the profile picture, along with the act of changing the image, which is publicised in 'friends' News Feeds, has the potential to raise awareness by reaching 'networked publics' (boyd 2010). In the interviews with young people, Facebook was highlighted as a way that supporters became aware of campaigns. One participant acknowledged that their awareness of the IF campaign was 'through a friend's Facebook' (Lucy, interview participant) and Jenny (interview participant) was made aware of new campaigns 'on Facebook mainly, I'm not really signed up to any charity email lists'. While raising awareness, the practice of adding Twibbons to profile pages also contributes to users identifying themselves as part of a movement. The practice of 'presencing' is a continuous 'project of the self' (Couldry 2012: 50) that requires users to take action to remain socially visible. However, users can only practice participation via a Twibbon for one cause at any one time and while traditionally being part of a 'movement' was a commitment to the goals of the campaign are met, the act of adding a Twibbon, contribute to only publicly identifying with a cause in a transient 'moment' in time (see 7.2.2. for a discussion of transient compassion).

6.3.2. Mediatizing Rallies

Communicative technologies have transformed actions, not only in digital spaces, but also how people can perform participation across time and space. The IF rallies in London and Belfast promoted the opportunity to 'see your face' at rallies. Supporters were encouraged to submit a photo of themselves, which was then displayed on 'the big IF big screens' (figure 6.3). Supporters were invited to 'add yourself' via Facebook or Twitter, this produced two performances, the first on the social network, promoting the campaign to their friends, and the second at the rally. The images of supporters on the big screen were interspersed with the IF campaign logo (figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3: Want to See your Face on Screen (2013), Belfast IF Rally Research Photo (15th June 2013)

When attending the rallies, the interweaving of the digital and physical spaces was apparent. In particular, the focus on visual petitions and creating visuals that could be have the potential to echo across social networks. Supporters were invited to photograph themselves in the Big IF London photo booth, contribute a flower to the visual petition and stand in front of various backdrops, including for example a tax haven.

6.3.3. Mobilising 'Friends'

Similar to the act of 'liking' the ability to 'share' is framed as a positive act, whereby 'sharing is an expression of your caring' (John 2012: 176). The ability to 'share' encourages users to contribute to a circulation of content. Christian Fuchs argues that Facebook's tracking of users' actions is a strategy that 'violates their [users] privacy for economic ends' (2014: 151). In the case of campaigning, the act of sharing

campaign information is not new. For centuries, social movements have distributed leaflets to neighbours and friends asking for their support. Sharing also goes beyond sharing communications. Activism is a shared activity, which includes a common understanding of how to make or change the future. Yet, when the act of sharing is conducted through Facebook it differs. The act to 'share' content on Facebook contributes to data flows and, similar to the 'like' button, is 'instantly turned into valuable consumer data' (Gerlitz & Helmond 2013: 1349). While the act of sharing may echo traditional activist actions by contributing to a circulation of campaign material, the action also contributes to Facebook's implicit corporate agenda.

In the case of the IF campaign, the NGOs requesting supporters to 'share' their content, is also a request for them to 'share' their personal data for 'corporate social media monitoring' (Gerlitz & Helmond 2013: 1361), although NGOs do not financially benefit from this transaction. Several of the interview participants had volunteered overseas as part of the government funded *Platform2* programme (John, Sarah, Eva) and discussed that by sharing their own stories and images of 'humanitarian' action, more of their friends had engaged with their personal encounters of poverty.

> There's loads of photos on Facebook, loads of photos and that, we got slightly carried away with it… Friends commented on the pictures and asked what we were up to?
>
> (Eva, Interview participant)

The personalisation of poverty in this way echoes the celebrity trip overseas (chapter four), Eva discussed that her trip to Ghana 'was fully documented' on Facebook. The communications that she published created an informal semi-public space for her Facebook 'friends' to engage with her practices of humanitarianism. For Eva, her personal stories of Ghana, which went far beyond her NGO work, engaged people. The volunteers included a sentimental discourse, similar to celebrities, 'going to Kenya and seeing Kibera the large slum was heart-breaking' (Sarah). The sharing of volunteer experiences on Facebook is both a communicative act that raises awareness of the poverty that exists as well as an act of self-expression that contributes to identifying themselves as actors within a cause. Lilie Chouliaraki identifies a recent humanitarian turn to self-expression, as a key feature of new media, which is a 'practical response to compassion fatigue, the public's apathy towards traditional iconographies of suffering' (2013: 17). Yet, I propose that self-expression and

humanitarianism has a deeper heritage that dates back to the publication of early missionary work overseas that situate missionaries as benevolent actors. What has changed in recent decades is the tone of the communication that shapes self-expression. Previously, self-expression in relation to humanitarianism was illustrated as a sacrifice to the cause, with sober imagery of missionaries feeding people living in poverty. In contrast, missionary work and overseas volunteering is now predominantly promoted by imagery of smiling young people conducting overseas 'development' that contributes to the personal development and fulfilment of the volunteer.

6.4.   Conclusions

By combining an analysis of digital architectures, primarily Facebook, with an analysis of interviews with young people, I have explored some of the ways in which people participate in humanitarian communication. Using my interviews with young people as a site of investigation, I discuss some of the everyday practices of participation in humanitarian NGO campaigns. I argue that everyday practices on Facebook contribute to users 'presencing' themselves as actors within NGO campaigns. While self expression has always been part of humanitarian communication, illustrated in the works of Mother Theresa and others, that there is a turn towards participation as 'joyful' rather than a 'duty'. Although digital interactions can be archived, the rapid change in users' Facebook News Feeds contributes to NGO communication occupying only a temporal position of visibility. The architecture of Facebook, in particular the algorithmic selection of the News Feed content, is both the 'gatekeeper' and 'governor' of visibility. The implicit ideology of Facebook to be a network of positive sentiments has produced a new code of conduct for NGOs. To achieve visibility, humanitarian communications need to be 'likeable', which has resulted in NGOs responding to new logics, transitioning from starving children to satirical saviours. However, while the communication becomes visible to a wider audience, people living in poverty continue to remain invisible within humorous communications that rely on the same framework of stereotypes. Whereby the story of poverty continues to be told, by people without lived experiences, in its singular.

CHAPTER SEVEN
BEYOND COMPASSION FATIGUE

7.0. Introduction

7.1. Agency of Audiences

    7.1.1. Individual Agency

    7.1.2. Public Cynicism

    7.1.3. Emotional Blackmail

7.2. Solidarity in Liquid Times

    7.2.1. Liquid Humanitarianism

    7.2.2. Transient Compassion

    7.2.3. 'Solid' Solidarity

7.3. Justice, Not Charity

    7.3.1. Salvation and the Good Life

    7.3.2. Revolution and Rights

    7.3.3. A Rights-based Approach

7.4. Conclusions

CHAPTER SEVEN
BEYOND COMPASSION FATIGUE

> The problem of the existing literature of course lies with the perils of making dangerous assumptions. When one deduces the effects of A to B from a close reading of A rather than a dialogue with B, one commits what John Thompson (1990) has once called a 'fallacy of internalism'.
>
> (Ong 2009: 451)

As Jonathan Ong (2009: 451) argues assumptions have been made about how audiences respond to communication and 'bottom up empirical work' (2009: 451) is needed to contribute to understanding the dialectical relationship between communication and audiences. This chapter contributes towards addressing this gap. A dominant narrative in many texts and public discourses is that a repetition of the same visuals promotes 'compassion fatigue' (Moeller 1999). However, as my interviews with NGO professionals has shown in their discussion of media logics, dominant visuals continue to 'work'. In this chapter, I explore the ways in which audiences respond to humanitarian communication. Firstly, from an analysis of writers' responses to the *Mass Observation Directive* (MOD), I discuss the ways in which audiences further mediate humanitarian communications. Secondly, I build on and theoretically contextualise the discussions in empirically based chapters, in relation to representation (chapter four), production (chapter five) and participation (chapter six). Here, I propose understanding contemporary communicative structures and NGO practices as as a form of 'liquid humanitarianism', where publics are invited to engage, often individually, in forms of 'transient compassion'. Finally, I respond to the discussions made in this thesis with a proposal for a rights based approach to communication.

7.1.   Agency of Audiences

This thesis, following a sociological tradition, understands agency to be a status that 'is partly legal, partly moral, and partly ontological – all of which add up to be fundamentally political' (Lang 2002: 8). For the scope of this chapter, I focus on agency as the 'ability to engage other agents in the public sphere' (ibid). In which, the

ability to engage is socially and culturally constructed by subjects' access to social resources. The concept of agency in this thesis is both 'relational and context-dependent' (Gell 1998: 22) and is not employed as a classificatory dichotomy of subjects *with* agency or *without* agency, but as flows of differentiated levels of agency, effected by social structures. Within a western tradition, scholars and society have constructed agency as 'an individual capacity' (Johnson 2011: 1029) to publicly engage one another as separate beings. Using Roger Silverstone's analogy of the 'game'(2002: 773), I propose that for humanitarian communication to function, the authors or the subjects of the content at least need to be recognised as legitimate and authentic actors by publics. While addressing the agency of each of these 'players', I also address the affective relationships developed within the game.

7.1.1. Individual Agency

NGOs operating within a neoliberal 'way of doing things' address audiences as individual agents, with individual responsibility to take action. This is most evident in the communication asking for financial action inasmuch as the communication supports a discourse that individuals have the agency to 'save the children'; for example, 'a sick and hungry child needs *you* right now to simply stay alive… we can only save children because *someone* cares enough' (StC 2013, my emphasis). Several writers described the visuals used by NGOs and the overarching message of the appeal to 'help' save a child's life:

> The child is alone and gazing straight at the camera, and the message 'Help me' is an invisible but clearly readable caption. We are told that without my help, this child will die… photographs of them [children living in poverty] have a very direct effect upon us (especially on women, I imagine) ... we think, and stare at our own well-fed children with their toys and bicycles and books and listen to them playing in the garden.
> (H1745, Female, 63 years old, London, Researcher/Writer/Editor)

The photographs are central to the 'direct effect upon us' described by the diarist. She understands the 'invisible but clearly readable caption' that 'without my help, this child will die' (ibid). Moeller proposes that 'threatening and painful images cause people to turn away' (1999: 35). However, the writers' descriptions of their interaction with visuals contradict Moeller's theory. Instead, several responses indicate a turn towards the self. For example, the image of the 'starving child' described above promotes a self-

reflexive moment for the woman to empathise with the child and to contrast this to the fortunes of her own 'well-fed children'.

By provoking self-reflexive moments for audiences, the emphasis is again placed on the individual, contrasting their own life with those of people living in poverty. Similar to Myleene Klass' reference to a 'lottery' of situations (see chapter four), 'luck' was included in several of the diaries. For example, 'we are incredibly lucky to live in the country [England] we do' (B4527). In doing so, these reflective moments contribute to the discourse of 'innocent victims' who are living in poverty as a result of 'bad luck'. An elderly married couple reflected that 'we feel to give is to recognise and try and make real for us the fact that *we have so much* and because the giving *helps us to feel the fellow humanity* of those who are poorer than us' (B2710, my emphasis). Underpinning the majority of responses was that humanitarian action translated into individual responsibility to give financially. A neoliberal logic is reflected in the writers' emphasis on accepting personal responsibility for the lives of 'innocent victims' and that by taking part in charitable action, they will subsequently 'help' themselves.

Three writers use the term 'compassion fatigue' in their discussions on action. However, the term is used not to convey Moeller's (1999) arguments of a lack of compassion, but instead, as a result of individuals 'caring too much [that it] can hurt' (Campbell 2012: 8):

> Have my views changed over the years? They certainly have. In my early years I was by today's standards very "enlightened". Very sympathetic to the needs of the world's poor. Even at the expense of my own family. Now I suffer from compassion fatigue.
>
> (H1543)

Consequently, to preserve their own wellbeing, one writer describes having to acknowledge that s/he has no agency to change the 'problems in the world':

> The only way I can cope with this is to heed the advice I was given years ago by a psychologist I knew when in the civil service: "There's no point in worrying about the things you can't do anything about." This is absolutely true, and I can't do anything about most of the problems in the world; what's more, I don't want to agonise about the reasons I can't do anything, whether I could do something if I tried a bit harder, etc etc. Life is too short.
>
> (F3409, 67 years old, Nottingham, Retired Civil Servant)

Illustrated in the diarist's description is 'personal helplessness', which is described by Cohen and Seu, in their work on denial, as a way of protecting oneself from no longer experiencing guilt (2002: 196). Audiences are able to distance themselves from the humanitarian communication by perceiving that they 'can't do anything'. However, this 'personal helplessness' is not a result of seeing the same images,[117] but an active decision by members of the audience, to 'opt out' of the relationship offered by the NGOs' communication. In part, I propose, that this is due to the emphasis by NGOs on individual rather than collective agency: 'When you see those images of children in poverty, while they do make me sad… [global poverty] always feels like a national-aid-budget sort of problem – billions of pounds required' (G5421). This results in individuals 'feeling like' they have no agency to contribute to the larger, collective actions, such as the 'national-aid-budget'.

7.1.2. Public Cynicism

Cynicism was discussed in relation to the NGO as an institution and its communicative techniques. Firstly, writers used cynicism to describe their 'feeling' towards charities spending 'huge amounts of money received, on corporate expenses, such as salaries of permanent staff, campaign costs, office space rent etc.' (C5387). In particular, salaries were an issue of contention for writers, referencing recent newspaper articles on the subject. For example, the *Daily Mail* published an article entitled 'Fury over £234,000 salary of the top boss at Save the Children' (Seamark 2014), just before the Mass Observation Directive was conducted (in Summer 2014). The public distrust of charities goes beyond the humanitarian sector, with the *National Council of Voluntary Organisations* calling for 'charities to publish chief executives' pay to earn public trust' (Meade 2014). The NCVO's response to public cynicism implies that the 'fury' is due to the lack of openness, inasmuch as the transparency of pay scales would rebuild public trust. However, the writers' reference to 'massive salaries' (E743) and 'corporate expenses' (C5387) implies that the transparency of their fiscal decisions is only part of the problem. Underscoring their discussions on cynicism is an implication that audiences' donations should not be spent on administration costs but to directly 'change the circumstances of all those who suffer' (C5387). To foster public trust, charities need to not only communicate their executives' pay, but to also illustrate how chief executives contribute to alleviating poverty on the ground and justify their pay scale.

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[117] Proposed in the work of Susan Moeller (1999) and Susan Sontag (1977).

A second strand of cynicism discussed in responses to the MOD, is the communicative practices employed by NGOs. The cynicism experienced by audiences questions the authenticity of both organisations and the lives of people living in poverty:

> I hate the images shown of children either in great poverty or great distress. The cynic in me imagines the camera–man waiting to get the best shot or sitting discussing what would be the most tear jerking shot. It is like the pictures of soldiers going over the top in WW1 – it was disclosed years later, that many of these were posed.
> (F3641, Female, 74 years old, Leicester, Retired History Teacher)

> I hate seeing children starving on TV. I hate seeing them drink polluted water. When it comes to children drinking polluted water, I wonder if the film crew has paid for them to do that, as they are being paid for the film.
> (B3010, 50 years old, Civil Servant, Jersey, Female)

Rather than reading the humanitarian communication as documentary evidence of children living their lives in poverty, audiences interpret the communication as an advertising technique. With the focus on the visuals as staged events, the message, and the subsequent agency of the NGO is diminished. The language reveals the intensity of cynicism towards the techniques used, as a diarist commented: 'I hate the images' (F3641). Although 'hating' the visuals used, some still described being emotionally affected by the communication:

> Emotionally I am obviously struck by such an image but I am also cynical enough to understand the hideous, corporate decision-making process weighing up the severity of sadness and exploitation in each photo.
> (D5428, 41 years old, Nurse, Newtownabbey, Male)

The writers who identified themselves as 'cynical' about the communicative practices believed that NGOs had manipulated the situation captured to provoke 'the severity of sadness' (ibid). None of the writers discussed cynicism in relation to visuals that captured 'happiness'. Frequently, the image of a 'starving child' was identified as the technique used to 'manipulate' audiences' emotions towards the subject. This will be further explored through the writers' experiences of being 'emotionally blackmailed'.

A further degree of cynicism was also expressed in relation to why celebrities may be involved in humanitarian communication. In particular, raising questions of the authenticity of their actions:

> People think it's good to see well-paid celebrities that appear to live in a different world actually doing something and seeing their emotional side. It makes the celebrity seem real and naturally this would then tug at the heartstrings of the viewer and they'll donate.
> (B5541, Male, Customer Service Administrator)

If perceived as authentic and authoritative, celebrities occupying communicative spaces, have the agency to emotively engage publics with strength, to 'tug at the heartstrings of the viewer'. If the audiences endorse their performance, the celebrity also benefits from viewers 'seeing their emotional side' that contributes to them appearing 'real' and 'natural' to the viewer (see chapter four). Inasmuch as their 'emotional work' is understood as fitting the social requirements of the situation. However, if perceived as contrived, they have potential to discredit themselves and the NGO(s) involved. The MOD responses acknowledge two interlinking ways that celebrities' performances were discredited. Firstly, when the audiences recognise the PR techniques used this not only calls into question the authenticity of the celebrities' actions but also their request for publics to take action. Several writers referred to the 'PR techniques' used in the communication and questioned the motivations of the celebrities involved in the appeals:

> I do wonder how much some of these celebrities do get involved though – you see them crying over sick children in Africa, and you think "yes, but are you really going to do anything to help, put your money where your mouth is," or is it all a PR exercise? I don't think this about all of them, only some of the TV pop-stars. Probably a bit cynical of me.
> (B4527, Former Teacher of Art now Student, Cambridge, Female, 34 years old)

> If these men and women caught up in this kind of limelight try to justify their status as it is whipped up by the media by becoming "global ambassadors" for the relief of poverty, perhaps that makes them feel better about themselves, but to some of us it's a sham.
> (D996, Retired Citizens Advice Bureau, Female, 87 years old)

The distrust in the communication presented, and the resulting cynicism, manifests itself in the motivations of the celebrities. The term cynicism was used alongside the involvement of celebrities and the techniques that audiences identified as PR strategies. Writers deemed that the celebrities' involvement with charities was disingenuous, 'just another string to the modern celebrity's bow' (B3227) and a way that celebrities are playing a 'game' to 'justify their status' (D996). Silverstone proposes that mediation, as a shared activity, requires trust: 'we trust in the other

[authors, subjects & audiences] within the game to play fairly' (2002: 773). Yet, we as players also have agency to discuss the 'game', the strategies used, such as the PR techniques, and crucially have the ability to identify 'cheats'. Authenticity is not the end prize, but identifiable in flux in the interplay between characters. Deploying Silverstone's analogy of the 'game' acknowledges the 'knowingness' and 'performativity' of all the players, and recognises the intersubjectivity of the truth claims made. Celebrities, as subjects of the visuals, are brought into the game, and if perceived as a 'sham' and their actions branded as a 'PR exercise' the investment of other players may be lowered, although the game still plays on.

Secondly, a minority of writers discussed that former and to a certain extent current actions discredited the authenticity of celebrities' playing the game:

> I frankly roll my eyes at the reinvention of Angelina Jolie as a global philanthropist; remember when she and previous husband Billy Bob Thornton used to wear vials of each other's blood round their necks; and now she is an advisor to governments and a United Nations' envoy, and it's all so absurd in its Hollywood egocentricity and would be funny if the issues weren't so serious.
> (B3227, Male, Administrator for religious studies centre, Birmingham)

> I hate celebrities. I don't see anything to celebrate. Bono can stick his self-righteous bullshit where the sun doesn't shine, until he pays his fucking tax.
> (E5559, Male, 47 years old, Creative/Trainer, Exeter)

Underpinning the writers' critiques of Angelina Jolie and Bono's involvement is an assumption that celebrities' actions must be consistent. Their charity work was not seen as separate from their careers, relationships or tax avoidance, and was discredited, with passionate language, as 'Hollywood egocentricity' and 'self-righteous bullshit' (ibid). One interviewee, who requested that this quote would be unattributed, discussed the difficulties of recruiting celebrities for protest campaigns:

In the case of IF campaign, which included a demand for 'Tax Justice', NGOs struggled to attract celebrity support, due to the public scrutiny their own finances could be under (Campaign Manager A).

7.1.3. Emotional Blackmail

Emotional blackmail is a term coined by American psychologist Susan Forward. It typically is associated within psychology as a technique used within abusive relationships. The 'blackmailer' attempts to manipulate his/her audiences' decisions through a process of fear, obligation and guilt (Forward & Frazier 1997). Six writers included the term in their discussion about their relationship with humanitarian communication and charities. Several more writers, who did not use the term, described a similar relationship, using words such as 'forced', 'manipulated' and describing 'guilt' as a motivator to take action. Within academic and NGO discourses, only one reference, by sociologist Stanley Cohen and psychologist Irene Seu, has been made to 'emotional blackmail' in relation to humanitarianism in their work, *Knowing Enough Not to Feel too Much* (2002). I suggest that this, in part, is due to the majority of research not using the 'bottom up' approach of audience research. Feeling 'emotionally blackmailed' is a personal experience, dependent on how, where and when you encounter the communication. Therefore, the dominant method of textual analysis fails to recognise how audiences further mediate the communication used by NGOs. In the diary responses, the charity sector was homogenously perceived, alongside celebrities, as the 'blackmailer':

> I would like to make up my own mind on whether to donate money to a given cause and do not need an actor to emotionally blackmail me into it… My message to the charities would be to stop treating us like idiots and educate rather than entertain. We're not stupid and we all understand humanitarianism. Stop asking cynical PR companies to do your dirty work.
> (F5186, Male, 35, Thirsk, Care Assistant)

> It's a form of emotional blackmail isn't it? People should want to give out of the goodness of their hearts, not because they are being guilt-tripped into doing so. And the emotions you feel when you see the images, soon fade.
> (K798, Female, 63 years old, Housewife)

The lexical style of the writers discussing cynicism illustrates a desire to 'make up my own mind'. The use of 'cynical PR companies' presents the communication as a 'pre-sold' set of ideas and actions, 'treating us like idiots… educate rather than entertain'. The normative belief that 'people should want to give out of the goodness of their hearts' is also presented in the discussions on cynicism and that 'guilt' inducing communication is not needed. Guilt has been effectively used in charity campaigns to provoke action. However, 'manipulating the appropriate level of guilt in an appeal has

proven to be both crucial and difficult' (Basil et al. 2008: 3). It is important to note the spaces where writers identified 'emotional blackmail' is conducted:

> This type of TV is rather like the daytime advertising content during the ad breaks on some of the lesser TV stations (Dave for example) where *older viewers or others that are housebound are being emotionally blackmailed* into giving money they can ill afford. These sorts of commercials where X will not have a bed tonight should be banned.
>
> (K5262, Male, 45 years old, Crewe,
> Railway Signalling Designer, own emphasis)

> I also change the channel when I see distressing images of famine, often used as an arm-twisting technique by charities looking for you to part with your cash. *I don't really want to face emotional blackmail in my own home.*
>
> (E5551, own emphasis)

Emphasis is placed on personal spaces, for example 'in my own home' (E5551) and identifies targets of the communication as 'older viewers or others that are housebound' (K5262). This implies that writers believe that there is a further level of manipulation by charities targeting them in private spaces. Similar to the abusive partner in a relationship, control, fear and guilt all occur behind closed doors. The campaign communication is undermined once the viewer identities the techniques that have been used to induce guilt (Cohen & Seu 2002: 195). Finally, returning to Silverstone's 'game' analogy, 'emotional blackmail' can be used to reduce the agency of audiences, by NGOs controlling the game through 'guilt' and 'fear'. However, once players identify the 'game strategies' being used, audiences can use this to their advantage. Audiences have the agency to discuss the techniques being used and to contribute to public discussions on the issue. In doing so, people perceive that the communication is no longer valid, due to the NGOs' manipulation, and that NGOs are no longer legitimate actors. This has consequences for the 'game', when authenticity of both the author (NGOs) and the subjects (people living in poverty) is questioned; the audience no longer have 'allies' in the game. Neither the author nor the subject offers an authentic relationship to the viewer, resulting in audiences 'opting out' of the 'game'. This is different to Moeller's (1999) description of audiences experiencing 'compassion fatigue' that situates the audience as passive to the visual communication. Instead, 'opting out' is a political act, by removing oneself from NGO regulated

relationships and action.[118] Audiences 'opting out' of playing the humanitarian communication 'game' consequently make the 'game' defunct.

7.2.   Solidarity in Liquid Times

Lilie Chouliaraki, using an analysis of media texts, theorises late-modern humanitarianism as 'post-humanitarianism' characterised by 'low intensity emotional regimes and a technological imagination of instant gratification and no justification' (2010: 107). While Chouliaraki's theory of 'post-humanitarianism' is persuasive, it is also limiting by characterising the era as 'post'. The term 'post' has frequently been used to coin new concepts, post-modernity, post-feminism, post-digital, to name just a few. Yet, the coining of concepts by inserting 'post' in this context is problematic, it offers a historicist account that signals society has 'progressed' or 'breaks' from what went before. Sociologist Zygmunt Bauman offers a similar critique of the term 'postmodern':

> 'Postmodern' was also flawed from the beginning: all disclaimers notwithstanding, it did suggest that modernity was over. Protestations did not help much, even as strong ones as Lyotard's ('one cannot be modern without being first postmodern') – let alone my insistence that 'postmodernity is modernity minus its illusion'. Nothing would help; if words mean anything, then a 'postX' will always mean a state of affairs that has left the 'X' behind.
> (Bauman cited in an interview with Milena Yakimova 2002)

Chouliaraki discusses a 'post-humanitarian' sensibility that 'breaks with pity in favour of a potentially effective activism of effortless immediacy… it abandons the appeal to suffering as a universal moral cause and challenges the relationship between humanitarianism and politics' (2010: 109). Chouliaraki acknowledges that this new style of appeal is 'not fully replacing emotion-oriented styles' (ibid) and this thesis shows that alongside contemporary forms of communication, historic representations of global poverty remain in play. Since 2005, Chouliaraki identifies 'post-humanitarian' solidarity as self-oriented, self-gratifying, 'resolutely anti-political, in that it replaces the other-oriented solidarities of the past with an individualist morality of 'feel good' activism' (2013: 14). Implicit in her analysis of solidarity is a narrative of decline, from

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[118] Opting out was originally used to describe removing oneself from a government programme.

a former 'political' past (which is given little attention in her analysis), to a 'self-gratifying' present, that no longer embraces a cosmopolitan ethic to turn away from the self (cf. Beck 2006). Similarly, Moeller's 'compassion fatigue' thesis implies that a former compassionate past existed and now, as the same stories as told, publics are exhausted from caring too much. However, what remains invisible in these arguments is an understanding of the overarching structures and communicative exchanges that take place. For these reasons, I find Bauman's work on liquidity is a more productive concept to employ in the context of solidarity.

7.2.1. Liquid Humanitarianism

Instead of signalling a 'break', Bauman addresses the flows and fragility of 'liquid times'. An understanding of 'liquid humanitarianism' highlights the liquidity of 'appearances', 'publics' and 'politics' that are created by humanitarian communication. Bauman (2007: 3) characterises the present day as an era of 'liquid modernity' whereby individuals experience:

> the collapse of long-term thinking, planning and acting and the disappearance or weakening of social structures… into a series of short-term projects and episodes which are in principle infinite, and do not combine into the kinds of sequences to which concepts like 'development', 'maturation', 'career' or 'progress' could be meaningfully applied.

My proposal for an understanding of 'liquid humanitarianism' sits within Bauman's era of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman 2000) and in conversation with Eleftheria Lekakis' understanding of 'liquid politics' (2013a, 2013b). Lekakis (2013), building on the work of Bauman (2000, 2007), develops the concept of 'liquid politics' from her analysis of fair trade consumption. For Lekakis, 'ephemerality, individualisation and increasing consumerism mark the key parameters of liquid politics' (2013a: 322). Many of the arguments in this thesis about humanitarian communication requesting short-term, individual actions that fit a market logic echo Lekakis' description of 'liquid politics' (see chapter six). Lekakis describes and defines certain acts, such as fair trade consumption, as 'liquid' in contrast to 'solid' politics that are institutionalised, such as voting. Where my argument differs from Lekakis is that I focus not on individual practices, producing a binary between 'liquid' and 'solid' action, but on the overarching structures. Solidity and liquidity are not a dichotomy for Bauman but a 'couple locked, inseparably, by a dialectical bond… it was the quest for the solidity of things and states that most often triggered, kept in motion and guided their liquefaction' (2012:

ix). An understanding of 'liquid humanitarianism' shifts focus from a privileging of certain acts, towards an analysis of the infrastructures of production and participation.

Firstly, the production of coalition campaigns, which are confined to a specific year of action, such as MPH and IF, contribute to producing a series of short term projects. Each produces the solution to poverty anew; with a new campaign brand, new celebrity involvement and a new campaign emphasis (for example, Trade, Debt, Tax). The commitment from organisations to join together for a defined period of time, such as the year that the UK hosts the G8, contributes to the campaigns emphasising a 'unique political opportunity' (Campaign Manager A), where there is a 'need to act now' (Enough Food IF). While the IF campaign's internal discussions recognised that the 'campaign will not end poverty and will not end hunger in 2013 and that there has to be a lot of work afterwards' (Campaign Manage A), the communications used by the coalition focused entirely on 2013, making little connection to previous campaigns (and more widely the UK's historic involvement in perpetuating poverty) or protest actions beyond 2013.

Secondly, while NGOs target a British public to act, a multiplicity of 'liquid' publics is called into existence by the communication produced. In this thesis, I work with Michael Warner's understanding that a public 'is a space of discourse and is organised by nothing other than discourse itself' (2002: 67, discussed in chapter two). Warner's idea of a public that is 'text-based – even though publics are increasingly organised around visual or audio texts... it can be picked up at different times and in different places by otherwise unrelated people' (2002: 51). Similar to Warner's discussion of a public, is the fluidity of Arendt's 'space of appearance', which is 'wherever men are together in the manner of speech and actions, and therefore predates and precedes all formal constitution of the public realm' (1958: 178). Humanitarian communication calls into existence not only a 'receptive' public but also the people that 'appear' within the discourse, such as the lives of people living in poverty, celebrities and supporters (see chapter four). By doing so, a public across borders is produced by a mediated gathering of people from a global north and global south. In contrast to 'solid' publics bound by national borders, humanitarian communicative publics are shaped by malleable parameters that structure a fleeting 'togetherness'.

Arguably all communicative publics can be perceived as 'liquid' due to the ephemerality of discourse, yet a public across borders adds a further level of fluidity due to the precarious presence granted to the lives of people living in poverty. NGOs, and more widely mainstream media, while repeatedly targeting a national public, rarely return to the same child, woman or man living in poverty, resulting in representations of 'static lives'. Consequently, the dialogue produced, which Sennett (2008) argues is the starting point for cooperation, and which I argue is required for a practice of shared solidarity, is stilted by communicative structures (economic, political and cultural). These structures promote communicative exchanges, predominantly between NGOs and a global north, which are time-bound. A primary quality of liquidity is its transitory quality, which I wish to explore in relation to compassion.

7.2.2 Transient Compassion

Both Arendt (1963) and Boltanski (1999) identify compassionate relationships, as in the Good Samaritan, as overcoming distance with action directed towards a specific suffering other. Arendt argues that compassion does not look for a 'talkative and argumentative interest in the world… it is not compassion which sets out to change worldly conditions in order to erase human suffering' (1963: 86). For Arendt, compassion does not speak out beyond the situation, but rather is a direct reply to specific audible and visible suffering in the world (ibid). Arendt highlights how compassion is inward looking, concerned with the specific, in contrast to an outward interest in the 'process of law and politics' (1963: 86). Compassion is a direct response to a specific request to 'act now'.

Arendt's description of compassion resonates with Bauman's 'liquid modernity' as a series of 'short-term projects and episodes which are in principle infinite' (2007: 3). Compassion is not ever-present but transient, 'a kind of moral engagement that is active, and indeed felt by social actors, only as and when an appropriate and a relevant occasion arises' (Tester 2001: 74). The 'compassion fatigue' thesis implies that people will eventually exhaust from experiencing compassion for those suffering (Moeller 1999). Yet, as discussed in opening of this chapter, using an analysis of diary responses to the MOD (Summer 2014), the three respondents that used the term imply that the fatigue is not with 'compassion', but a fatigue with a lack of agency to change the situation. This connects to a comment made during one of the interviews with young people:

> Yes, I do have feelings about it and sometimes it goes in waves if I feel like I have any influence. I think I live in a culture that has had influence in creating it and harming it, but my feelings on my power on preventing it varies. And sometimes I sway between, is it more helpful to give money to organisations or how more helpful is it to change our own society and how it impacts the rest of the world.
>
> (Lucy, Interview Participant)

I propose 'liquid humanitarianism' does not foster 'compassion fatigue' (critiqued in chapter one) but fosters these waves of agency to change. I propose that the digital architectures (discussed in chapter six) further promote a 'moment' to act, which is both quick and immediate. In the IF campaign the time that actions would take featured prominently in the communications used. On the *Save the Children* website, for example, supporters were directed to follow the campaign on social media in 'two minutes' or take part in producing a YouTube video in 'five minutes' (figure 7.1).

HOW MUCH TIME CAN YOU GIVE TO HELP?

THIRTY SECONDS

SIGN THE PETITION

Join thousands in calling for action

We are building a mass movement for change in this crucial year. Your support can make this happen.

TWO MINUTES

FOLLOW US ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Share with your friends using the hashtags #ifcampaign and #BigIF @savechildrenuk / www.facebook.com/savechildrenuk

http://tellamillion.tumblr.com/

FIVE MINUTES

TAKE PART IN #IFYOUTUBE

We need to generate so much noise that our leaders have no choice but to act. Not enough people know that the world produces enough food for everyone.

Make a video talking about: a) the foods you loved when you were younger, or b) the go-to healthy foods your parent/guardian made you eat when you were little.

Make sure to give the campaign a mention in the video and include 'IFYouTube' in the tags.

More info here: http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/if/spread-the-word/youtube

Figure 7.1. Save the Children's Enough Food IF actions

Robert Hassan, in his work on network time, discusses the role of the clock in the development of what Thrift (1990) calls 'capitalist time consciousness', which shapes

an instrumental view that 'takes the world largely as given and attempts to find means of living ever more productively and efficiently in it' (2003: 229). The uncritical understanding needed for time 'efficient practices' can be understood as a form of 'common sense humanitarianism' (Tester 2010: 34). Instrumentalism can be identified in contemporary humanitarian communication that directs supporters towards 'time efficient' actions online that promotes, perhaps due to time and the communicative structures of the networks (see chapter six), a decontextualised problem of poverty. These time-bound practices produce a transactional mode of engagement that does not require a sustained commitment to a cause. The politics of poverty are presented as a problem that only requires a temporal engagement, to act now to make poverty history in 2005. Consequently, these campaign perform a fast paste tempo, transformations that can occur in minutes, echoing fundraising appeals, which operate in the same context of liquidity.

7.2.3. 'Solid' Solidarity

> Solidarity is not the same as support… Support can be occasional. It can be given and just as easily withdrawn. Solidarity requires sustained, ongoing commitment.
>
> (hooks 1984: 64)

In her study of sisterhood, bell hooks discusses the term 'solidarity' in contrast to 'support'. For hooks practices of 'support' have an ephemeral quality, not a solid or sustained commitment. In response to Bauman's (2007) 'liquid modernity', and extending hooks' (1984) discussion of solidarity, I propose an understanding of 'solid solidarity'. My starting point is to consider the antitheses to Bauman's (2007) concept of 'liquid modernity' as:

- o Long-term thinking, planning and acting.
- o Long-term projects that combine and are integrated into wider concepts, such as 'development' and 'progress'.
- o Community and togetherness.

Each point contributes to a practice of rights-based communication. Firstly, an emphasis on 'long term' thinking, planning and acting, recovers a long-term vision of change. A rights-based approach challenges 'people's assumptions about how change happens and how power operates… often based on unrealistic, one-dimensional

notions that do not address the realities of politics and power except at a superficial level' (Miller et al. 2009: 35). 'Solid' solidarity advocates action as an enduring practice, which requires multiple actions that combine to progress towards a campaign aim / ideology. Secondly, in contrast to liquid modernity's emphasis on individualism, a rights-based approach recognises power in working together. A rights-based approach within 'development' redistributes power to communities, with projects led by local collectives. A communicative understanding of community and togetherness is the development of social structures that enable a parity of participation, 'social arrangements that permit all members of society to interact with one another as peers' (Fraser 2003: 36). In the concluding section, I discuss a parity of participation in relation to rights based approach to humanitarianism.

7.3. Justice, not Charity

Nancy Fraser in the opening of her book, *Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World*, argues that 'today's social-justice movements lack a shared understanding of justice' (2009: 2). Whereby demands for justice are now presented as 'competing' rather than integrated goals.

7.3.1. Salvation and the Good Life

Lilie Chouliaraki (2013) distinguishes two grand narratives of solidarity in relation to humanitarianism: 'Solidarity as Salvation' and 'Solidarity as Revolution'. 'Solidarity as Salvation' follows the tradition of relief projects that request publics to give financially to alleviate suffering (institutionalised in the creation of the Red Cross in 1862). Chouliaraki, using the work of Slim (1997) and Barnett (2005), argues that the ethic of solidarity as salvation 'remains resolutely apolitical, grounding humanitarianism on the principles of neutrality, impartiality and independence' (2013: 11). A 'solidarity of salvation' is indicative of a charity discourse, an appeal to show 'benevolence' to those suffering that contributes to both the 'giver' and 'receiver' achieving a 'good life'.

The UK Charitable Trusts Act (established in 1853) originally stipulated that charities could not be 'political'. Consequently, NGOs were required to convey humanitarianism as a 'solidarity of salvation' producing a narrative that emphasises 'neutrality' and an 'apolitical' position. Financial 'giving' has become symbolic of the charity discourse,

communicated as 'gifts' to grateful 'recipients'. However, the action itself is underpinned by a 'politics of redistribution' (Fraser 2001, 2003). Poverty, whether in the UK or beyond, is a socio-economic injustice 'rooted in the economic structure of society' (Fraser 2003: 13). Capitalism is the subject of several political struggles that attempt to challenge and change the macro structures that enable vast economic inequality in the world. A redistribution of wealth conducted at a micro level - between individuals - is often classified, as in the work of Chouliaraki (2013), as not contributing to a 'political' struggle. NGOs reinforce this binary in their own work: campaign teams discuss a concern for 'justice', whereas fundraising teams request 'charity' (discussed in chapter five). This was most apparent in the MPH strapline, 'Justice, *not* Charity' (2005, my emphasis). The campaign attempted to emphasise, mostly via their slogan, that their demand was for structural changes; 'instead of donating money, the British public was asked to sign petitions, write letters to their MPs, demonstrate and vote for trade justice' (Schwittay 2015: 24). Andrew Darnton and Martin Kirk, using audience research, argue that their 'cry of justice not charity went unheard, in part because it was unfamiliar and hard to comprehend, and also because it was drowned out by the noise of celebrities, white wristbands and pop concerts' (2011: 6). The slogan, as well as the internal binary discussion between justice and charity, is problematic. By presenting 'charity' and 'justice' as mutually exclusive categories, with only the latter being considered as 'political', it produces a schizophrenic representation of the NGOs' own work. While at times humanitarianism is communicated as a 'solidarity of salvation', I argue that the politics of poverty *always* calls for a 'solidarity of revolution'.

7.3.2. Revolution and Rights

The narrative of 'Solidarity as Revolution' follows a 'trajectory of political struggle for social justice within and beyond the West' (Chouliaraki 2013: 11), a position that is developed from the Marxist critique that the structures and systems of capitalism must be challenged and changed for equality to be achieved (Calhoun 2009). The struggle for structural change is often decoupled into two struggles, economic struggles and cultural, the former concerned with a politics of redistribution (Fraser 2003), and the latter concerned with a politics of recognition (Taylor 1994; Honneth 2003). Axel Honneth (2003) and Charles Taylor (1992), influenced by the work of Hegel (1807), locate 'recognition' as a matter of ethics, for misrecognition 'shows not just a lack of due respect. It can inflict a grievous wound… Due recognition is not just

a courtesy we owe other people. It is a vital human need' (Taylor 1992: 26). Recognition is most prominently discussed in relation to 'identity politics' and groups' misrecognition by the dominant culture (Honneth 2003). Fraser offers an alternative understanding of 'recognition' that she defines as the status model; 'what requires recognition is not group-specific identity but rather the status of group members as full partners in social interaction' (2001: 24). As in bringing the discourse of 'charity' and 'justice' together, the status model places a struggle for recognition as a matter of justice, and therefore morality. Fraser argues that 'an expanded conception of justice oriented to the norm of participatory parity encompasses both redistribution and recognition, without reducing either one to the other' (Fraser 2001: 30). In doing so, economic and cultural injustices become part of the same struggle for equality.

7.3.3. A Rights-based Approach

> …what is required here are policies that can supply the intersubjective prerequisites − by deinstitutionalising patterns of cultural value that impede parity of participation and replacing them with patterns that foster it.
>
> (Fraser 2003: 73)

Since the late 1990s, the discourse of human rights has increasingly been used by NGOs in the policy and practice of development projects (discussed in chapter one). A rights-based approach to 'development' includes a 'redistribution' of both power and resources. Celestine Nyamu-Musembi and Andrea Cornwall assert that a rights-based approach calls for 'existing resources to be shared more equally, and assisting the marginalised people to assert their rights to those resources, thus making the process explicitly political' (2004: 3). NGOs adopting a human rights-based approach to development have often been 'viewed positively; as a badge of legitimacy' (Cornwall & Molyneux 2006: 1175), yet this approach is not embedded into all of their work. As illustrated in the MPH and IF campaigns, central power is still held by NGO professionals based in the UK, in regards to the production, representation and distribution of humanitarian communications and campaigns. As Morten Broberg and Hans-Otto Sano argue, 'mainstreaming a human rights-based approach in all areas of development work [is] a challenging one' (2017: 13). In practice, a rights-based approach to humanitarian campaigns and communications would require a parity of participation and power between NGOs, people living in poverty, and the publics enabled by communication.

In the field of humanitarian communication, the discussion of participation and consultation is not new, in the *Code of Conduct: Images and Messages relating to the to the Third World*, which was adopted by European NGOs in 1989, the eleventh guideline stipulates, 'Southern partners should be consulted in the formulation of all messages' (1989: 5). Yet, production practices have not radically changed. When participatory methods are used, such as communities documenting their own stories in their plurality and individuality, the communication is often limited to 'special' educational projects, for example CAFOD's Ethiopia Lives project, instead of their political or fundraising work. Dreher acknowledges that 'speaking up in media marked as "community", "ethnic", or "alternative" will rarely achieve recognition accorded to the "mainstream" media' (2009: 447). Similarly, NGO communications marked 'educational' instead of 'mainstream' or 'political' impacts the way in which these voices are listened to.

Normatively, a 'parity of participation', requires social arrangements that 'permit all members of society to interact with one another as peers' (Fraser 2003: 36). Nancy Fraser discusses two conditions for a 'parity of participation', a distribution of resources for all participants to 'voice', therefore having access to communicative spaces and listeners, and an intersubjective condition, where 'institutionalised patterns of cultural value express equal respect for all participants' (2003: 36). Tanja Dreher argues that much anti-racism work employs strategies to engage racialised communities 'to speak up and tell different stories' (2006: 446). The burden is placed on those marginalised and on the peripheries to contest established narratives, fight for their rights, and tell another story. Similarly, communication research (from within NGOs and academia) often call for NGOs to tell 'different stories', for example to move away from 'negative' towards 'positive' imagery, further enforcing the binaries which have defined the discourses of visuals (discussed in chapter one). However, a call for a different story treats the narrative as an end 'product', which can be exchanged for something 'different'. Instead, by adopting a rights-based approach to communication, the structures that enable participation are critiqued, not the individual story. This places onerous on all those involved in the process instead of those on the peripheries to 'tell another story'.

7.4. Conclusions

Whereas the previous empirical chapters have focused on the MPH and IF campaigns, I widen the discussion in this chapter, with an analysis of 155 Mass Observation Diaries (18 - 98 years old). In particular, I examine how people negotiate, resist and further mediate humanitarian communication. Using Roger Silverstone's (1999) analogy of the 'game', I argue that there are several ways that audiences participate in humanitarian communication. Audiences have individual agency to discuss the 'rules' of the game, critique 'inauthentic' players and to ultimately 'opt out' of the game. I also discuss writers' experiences of cynicism and feeling 'emotionally blackmailed' by humanitarian communication. Here I argued that my qualitative analysis that recognises differing forms of participation refutes Susan Moeller's (1999) theory of 'compassion fatigue' and propose that the field needs to move beyond this dominant theory (Campbell 2012). The second and third parts of this chapter has started to interweave my empirical and theoretical arguments. Working with Zygmunt Bauman's theory of 'liquid modernity' (2007), I propose an understanding of contemporary NGO communication as a form of 'liquid humanitarianism' that advocates forms of 'transient compassion'. My focus is not on individual practices, or individual communications, but on the overall structure of humanitarian NGO campaigns. I conclude this chapter with a proposal for a rights-based approach to humanitarian communication. By focusing on a rights based approach to communication, I have attempted to shift focus away from a discourse of charity and benevolent action that meets the 'needs' of people living in poverty. Instead, a rights-based approach requires a restructuring of both the practices of production and participation, to enable justice.

PART IV
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEORY AND PRACTICE

To experience solidarity, we must have a community of interests, shared beliefs and goals around which to unite, to build Sisterhood.

bell hooks, Writer, Feminist and Activist

CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

> Cultural politics concerns public contests over how society is imagined, how social relations are, could and should be organised. It is only through practices that are meaningful to people that social life is possible at all, the social institutions that constrain our lives are nothing but routinised shared understandings of what is real and is worth while.
>
> (Nash 2009: 2)

In my thesis, I have mobilised many metaphors, some borrowed, such as performances (Goffman 1974; Thompson 2014), to discuss the production of humanitarian communication, and some created, such as contrapuntal practices, to show how NGO campaigns, at times, harmonise with governments, media and a neoliberal social order. I have also shown how the metaphors mobilised by NGOs, such as motherhood, contribute to imagining intimate social relations. Metaphors shape our understandings, our politics and our practices. This empirical study has traced some of the cultural politics and practices that shape humanitarian campaigns and communications. The final metaphor that I wish to draw upon is that of a tapestry in order to discuss this thesis. At the core of this study was the aim to weave original empirical research with, and against, some of the dominant theories that have shaped the field of humanitarian communication. The diversity of these threads, including the cultural politics of production, representation and participation, contributes to widening the discussions of the visual communications that promote humanitarian relationships.

A tapestry is formed of a warp, which offers structure, and a weft, which weaves above and below. In this study, solidarity constitutes the warp, one which has structured both the empirical research, investigating the ways in which NGOs communicate solidarity, as well as contributing to theoretical discussions on practices of solidarity. The cultural politics and practices analysed in this thesis make up the weft. The practice of going above and below summarises my approach to this study. In the opening of the thesis, I argued that an investigation of humanitarian communication required an analysis of both the practices and politics of production (below the tapestry, part II) and the politics and practices of participation (above the tapestry, part III). In part I of this thesis, I contextualised my research and sites of

investigation. I aimed to explore the cultural politics and practices that shape humanitarian communications, how action is facilitated by NGOs and how audiences further mediated, negotiate and participate in humanitarian communication. I proposed that by examining humanitarian protest campaigns, such as MPH and IF, I could contribute new threads to a field that is shaped by disasters, appeals and suffering. In chapter two, I discussed a normative understanding of solidarity that provided the framework for this study. By examining the roots of solidarity, I defined solidarity as a collaborative practice, which requires the ability to voice and to listen. Here I propose that we move away from a discourse of 'negative' and 'positive' imagery, which perceives that the problem is with the content of the frame. Instead, by mobilising listening as a critical way to engage with visual politics, attention is given to institutions, and the communicative structures that can amplify, silence and pacify particular voices.

In part II, I focused on the cultural politics and practices of production. Using a content analysis of the visual communication used in the reporting of the MPH and IF campaigns, I showed the persistent spotlights that NGOs negotiate to communicate humanitarian relationships. Here, I argued that celebrities adhere to cultural scripts in these spaces, which reinforce prevailing power relations. I further explored the perceived logics of these spotlights with an analysis of my interviews with NGO professionals. I attempted to unravel the relationships negotiated during coalition campaigns between NGOs, media and UK governments. I propose that an emphasis on 'togetherness' contributes to 'purifying' anti-poverty campaigns to produce one dominant voice, which at times is amplified by the UK government and / or media.

In part III, I investigated the cultural politics and practices of participation. Using Facebook as a site of investigation, I examined the ways in which NGOs negotiate these spaces. I argue that the algorithmic selection of the News Feed content positions Facebook as both the 'gatekeeper' and 'governor' of ephemeral visibility. Continuing the discussion of digital spaces, I investigated some of the ways people participate with an analysis of interviews with young people. I argue that supporters' self-expression of compassion on issues of global poverty has taken a turn towards the 'positive' with participation conveyed as 'joyful' rather than an obligation. The agency of audiences was further explored with an analysis of responses to the *Mass Observation Directive*, which was created for this study. Here I argued that my qualitative analysis that

recognises differing forms of participation refutes Susan Moller's (1999) theory of 'compassion fatigue'. I propose that our field needs to move beyond this dominant theory and instead empirically analyse what is happening in these communicative spaces. Finally, I explored how contemporary communication is a form of 'liquid humanitarianism'. 'Liquid humanitarianism' contributes to individuals experiencing 'transient compassion', where supporters engage in a series of short-term immediate actions. In its place I propose a normative understanding of 'solid solidarity', whereby the solidarity is a shared practice and actions combine to progress towards a collective campaign aim(s).

I want to acknowledge that many different tapestries could have been woven from the material gathered during this project. In particular, the richness of the responses to the *Mass Observation Directive*, and the interviews with young people could be further unravelled, analysed and rewoven to show the complexity and diversity of audiences' responses, negotiations and at times resistance to humanitarian communication. The longer mapping of activist journeys requires further attention, in particular, to explore how anti-poverty activism intersects with other forms of activism at 'home' and across borders. These everyday perspectives of activism are important, for they contribute to understanding how people perceive their individual and collective agency to provoke change.

In many ways, this research remains an unfinished tapestry, which requires further attention, collaboration and practices of solidarity. It is also a tapestry produced while I, as the weaver, continue to the learn the craft of academic research. I acknowledge that there are limits to this study, my participants are not demographically representative of the UK or of the NGO sector, people opted to take part. Inevitably this produces a skew towards the people who believe they have something to voice.

To conclude, with the words of bell hooks (1984: 67):

> To experience solidarity, we must have a community of interests, shared beliefs and goals around which to unite, to build Sisterhood.

In this thesis, I have discussed how the cultural politics of voice and listening are integral to a practice of solidarity. I have explored these discussions with an empirical analysis of the communicative spaces produced by the MPH and IF campaigns. I have

also examined the power exercised in humanitarian communicative spaces and publics across borders, proposing that NGOs move away from offering 'media hospitality' (Silverstone 2007), which implies a powerful host, and instead embrace an 'ethic of travelling' (Lacey 2011, 2013), where publics listen out for unfamiliar voices *across* difference. This requires a restructuring of humanitarian NGO campaigns and communication. Whereby communicative spaces are used not to just promote solidarity but are embedded in our very practices of solidarity.

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APPENDIX A

University of Sussex
Participant Information Sheet

Study title: *From Spectatorship to Solidarity: visualising global poverty in NGO campaigns (working title).*

Invitation: *You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.*

What is the purpose of the study?
The purpose of this study is to explore the production of NGO campaigns that request protest action from the British public. I will do this by interviewing NGO professionals and facilitating interviews with members of the public. The research will be conducted between March 2013 – March 2016. This research will then be written up for a PhD in Media and Cultural Studies at the University of Sussex.

Why have I been invited to participate?
You have been invited to take part in this study as you have expertise knowledge of NGO practices.

Do I have to take part?
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?
If you choose to take part in this study, you will be asked to take part in an interview with Rachel Tavernor. You will be shown this information and asked to sign a consent form, but you will be free to change your mind after the research has been conducted until March 2016.

The interview will be approximately 45 minutes.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
You will need to commit approximately 1hour of your time for the interview and for the briefing.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
The overall benefit of the study is to better understand the relationship between NGOs' communication of global poverty and why members of the public may choose to take action.

Will my information in this study be kept confidential?
All identifying information gathered in this study will be kept strictly confidential and will only be seen by Rachel Tavernor. Your name and contact details will be stored separate to the transcriptions and subsequent writings.

What should I do if I want to take part?
If you would like to take part in this research, please contact Rachel Tavernor via email (r.tavernor@sussex.ac.uk).

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The results of this research will be used in an Arts and Humanities Research Funded PhD thesis in Media and Cultural Studies.

Who is organising and funding the research?
Rachel is conducting this research as a doctoral researcher at the University of Sussex in the School of Media, Film and Music. Rachel is currently funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC).

Contact for further information
Rachel Tavernor, R.Tavernor@sussex.ac.uk, Silverstone, University of Sussex, Brighton, BN1 9RH

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and for your interest in this study.

Rachel Tavernor
AHRC Doctoral Researcher
University of Sussex

Consent Form for Participants

Project Title: From Spectatorship to Solidarity: visualising global poverty in NGO campaigns (working title).

Project Approval Reference: ER/RMT26/1

I agree to take part in the University of Sussex research project named above. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the information sheet, which I may keep for my records.

I understand that agreeing to take part in the focus group means that I am willing to:
- Discuss my opinions and experiences of being involved in the production of NGO campaigns and / or communications.
- Allow for the interview to be recorded.

I also understand the following:
- I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

Signature:

Name:

Job Title:

Date:

NGO Interview Guide

ONE: WHAT IS THE AIM OF THE ENOUGH FOOD IF CAMPAIGN? (5MINS)
Ask about; the campaign target, government, current campaigners, recruiting new supporters.

TWO: HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE STRATEGY FOR ENGAGING PEOPLE IN THE CAMPAIGN? (10MINS)
Ask about; the different media platforms used (online, radio, TV, print), the relationship created, the form of communication (dialogue or dissemination) and if they aim to engage an individual or a collective?

THREE: WHAT DO YOU THINK THE ROLE OF IMAGES AND VIDEO IS IN THE CAMPAIGN? (15MINS)
Ask about visuals being used on social networks (*Twitter, Facebook* etc.). Do you think the role of the visual is changing in humanitarian communication?

FOUR: IN THE CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION USED, WHOSE NARRATIVES ARE SHARED? (15MINS)
Ask about; different narratives being used on different platforms, whose (celebrities, activists and the 'global South') are most crucial to the campaign?

FIVE. WHAT DO YOU THINK THE FOCUS OF YOUR COMMUNICATION IS? WHY DO YOU THINK CELEBRITIES AND CHILDREN OFTEN FEATURE? (10MINS)
Ask about; the images that have been currently used in their own communications and online. Show the printed images and ask the interviewee to highlight the key images.

SIX. WORKING AS A DIVERSE COALITION, IS THERE ANY TENISION BETWEEN ORGANISATIONS' COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES? (5MINS)
Ask about; the impacts of recent reports like *Finding Frames* (2011).

SEVEN. FINALLY, ARE THERE ANY COMMENTS YOU WOULD LIKE TO ADD? (5MINS)
Ask about; any areas that I have missed, anything s/he feels is important to the study of images and civic engagement

PLAYING CARD DISCUSSION

Young People Interview Guide

One: Introduction to the study (10 minutes)
- Introduce research and outline scope of the project.
- Outline the ethical Code of Conduct for the project.
- There are no right or wrong answers to the questions that will be asked.
- The interview is being recorded for future reference. None of the comments made in this interview will be used outside the research without prior written permission.
- Any questions?
- Interviewee completes survey and consent forms.

Two: Exploring global poverty (10 minutes)
- Where do you think 'global poverty' is?
- What do you think defines 'global poverty'?
- Can you share with me, how you would visually describe 'global poverty'? (Option for the interviewee to sketch it).
- What do you think have impacted your perceptions of 'global poverty'? (Overseas visits, television programmes, charity advertisements)

Three: How we connect to global poverty (10 minutes)
- How did you feel about global poverty?
- Who do you think should take action on global poverty?
- Do you feel responsible to act?
- Do you think we are part of a global community? If so, how?

Four: Taking action with NGOs (10 minutes)
- How did you become involved with campaigning with NGOs?
- Do you take any action online?
- Do you take any action offline?
- How do you usually become informed about a new campaign?
- How long do you feel committed to act for each campaign? (one action, two action, until the campaign aims are reached etc).

Five: Make Poverty History (10 minutes)
- Were you involved in the anti-poverty campaign Make Poverty History?
- Tell me about the campaign, what do you remember?
- Can you describe your commitment to the campaign?
- What visuals can you remember? Why?
- Share selected MPH visuals and MPH video.

Six: Enough Food IF (20 minutes) responses to YouTube and Visuals (playing cards)
- Were you involved in the Enough Food IF campaign?
- Tell me about the campaign, what do you remember?
- Can you describe your commitment to the campaign?
- What visuals can you remember? Why?
- Share selected #IF visuals and #IF videos.

Seven: Feedback on interview and any further comments

APPENDIX B

MO

MASS OBSERVATION
Recording everyday life in Britain

The Mass Observation Project

Summer 2014 Directive

Part 1: Global poverty & charities

Part 1 of the Directive has been designed to get you writing about the global issue of poverty and charitable giving. We would like your views on the way charities respond to the crisis of poverty in the developing world and for you to share any experiences of (or not) taking action with a charity.

The first task
Start your Directive response by listing five words you think of when you hear the phrase "global citizen".

Please start each part of your Directive reply on a new sheet of paper with your MO number, sex, age, marital status, the town or village where you live and your occupation or former occupation.

Remember *not to identify yourself* or other people inadvertently within your reply. It is best to use initials instead of real names.

Your views in general

Most of the questions in this Directive are about how charities try to engage people to take action, for example signing a petition or donating money. Before moving on to this, it would be useful if you could write a bit about your understanding of the reasons for poverty and what you understand poverty to be, for example is it a lack of money or choices? Do people in the UK have a responsibility to tackle global poverty? Is the aid we give well spent?
Please explain your opinions, and say if you think that your views have changed as you have got older.

You and charities

Do you support any charities that address the problem of global poverty (some examples: Oxfam; UNICEF; Christian Aid, or ActionAid)? If so, what sort of support do you give and why did you first get involved?
Remember, we are interested in hearing about all kinds of actions taken, whether you have made a one off donation, joined a campaign event or prayed for the eradication of poverty. If you don't support charities like this, please let us know why you choose not to.

Comic Relief

Information about global poverty is sometimes combined with entertainment. Perhaps the best known example of this is Comic Relief, or Red Nose Day as it is often called. What do you think about this charity?

Have you ever watched the Comic Relief television programme? Did you enjoy it?
Have you, or anyone you know, ever done anything to raise funds for Comic Relief?
Have you donated money to this campaign? Please share any personal experiences you associate with Comic Relief.
We are interested in hearing your thoughts and experiences that relate to any other charities that use entertainment to engage people in the UK: Live Aid, Make Poverty History and Live 8 are some additional examples.

Is combining entertainment with charitable action an effective way to engage with people? Do you think humour and celebrities are an effective way to generate support?

Celebrities and charities

Do you ever read, listen or watch any media (TV, magazines, Internet) concerning celebrities? Please give details about any media you encounter celebrities in.

Musicians, actors and other famous people are often involved with charities. What are your views on celebrities campaigning about global poverty? Are there any campaigns that stick in your head? What was memorable about this campaign?

Has a celebrity ever provoked you to take an interest/action in a cause or media story? Or is there a particular celebrity/well known figure that would encourage you to support a charity? Please give details.

Powerful images

Often charities will use an image (on the TV, posters, or leaflets etc.) of a child living in poverty to highlight their campaign and the need for action. What emotions do you experience when you see an image like this?

Task

Over the next week could you write down any images of global poverty you see?
Where the images are? How they make you feel? How you responded?

APPENDIX C

The inclusion of Human Rights within NGO statements

'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which came into force in 1948 and the conventions that all countries signed, underpin a good deal of the international development agenda and will continue to be at the core of Christian Aid's work.' (Christian Aid)[119]

'Everyone has a right to realize their potential, and to live free of poverty in a secure and more equitable world. We believe that with the necessary action and political will, this world is possible. People have a right to life and security; to a sustainable livelihood; to be heard; to have an identity; and to have access to basic social services. We subscribe to all international covenants on rights, and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.' (Oxfam)[120]

'Our work is based on the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, both of which share the conviction that all people are of equal worth, that children have rights and that everybody has a responsibility to make these rights a reality.' (Save the Children)[121]

'UNICEF's Mission Statement, approved by its Board in February 1996, recognises the CRC and CEDAW [Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women] as foundations for UNICEF's work.' (UNICEF)[122]

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[119] https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2017-08/putting-god-to-rights-report-june-2016_0.pdf

[120] https://www.oxfam.org/en/our-purpose-and-beliefs

[121] https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/what-we-do/childrens-rights/united-nations-convention-of-the-rights-of-the-child

[122] https://www.unicef.org/rightsresults/files/HRBDP_Urban_Jonsson_April_2003.pdf