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THE ETHICS OF CHARITY ADVERTISING

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines a selection of promotional material from the five largest, development oriented non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in New Zealand. A variety of investigation techniques have been used to assess the ethics of the advertising practices of World Vision, Save the Children Fund, Christian Children's Fund, Tear Fund and Christian World Service. Each NGO is placed in its appropriate social and historical context. These organizations not only provide aid but also produce images of the Third World. A content analysis is undertaken of 655 promotional images, followed by a more detailed semiotic investigation of three case studies. Areas where the strategies of particular agencies are inconsistent with various advertising standards and recommendations are identified. This thesis concludes with general recommendations of ethically appropriate techniques in charity advertising.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

W V	World Vision
SCF	Save the Children Fund
CCF	Christian Children's Fund
CWS	Christian World Service
CCJPD	Catholic Commission for Justice Peace and Development
NZODA	New Zealand Official Development Assistance
ACEAD	Advisory Committee on External Aid and Development
VASS	Voluntary Agency Support Scheme
MERT	Ministry of External Relations and Trade
MFAT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The central objective of this thesis is to investigate the advertising material of the five largest developmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in New Zealand and to establish whether a selection of promotional material is or is not **ethical**. The ethics of the advertising practices of the NGOs under investigation will be assessed in a number of ways. Firstly, in accordance with each NGO's own constitutional guidelines regarding appropriate and acceptable advertising techniques. Secondly, in light of any reports by independent agencies (such as a government department) on advertising practices. Thirdly, in the context of international recommendations on what images should and should not be used by development charities.¹

Why are the images and messages conveyed in Third World² charity ads important? What is the rationale behind this study? There are several reasons why the information and imagery generated by development NGOs is significant. Firstly, charity ads are the main source of information and imagery regarding the Third World available to the public on a regular basis, and as such, they have a tremendous impact on shaping people's perceptions towards underdeveloped nations. The conventional use of graphic images and photographs of the Third World in charity ads "can sink into so deep into our consciousness that they eventually govern the way we see things" (Stalker 1988:6). Secondly, these ads "construct the mainstream understanding of what causes poverty and suffering and how it can be solved" (Simpson 1985:21). In other words, the conclusions that we draw (on why poverty exists and how it can be eradicated) is limited to the boundaries of the discourse contained within these ads. It is crucial that these ads

1 The international recommendations used in this thesis are outlined in the CODE OF CONDUCT on Images and Messages Relating to the Third World adopted by the General Assembly of the Liason Committee of Development NGOs to the European Communities.

2 The term 'Third World' is used for convenience sake only throughout this study. This author recognizes the many important differences among the countries that fit this generic term.

illustrate an accurate and informed understanding because the images and information they produce is not likely to be challenged by other sources.

In order to make a balanced evaluation of the broad range of advertising material (including ads, pamphlets, posters and publications) of the five sample NGOs - World Vision (WV), Save the Children Fund (SCF), Christian Children's Fund (CCF), Tear Fund and Christian World Service (CWS), it has been necessary to adopt a number of different investigation techniques. A selection of promotional materials from each NGO for an eighteen month period (January 1992 - June 1993) was collected and analysed using both content analysis and semiotic methodologies. The aim of the former technique is to quantitatively establish exactly what elements are most commonly used in charity ads. Such information identified patterns of similarity between NGOs, and enabled the most common charity ad formats to be established in a numerical form. The results are recorded in chapter five. Armed with this information it was then possible (and pertinent) to take a closer look at the most common charity ad strategies with the objective of finding out how these ads work. How do they generate meaning? A semiotic approach was used to answer this question. This method involved breaking down several sample ads into their component parts, followed by an examination of the relationships between each element within the ads. The semiotic approach is outlined in chapter six and implemented in chapter seven.

Although diametrically opposed in nature, content analysis and semiotics approaches enabled both the surface (quantitative) dimension and the more latent (qualitative) meaning to be explored. The purpose of the semiotic analysis was to flesh-out and complement the information derived in the content analysis. It was hoped that the pitfall of superficiality (an inherent danger with content analysis method) would be minimized when this method was used in conjunction with a semiological study.

A questionnaire was sent to various representatives of each NGO in order to give them the opportunity to express both their personal and organizational views on the advertising material of the NGO for which they worked. The results of this questionnaire survey are incorporated in the ethical discussion covered in chapter eight. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1.1.

The layout of this thesis is as follows. Chapter two introduces the above investigations by providing background information on the role of aid and NGOs in New Zealand and overseas. The objective of this discussion is not only to show the size and performance of both New Zealand's official and voluntary aid contributions, but more importantly to provide some context for the work of the five development NGOs selected for the sample. This chapter is primarily of a factual and statistical nature.

Chapter two is primarily of a factual and statistical nature.

Chapter three deals with a totally different facet of development NGOs, namely their ability to **produce** images, and the implications of NGOs as cultural institutions. Although there has been little actual research to date on the images produced and used by development charities there are some divergent studies from which one can draw. For example the role of minorities in television imagery is discussed, including a review of studies of blacks in advertising. Two additional areas from which direct parallels can be drawn is that of the images associated with the tourist industry and the images used in disability charity ads. A brief overview of this literature is given for two reasons. Firstly, in an attempt to emphasize the role of the media in shaping our perceptions. Secondly, in an attempt to illustrate some of the ramifications of producing images as if they were truthful portrayals when in reality they reflect ideological mindsets.

Chapter four briefly outlines the histories of each NGO. This chapter covers the origins and evolution of each charity from its date of establishment overseas to its present state in New Zealand. Robert Chamber's physical ecologist and political economist dichotomy is explained with the aim of highlighting the two different philosophical approaches to development, a distinction which will be applied to the NGOs under study in later chapters. Information on the basic characteristics of each NGO is presented in table format at the end of chapter four.

Chapter five covers the aims, methodology and results of a content analysis of over 600 photographs contained within the advertising material of each NGO. This analysis ascertained the different types of images used by each NGO and the frequency of appearance of each different approach. This

enabled the researcher to establish what images were the most common and which approaches NGOs shared. Content analysis is a useful tool for establishing patterns from a vast amount of material but (as mentioned earlier) is limited in the sense that much of the analysis is of a superficial nature. Surface elements contained within images can be assessed but underlying issues remain beyond the scope of this technique. It was for this reason that the central principles of semiotic theory were applied to a select group of images. These case studies were chosen according to their frequency of appearance. A semiotic analysis of the three most common charity ad strategies is contained in chapter seven. The somewhat technical nature of this methodology necessitated the inclusion of a brief theoretical chapter. The conceptual tools of semiology are thus covered in chapter six.

Chapter eight is the core chapter of this thesis. It attempts to assimilate all the previous information and assess how ethical or unethical are the practices of the NGOs under scrutiny. Each NGO is assessed separately. The views of NGO staff members (as expressed in the questionnaires) are also incorporated into this section. The conclusions drawn in this chapter are mixed with each NGO (with the exception of CCF³) illustrating some instances of more responsible and respectful advertising images. Examples of some of the worst and best ads have been included in the assessments of each NGO in an attempt to illustrate the areas in most need of improvement, and to accentuate the areas where progress towards more sensitive advertising has been made.

The final chapter recaps some of the main points of chapter eight reiterating the strengths and weaknesses of each NGOs promotional material. Some constructive alternatives to the more traditional (and demeaning) ad strategies are also included.

It is hoped that this research will help to not only reveal the complexity of issues related to the ethics of charity ad representations, but will also offer some alternatives to the more exploitative portrayals of Third World people.

³ It should be noted that CCF is a relative newcomer to the New Zealand aid scene and that its recent arrival may account for the lack of sophistication demonstrated in its promotional material. Never-the-less there is a strong need for CCF to revise its philosophy and recognize that their overly simplistic conceptualization of the causes and solutions to the problem of global poverty are misleading. See chapter eight for further elaborations on this issue.

It is hoped that this research will not be interpreted as a denigration of the work of any of the NGOs under investigation, but rather viewed for what it is - an attempt to illustrate some of the dangers inherent in particular popular ad formats, a challenge to change demeaning and insensitive imagery and a source of new ideas.

This study has underlined the need for further research in the area of developmental charity advertising. If stereotypical and racist attitudes towards Third World peoples are to change there must be a recognition of, and further research into, the impact of graphic imagery contained in Third World charity ads on advertising audiences.

To summarize, because charity ads are our primary source of information (and images) on the Third World, and because of the ability of charity ads to shape our perceptions and attitudes towards foreign peoples, it is legitimate to examine how ethical are the advertising practices of the five largest development NGOs in New Zealand.

CHAPTER TWO

AID AND NGOS

INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this chapter is to provide some back-ground information or context for the development NGOs in the sample group - information such as the proportion of New Zealand aid which is voluntary rather than official, international comparisons of our aid performance, trends in the voluntary and official aid levels and the like. The statistical information in chapter 2 helps to establish how important our voluntary aid donations are, and the relative significance of both our voluntary and official contributions to international targets and performances.

Chapter three follows with an examination of the contribution of charities in a cultural rather than financial sense, the focus being on their ability to create images and mould perceptions rather than raise revenue. Given the paucity of research in this area it has been necessary to tap into studies that are not directly on this topic but are of relevance because of strong similarities and shared problems.

Having briefly examined the financial and cultural significance of development charities in general chapter four will cover the main historical details pertinent to each NGO under investigation.

AID AND NGOS - FACTS AND FIGURES

Although aid comes in many different forms (for example official aid, private aid, multilateral and bilateral aid, technical aid and food aid), this chapter concentrates on private voluntary aid from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and official aid from governments, commonly referred to as Official Development Assistance or ODA.

The particular interest of this thesis is the activities of 'development NGOs'. These organizations are defined by the World Bank as:

"those private, non profit, organizations that work with developing countries to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development" (Williams 1990:31).

Voluntary aid, that is, aid given by NGOs, can be put into perspective by contrasting it with the official flow of aid or ODA. ODA is the total budget allocated by a particular country's government for its development assistance programme. New Zealand's ODA is defined as those financial flows to 'developing' countries or multilateral institutions which meet the following criteria:

- the assistance is provided by the state;
- its objective is to promote the economic development of a of a recipient country (therefore military aid is excluded);
- the assistance has a clear concessional character (measured by the so called 'grant element' - which in the case of ODA should be at least 25%).

(Source: Aid Levels Campaign, Council for International Development (CID) 1990:1)

Voluntary aid comprises only a small percentage of total aid flows. Mosley (1987:182) estimates that voluntary aid constitutes between 2-5% of all aid flows. Burnell (1991:24) puts this figure at 5%. Although there is some discrepancy between these and other figures there is a general agreement between authors that there has been a significant trend upwards in the proportion of total aid derived from the voluntary sector. Some idea of the volume of world NGO flows is given by Clark's (1991:3) estimate that First World NGOs transfer more to the Third World than the World Bank group.

In the New Zealand case the work of development NGOs is becoming increasingly important. Whilst official aid is declining in 'real' terms the contribution made by development NGOs in New Zealand has stayed relatively constant. NGOs are also commonly seen as having distinct advantages over ODA. Bysouth (1986:211) outlines some of the commonly espoused beliefs about NGOs:

"that they work directly with the poorest in Third World countries, respond to need, involve and empower target

communities in design and implementation of projects and that they are cost effective, innovative and flexible"⁴.

Mosley (1987:182) makes the important point that these 'articles of faith'(to use Bysouth's terminology) about NGOs are not proven, for "voluntary organizations have so far done little to evaluate their own operations". Burnell (1991:96) also points out that the accolades surrounding NGOs should be approached with caution for "the very positive image... is... overblown" and the evidence insufficient.

It is not pertinent here to outline the arguments for and against NGOs. However a discussion of the scale and context of voluntary aid (on a national and international level) is relevant for it provides the context in which the five sample NGOs operate.

GLOBAL AID FLOWS

The value of the total flow of resources from the developed world to the developing countries of the Third World is estimated to equal US \$142b (Development Co-operation Report 1991:16). The total ODA from members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD in 1990 was US \$48,567m (ibid:250), of which only a small proportion is derived from voluntary agencies.

There appears to be little consensus over figures for world NGO flows. Vizetv et al (1991) estimate that NGOs internationally send \$5.5b (Australian) in aid annually to developing countries. According to the 1990 OECD Development Co-operation Report, the total grants by voluntary organizations amounted to US \$4.2b in 1989, and yet Hancock (1989:4) maintains that "all in all, voluntary agencies like War on Want ... can count on a total of \$2.4b a year in charitable donations to finance their projects and programmes in the developing countries".

⁴ Research undertaken by Applied Research Consultants (1987) on the attitudes of New Zealanders towards foreign aid found that NGOs had a better image than government aid programmes and were believed to be less corrupt and less political than the latter(ACEAD Annual Report 1986-87:2). Many of the myths that surround NGOs quoted by Bysouth are as this study revealed held by many New Zealanders.

The exact figure is not important. What is important to note is the steady and increasing levels of voluntary aid (in proportion to static official aid levels) in New Zealand and overseas. In 1981 globally, grants by NGOs constituted only 1.5% of total aid flows. This increased to 3.4% in 1985 and to 3.8% in 1989 (Development Co-operation Report 1991:123). This report (ibid:26) notes that "grants by private voluntary organizations continue to represent an important resource flow to poorer countries".

According to Burnell (1991:23-24), despite the difficulty in getting accurate figures:

"there need be no uncertainty about the considerable increase that has taken place in the amount of overseas aid provided by the voluntary sector ... Private grants for overseas relief and development by voluntary sector agencies in DAC countries almost quadrupled in money terms between 1970 and 1986".

Although still relatively small the proportion of aid derived from the voluntary sector is making an increasingly important contribution to overall aid flows.

OFFICIAL SUPPORT FOR NEW ZEALAND NGOS

In New Zealand the government has extended support for NGOs in two main ways. Firstly, through funding the organization "Voluntary Services Abroad" (VSA), an organization which sends skilled workers overseas. Secondly, the government provides support through a subsidy programme known as the Voluntary Agency Support Scheme or VASS. VASS was established in 1974 and is run by New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT)⁵.

VASS provides 1:1 funding for overseas projects funded by NGOs. For every dollar given by NGOs who use this scheme, the government grants another dollar. In the case of projects aimed specifically at promoting women VASS provides a 3:1 subsidy. Hundreds of small scale projects in developing countries receive topped up funds from NGOs because of the government's

⁵ MFAT was formerly known as the Ministry of External Relations and Trade or MERT until a name change in mid-1993.

support through VASS. A total of \$3.8m was received by NGOs through VASS and VSA in 1992/93 (NZODA 1992/93 Annual Review). According to Hoadley (1992:65), this represented nearly 4% of New Zealand's ODA. \$3.9m has been allocated for VASS for 1993/94 (which includes funding for Women in Development) and VSA has been allocated \$1.88m (NZODA Programme Profiles 1993/94:7).

In 1981 block funding to selected agencies was instituted through VASS and the Annual Report for the Advisory Committee noted an increase of 66% in official allocations to NGOs. Block funding (currently in the region of \$250,000 to select NGOs such as CWS, CCJPD, SCF and WV⁶) has enabled these agencies to make their own decisions over the use of assigned funds.

Despite the rise in official support to NGOs voluntary aid continues to constitute a relatively tiny proportion of all overseas aid in New Zealand. Only 0.7% of ODA was disbursed through NGOs in New Zealand in 1987/88. This compares with Australia at 0.6%, Switzerland at 13.5% and USA at 11.9% (selected statistics from Table 10, - Development Co-operation Report 1990:196). It should be noted that the above-mentioned 0.7% has increased by 0.2% since 1980/81. The Advisory Committee recommended in their 1980/81 Annual Report a target of 3% of ODA for NGOs to be attained by 1984. In 1994, a decade after the deadline, this target is still far from being achieved.

NEW ZEALAND AND INTERNATIONAL AID COMPARED

How does New Zealand fare in terms of its official and voluntary aid levels when compared with other developed nations? A useful method of comparison is to look at ODA as a percentage of each country's GNP. Table 2.1 below shows the trend of New Zealand ODA as % of GNP for the period 1970-1994.

⁶ WV's eligibility for block grants was revoked at the end of 1993 due to a damaging investigation into several of their African projects by MFAT. For further details on this report, refer to the assessment of WV's advertising in the first section of chapter seven. CCJPD = Catholic Commission on Justice Peace and Development (now known as Caritas).

Table 2.1
New Zealand's ODA as Percentage of GNP Sources

Year	%	Year	%
1970	0.31	1984	0.25
1975	0.52	1985	0.25
1976	0.43	1986	0.30
1977	0.39	1987	0.26
1978	0.34	1988	0.27
1979	0.39	1989	0.22
1980	0.33	1991	0.21
1981	0.29	1992	0.22
1982	0.28	1993/94	0.20
1983	0.29		

Sources for TABLE 2.1: The 1993/94 projection was cited in the Oxfam Newsletter, Winter 1993. The remaining figures were derived from a mixture of Annual Reports of the Advisory Committee on External Aid and Development and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Reviews of NZODA for the relevant years.

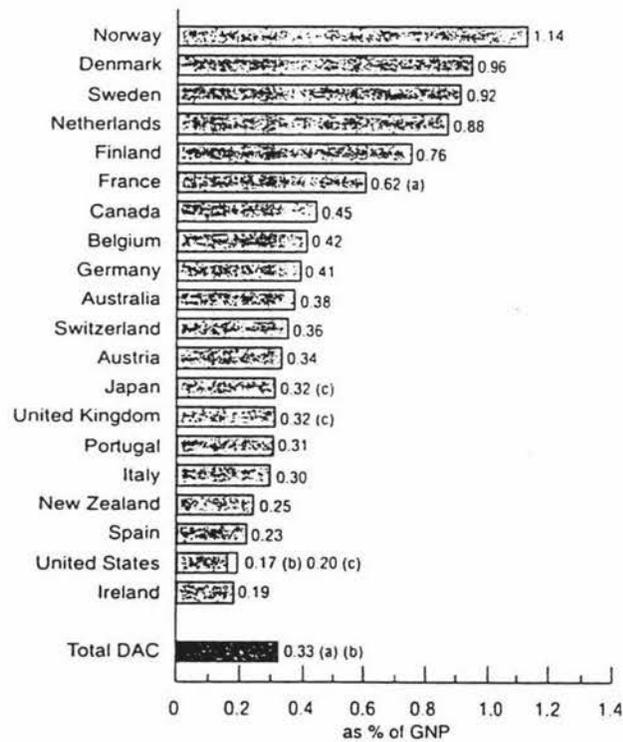
New Zealand's ODA as a percentage of GNP peaked in 1975 but a general decline has occurred since then. In 1988 ODA was 0.27% of GNP but dropped sharply to 0.22% in 1989. This is the lowest ratio recorded by New Zealand since 1973 (Development Co-operation Report 1990:149).

DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL TARGETS

In 1985 a target was set by the Advisory Committee for ODA to reach 0.51% of GNP by 1990/91. A decade earlier the optimal target of ODA as a % of GNP was 0.7%. This was in line with the international target recommended by the Pearson Commission on International Development. This report recommended "each country should increase its commitments of 'official development assistance' ... to 0.7% of gross national product by 1975 or shortly thereafter, but in no case late than 1980" (CORSO Information Service 1972:19).

In 1991 New Zealand ODA was only 0.21% of GNP and compared poorly with most other OECD countries. It was also well below the target (1991 Supplement to the OECD Observer). Hoadley (in Kennaway, 1991:204) notes that New Zealand's present ODA of 0.22%⁷ is considerably below the DAC donor's average of 0.36%, is only one third the way to the target and that New Zealand ranks fifteenth out of the eighteen DAC member countries. According to the Development Co-operation Report (1992) the DAC average is 0.33% of GNP, with New Zealand disbursing 0.25% of its GNP in ODA. Although there is some debate over exact figures it is clear that New Zealand's aid performance is far from being admirable when compared with international figures, as illustrated in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2
Net ODA From DAC Countries 1991



- a) Includes Overseas Territories (TOMs), but excludes Overseas Departments (DOMs).
 b) Excludes forgiveness of non-ODA debt.
 c) Includes forgiveness of non-ODA debt.

(Source: Development Co-operation Report 1992:24)

⁷ There is some discrepancy between authors over the exact figure for New Zealand's ODA as a % of GNP for 1993 but the margin of difference is negligible (varying between 0.21% and 0.22%).

Much dissatisfaction is felt by the New Zealand NGO community over the government's current low aid contribution. In response a coalition of development and environmental NGOs have mounted a public campaign to pressure the government into raising the existing aid levels. The flyer overleaf (Fig. 2.1) was circulated at the end of 1993 as part of this campaign.

The opening foreword in MFAT's NZODA Programme Profiles for 1993/94 contains the following quotation from the Minister (Rt.Hon. Don McKinnon) that implies that even the **maintenance** of the present level of ODA was in doubt:

"I am pleased to confirm an increase of almost \$2.8m in the Official Development Assistance we give to other countries for 1993/94 year. Effectively this means that we have maintained New Zealand's total ODA at 0.2% of forecast GDP."

An increase in ODA which only just sustains our present minimal contribution is nothing to boast about given that it is well below the international target of 0.7% of GNP, a target which the New Zealand government reaffirmed its commitment to at the Rio Earth Summit in June 1992.

Figure 2.1
"Dear Prime Minister" Flyer

Dear Prime Minister,
Overseas Aid:
Increase funding
to help the poor
and the
planet.

How to vote for overseas aid.

1. **FOLD** the attached message to the Prime Minister at the fold line marked.
2. **MOISTEN** the gum and stick down the section with the green arrow facing out.
3. **SIGN** your name, fill in your address and add any extra comment on the message overleaf
4. **RETURN** both parts of this leaflet to us by 15 October. We will deliver it to the Prime Minister on your behalf.

This leaflet is a joint initiative of non-government

How do the voluntary aid levels of New Zealand compare with overseas? In 1990 grants by New Zealand NGOs totalled \$12.4m (US) or \$3.7 per capita. This compares favourably with Australia, whose NGO grants came to \$55m and \$3.2 per capita. We do not fare so well when compared with the huge amount of money generated by American NGOs - \$ 2505m or \$10 per capita. In terms of government support to NGOs (as a % of ODA), New Zealand donated only 1.1% of its total ODA in 1990 to NGOs. The figure for Australia is slightly higher at 1.3% and both countries are overshadowed by the impressive American figure of 14.2% (Directory of Non-Governmental and Development Organizations in OECD Member Countries 1992:44). For a fuller international comparison, see the figures provided in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3
International Comparisons of NGO Grants per Capita

Country	Private Grants by NGOs (\$USm)	\$ per Capita
Australia	55.0	3.2
Canada	254.0	9.5
France	186.7	3.3
New Zealand	12.4	3.7
Switzerland	113.7	16.7
United States	2505.0	10.0

(Source: Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in OECD Member Countries 1992:44 - Selected figures from Table 1)

According to a survey carried out by British NGO Action Aid in June 1993 New Zealand aid scored 19th out of a list of 20 countries on social priority areas, ranked 18th on aid per capita and 17th on aid as a percentage of GNP. We also came 17th on aid to the poorest countries and 13th on NGO aid per capita (cited in Te Amokura January 1994:6)⁸. Overall New Zealand's aid performance is poor (on most variables) in comparison with other OECD countries.

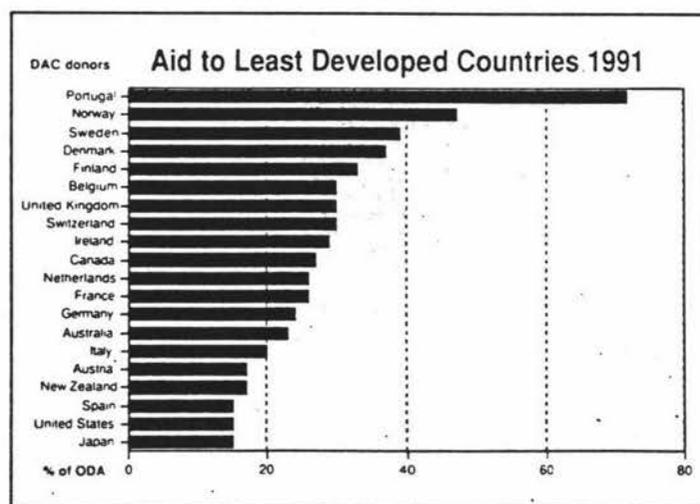
⁸ These statistics on New Zealand aid cited in Te Amokura (January 1994, Vol 6 No 1) were derived from a book produced by British NGO Action Aid entitled The Reality of Aid, an Independent Review of International Aid (1993).

THE IMPORTANCE OF NEW ZEALAND'S VOLUNTARY AID

Hoadley (1992:65) raises the important point that although voluntary agencies generate a relatively small amount of money (compared with official levels of aid) it provides "an important supplement to official aid". Another crucial point is the fact that voluntary aid goes to areas largely neglected by official aid, areas such as Asia, Africa and Latin America. These areas constitute 65% of voluntary aid budgets but only 2.5% of all government aid (ibid). The country and regional allocation figures for New Zealand's bilateral and multilateral aid programmes seem to bear out this point with 53% of its budget set aside for the South Pacific region, 7.5% allocated for ASEAN nations and a mere 4.5% for other nations which include non-ASEAN Asia, Africa and Latin America (NZODA Annual Review 1992-93:45).

Internationally only about 25% of ODA is targeted to the poorest nations and of this only 7% is allocated to social sectors such as health and education. No figures are available on the proportion of NZODA which is allocated to social sectors although it is estimated that we would be roughly in line with the international average of 7%. Of the eighteen DAC donor countries only Spain, USA, and Japan give a lower percentage of their official aid to the least developed nations. Table 2.4 graphically compares New Zealand's contribution to the poorest nations with other DAC member countries.

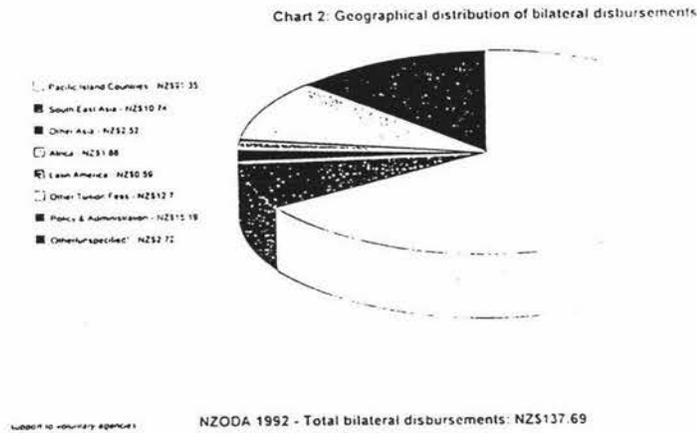
Table 2.4
Aid to Least Developed Countries - 1991



(Source: Oxfam Newsletter Winter 1993, Graph 3)

Most of New Zealand's official aid is concentrated in the South Pacific region, with ASEAN countries coming a distant second. (NZ)\$74m of the official aid budget for 1993/94 is focussed in the South Pacific region, whilst (NZ)\$11m is going towards South East Asian countries (ibid). The focus of New Zealand's ODA tends to be towards projects which promote rural development such as agricultural, forestry and fishery projects. Educational training and institution building are also given high priority (Development Co-operation Report 1990:149). Table 2.5 graphically demonstrates the geographical preoccupation of New Zealand's official aid.

Table 2.5
Geographical Distribution of New Zealand's Bilateral Aid



(Source: Handout by visiting MERT/MFAT staff member at a Development Studies seminar held at Massey University)

The rationale behind the concentration of official aid in the South Pacific is clearly not purely 'humanitarian' but rather a mixture of economic and political self-interest. As G.J. Thompson (1967:59) explains, official aid distributions are influenced by New Zealand's need for 'political stability' which is based on the belief that "abject poverty, undernourishment and ignorance provide breeding grounds for communism". Although a somewhat dated sentiment, the drive for political stability remains a high priority. The economic motivation for aid is to increase long-term trading opportunities for New Zealand from the recipients of short-term aid.

Hoadley (1991:199) maintains that developed nations of the 1940s and 1950s believed:

"that timely inputs of aid at crucial points would jolt poor nations out of their vicious circles of poverty,... and set them on the road to economic development, political stability and international responsibility. It was hoped that aided states would become customers for Western exports".

The guiding principle behind ODA during this period was global stabilization through economic strategies and was epitomized by the 1950 Colombo Plan.

Four decades later, in the 1990s, the rationale behind the distribution of foreign aid has not changed significantly. However, it is important to keep in mind that political, economic and security motives, in general, do not undermine the potential good that aid can do for developing nations, thereby simultaneously meeting political and economic objectives as well as **human need** (Hoadley 1991:203).

From this discussion we have established that the performance and contribution of New Zealand's ODA is poor in comparison to other OECD nations. In the voluntary aid department our performance is slightly better although the contribution of voluntary aid to total aid flows is still relatively small nationally and internationally. Government support to New Zealand NGOs although increasing in money terms is struggling to keep pace with inflation. The rhetoric of the government is in support of increasing aid levels to meet international targets. A brief perusal of MFAT's Annual Reports and Reviews over the past two decades reveals a series of broken promises to increase ODA in line with international guidelines. It is clear that the government's currently espoused ODA target of 0.7% of GNP (agreed upon at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit) is unlikely to be met in the near future unless a genuine commitment is made to significantly increase official aid levels.

THE NEW ZEALAND PUBLIC'S VIEW OF AID

Having discussed New Zealand's aid in statistical terms it is interesting to delve briefly into the psyche of the average New Zealander to find out exactly what they think about our official and voluntary aid activities. Several studies undertaken in this area have revealed a high degree of historical, political and geographical ignorance, a general lack of understanding of world interdependence, and a reliance on racial stereotypes.

According to an early survey undertaken by Dr Stephen Hoadley, the public view of aid was a naive one in which New Zealanders in general felt that our contribution was instigated by primarily humanitarian/altruistic motives and that consequently the amount we gave should stay the same or increase. Aid for human need was felt to be more important than conventional bricks-and-mortar projects (Development December 1979:12-13).

A more recent study carried out by Applied Research Consultants (ARC) in 1987 on behalf of the Advisory Committee on External Aid and Development (ACEAD) was more comprehensive and exposed some unfavourable attitudes held by New Zealanders towards the recipients of our aid. Most disturbing were the beliefs of a significant proportion of respondents that the causes of underdevelopment were directly related to 'character' problems or deficiencies inherent to the poor. 63% of respondents agreed with the statement that "people in poorer countries lack will-power" (August 1987:18). Other racial stereotypes included a belief that Africans were either "too bound by tribal traditions" or "lacking in intelligence", and that Polynesians were either too lazy or content with their lot to be good candidates for 'development' (ibid:18-19).

The ARC report recommended positive feedback on successful projects to counter the prevailing view that the problems besetting underdeveloped countries are too large to deal with, and that most projects are destined to fail.

SUMMARY

From this brief overview it can be clearly seen that large numbers of the New Zealand public hold distorted and erroneous views about the Third World. Development charities have a responsibility as some of the main producers of images of the Third World, to work to change rather than reinforce these perceptions. Chapters five, seven and eight deal directly with this issue and attempt through various methods of investigation (content analysis, semiotics and a questionnaire) to determine the degree to which the advertising of the five sample NGOs works either within or against conventional and denigrating racial stereotypes.

Chapter three concentrates on NGOs as image-makers and therefore as institutions with the ability to influence the perceptions of the public towards the Third World. The objective of this chapter is to underline the important cultural consequences of generated images whether they be of minorities in the First World or the Third. Because of the scarcity of research specifically centred on the images of Third World people produced by First World NGOs other areas of research have been resourced. This discussion will counterbalance the statistical and acultural nature of preceding account of aid and NGOs in New Zealand.

CHAPTER THREE

NGOS AS IMAGE-MAKERS PROBLEMS OF REPRESENTATION

INTRODUCTION

Through the images contained within their advertisements development NGOs make the Third World **meaningful** to us. Their use of vivid and dramatic photographs brings home the harsh 'reality' of Third World existence. These NGOs however, do not work within a vacuum. Another central source of imagery is the media, primarily the 'news' media. Therefore it is germane to briefly discuss the role and influence of the news media with regard to the Third World. This discussion will help to explain why First World countries are pre-occupied with exclusively negative and depressing reports of the Third World.

Studies of how the Third World is portrayed by the western news media evidence the overwhelming flow of superficial and biased news. These studies show how the Third World is presented (or rather misrepresented). They give reason to believe that the information we receive about underdeveloped countries is unbalanced and often erroneous. This chapter discusses such studies. It also selectively overviews literature on blacks in advertising, a topic which was chosen because the many studies in this field reveal sharp parallels between the problems, causes and effects of representations of minorities in the First and Third Worlds.

Several articles on the ethics of disability charity advertising are relevant to this chapter and are discussed because of the sharp similarities between the ethical problems associated with the representational rights of the disabled and the rights of Third World people to a fair and respectful portrayal.

THE THIRD WORLD THROUGH 'BLINKERED' EYES

One of the most obvious and yet insidious effects of the media's representation of the Third World has been the distorted image that has been

created. The media concentrate on disasters and dissention, political chaos and local ineptitude, a focus which has excluded the many less-sensational stories and positive incidents that occur everyday in Third World countries.

The key word is 'distortion'. The media, especially those institutions concerned with the production and dissemination of 'news', are believed by many to merely collect and reflect information about far away places. Unfortunately, 'news-makers' do not transmit a balanced view of Third World people, places or events. Rather than collecting information (which implies a kind of random gathering), newsmakers are prone (by various professional restraints) to **select** information and images deemed newsworthy. The net affect of this is a constant flow of images and stories that fill the viewer with a sense of despair and hopelessness regarding the perceived insurmountable problems of famine, poverty, civil war, and the seemingly endless series of natural calamities.

The 1984-85 famine in the Horn of Africa saw a surge in media attention which has since sparked a debate concerning the images used and their effect on western perceptions. Some of the literature that ensued will be discussed below in a attempt to highlight the broader issue of the distorted representation of the Third World as a whole.

In 1988 'The Images of Africa' report was published. The aim of this report was to investigate and evaluate "the information material on Africa produced by European 'NGOs' and the European media during the 1984/85 food crisis" (IFDA Dossier 67,1988:3). This report also examined the perceptions held by Europeans toward Africa, and toward fundraising appeals. Another objective was to identify (from an African perspective) "those aspects of the African reality which the European campaign ignored" (ibid).

The 'Images of Africa' report identified a number of important issues, some of which are summarized below. This report found that:

- The efforts exerted by Africans to alleviate the impending famine were ignored, reflecting the western media bias.
- Ordinary Africans are very aware of the early warning signs of famine and can clearly articulate these. This is important because it "contradicts

popular western media images of peasants as poor, helpless people caught by the surprise of a drastic food shortage" (1988:6).

- The myth that most if not all food received by African families was provided by the West was exploded. The Zimbabwe research estimated that only 10-30% of food requirements were met by aid and that people survived mainly due to the support they received from families and friends in the cities. The crucial point here was that "the media magnified the international solidarity mobilized in response to the crisis, but passed over in silence the strong mechanisms of internal solidarity" (ibid).
- The contribution of both the African government and domestic NGOs were underplayed by the western press.

This section of the report concluded:

"that the true image of the people affected by the food crisis is in diametric opposition to the passive and fatalistic picture diffused by the European mass media" (IFDA Dossier 67, 1988:9).

The report analysed the television and newspaper coverage of the African famine at its peak (from the end of 1984 to the beginning of 1985) in a number of European countries, including Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Italy, and the UK. The research shows that although there was a marked increase in the quantity of news pertaining to the African famine the **quality** of the reporting was by-in-large superficial. An estimated 60-75% of reports were descriptive accounts with no discussion of underlying causes, the majority of stories were centred on the 'delivery of aid' and such deliveries were invariably to Ethiopia or sometimes Sudan. Other hungry nations were usually ignored.

What about actual images? The report specifically investigated the photographs which accompanied news reports of the famine. It was concluded that the prevailing images were:

"of a continent in permanent need of assistance, of salvation from the outside ... The Africans were ... incapable of analysing their own problems or becoming protagonists in their own development" (ibid:14).

THE WESTERN NEWS BIAS

Why were these news reports of the famine so superficial, and why is news coverage of Third World in general so shallow? These are important questions. They are relevant to this study because knowledge of the factors which influence the way the Third World is portrayed in the news can help us understand why development charity ads often follow the same perilous path.

Pfaff (1989:85-90) maintains that one of the most important reasons why Third World news coverage is oversimplistic, biased and ethnocentric is because of 'editorial pressure'. In his study of American foreign news reports he found that correspondents were pressured to report "the American angle", that is, a perspective that fits the American worldview. The effect of this is to "preclude serious investigation of unfamiliar matters", resulting in "restricting coverage to what already has been covered" (1989:87). The reports were therefore a "self-referencing outlook" (ibid). Although not subject to editorial pressure, charity ads are none-the-less vulnerable to making the same mistake, that is, to produce images and narratives of underdeveloped countries that are a product of their own worldview.

Pfaff also saw the regular movement of foreign correspondents as ensuring that no real specialization with a particular country developed. Such movements, Pfaff argues, "institutionalizes ignorance... guarantee superficiality and perpetuate stereotypes" (ibid). Reporters have neither the time nor the motivation to explore beneath the surface. In the case of charity ad writers the vast majority have no first hand experience of the places and people of whom they are writing about. Most of their knowledge will be that which they have absorbed through media images and reports over their lifetimes. With a lack of any concrete alternatives it is not surprising that many charity ads also rely on superficial stereotypes.

Dorman (1986:421) has examined in some depth the factors behind the 'failure of journalism' to provide an adequate and balanced news coverage pertaining to the Third World. In short these factors include: "economic, political, practical, ideological and professional constraints" (ibid:421). It is Dorman's (1986:419) belief that:

"knowledge of foreign affairs comes to us from a system of news gathering deeply flawed by the subtle interplay of ideology, ethnocentrism, dubious professional practice, and economic forces."

Although it is clear that some of the reasons behind newsmakers' distortion of the Third World are not applicable to this study there are several observations concerning US news reports that are worth mentioning because they help to illustrate why the overall trend has been to misrepresent underdeveloped nations.

According to Dorman (1986:425-31) US news reports about Third World countries are often misleading for a variety of reasons. Firstly, much of news concerning the Third World does not come from the Third World. American ideology also plays a part. Ideology is defined as "a well-ordered worldview ... consists of broad assumptions about America's place in the World vis-a`-vis other nations, and typically includes certain prejudices and and biases about Third World peoples" (ibid:427). Ideology can also be seen in the setting of the news agenda, where what is and is not newsworthy is determined. Thirdly US news reports about the Third World are often misleading because of ethnocentrism or 'cultural bias' (as Dorman calls it). This has resulted in a severe distortion of Third World events. Political aspirations of Third World people are denigrated by a disbelief in their capability for self-rule (ibid:430-431).

The first point raised by Dorman is extremely important. A key reason behind the misrepresentation of the Third World is simply that those in control of the images are not from the Third World but are speaking on their behalf - "the direct voice of the Third World is rarely heard" (Fountain 1991:18). Given the dominance of the US-led media it is unlikely (according to Fountain) that any "self-produced" images of the Third World will reach the screen of American and European audiences unless huge changes are made. Alan Fountain from the ITV's Channel Four has attempted to break with convention with the "South" series which has been produced by Third World people. This approach has provided British audiences with an opportunity to hear first-hand the views of the Third World (Fountain 1991:18-19).

The Non-aligned News Pool and The Inter Press Service are two more examples of attempts by the Third World to put across its perspective. The former is controlled by the governments of the non-aligned nations whilst the latter is the result of a group of "enterprising journalists determined to provide an alternative view of the Third World to readers both in the developing and developed countries" (Banerjee & Malik 1981:8). These initiatives reflect a genuine attempt to reverse the flow of negative images and to pull down the "'newsprint wall' of indifference, ignorance and distortion" which has functioned to keep the First and Third Worlds apart (ibid).

EVIDENCE OF THE BIAS IN THIRD WORLD NEWS

This section reviews a range of different studies that illustrate the extent to which our image of the Third World is distorted through the media. Although these studies are not directly about charity ads, they are relevant because these ads operate within environment which has already defined the Third World for us. This environment is created by, and reinforced daily through, the images and reports disseminated in our newspapers, magazines and on television.

A newspaper survey by Kassam highlight the superficiality so often associated with Third World reports. In a study of seven Canadian newspapers by Mount Saint Vincent University only 1% of the stories concerning Third World people and/or events were judged to be 'serious writing'. Serious writing was defined as journalism that looked at underlying issues rather than espousing 'ready-made cliches' (Kassam:9)⁹.

A UNESCO commissioned study cited by Kassam noted that two-thirds of the news about the Third World in the 29 countries surveyed is generated by four large western news services. This report concluded that "the misrepresentation of two-thirds of humanity to itself and to the rest of the world continues" (cited in Kassam ibid).

⁹ The year of Shiraz Kassam's study entitled 'How Western News Agencies Misrepresent The Third World' is unknown.

William H. Meyer sought in his research into 'global news flows' to address a number of issues, one of which was to prove a connection between the Third World's dependence on western media products and the emergence of **cultural imperialism**. Cultural imperialism is defined by Meyer (1989:252) as occurring when:

"media producers and consumers in the South begin to think like their counterparts in the West ... They see the World through western eyes".

Subsequently they "come to think about world events through the same perceptual paradigms" and choose to cover topics that would be of interest to First World audiences whilst ignoring many events of relevance to themselves (ibid).

Meyer acknowledged the monopoly position of the western news apparatus. He concluded that there was some replication of western news values but that this should not be overstated because there are examples of Third World editors who have worked extremely hard to overcome the deficiencies they see in First World news reports on Third World issues (Meyer 1989:255).

A similar conclusion was drawn by Anthony A. Gifford in his research, comparing the quantity and quality of news about developed and developing nations. Gifford found there was little truth in the accusation of ethnocentrism for there was not much difference between the **kinds** of news reports from the United States and those from developing countries. The difference between First World news reports and Third World reports was **qualitative**. The Third is portrayed as being more prone to internal conflict, more often the recipient of emergency relief, or military or economic aid, more likely to be the setting for armed conflict, and proportionately more likely to be the location of criminal activity. Developed nations were not portrayed "as being immune to these afflictions ... the difference is that other kinds of news help to leaven the mix" (Gifford 1984:19).

A survey undertaken by Nugent and Cros of the news reports on the famine of the mid-eighties was not as favourable as the findings of Meyer and Gifford, who were both able to identify some progress towards better journalism on Third World issues. The survey by Nugent and Cros of three

leading North American news papers found that the majority of articles resorted to the same simplistic reasons for, and solutions to, the famine based on a scarcity perspective. Their study (cited in NZ Monthly Review, April 1988) provides yet another source of evidence of the erroneous nature of reports the First World receives about the Third World. The news coverage of the Ethiopian famine was a prime example of how news can be twisted in a manner which demeans the Third World and helps to perpetuate the status quo. Kate Brett illustrates this distortion with a compelling example of a news report concerning the plight of a victim of famine:

"She sits, the flies at the corner of her mouth define her helplessness and passivity. In her lap lies a three year old, his lips averted from the shrunken breasts which have been empty for too long. The camera stares, the world stares, and the BBC's correspondent Michael Buerk describes the scene of mass starvation confronting him in northern Ethiopia, the child dies" (Brett 1988:8).

This scene appeared on a provocative BBC documentary screened in 1984 and the viewer response to the Ethiopia famine was generous. However, as Brett explains, for this woman "the media has failed her" (ibid). The media proved unable to "even begin to grapple with ... structural causes" (ibid:10).

"Instead of focusing on her role as the agricultural backbone of her country, it focused on her as a victim of natural disaster. Instead of asking her why she had no land to grow food, it asked why she had so many children. Instead of asking her why she had no agricultural technology, it asked how much longer she would depend on the West for charity" (ibid:8).

In this example (like the majority news reports on the famine) the causes of the famine were attributed to worsening drought, military incidences and inefficiencies endogenous to Africa's agricultural sector. But the real reason for the famine was due to the exclusion of women (who do 60-80% of the agricultural work) "from access to land and from control of modern agricultural in that land" (a conclusion drawn in an Emergency Meeting on the UN FAO, October 19 1983, cited in Brett 1988:9).

The image of the woman and dying child illustrates how the information we receive is an interpretation of events which is often fallacious and nearly

always detrimental to the Third World. The immense suffering of 'the victims' so often depicted in charity ad images resembles the famine story described above. In both instances the suffering occurred within political and economic contexts, contexts which are critical to understanding how the situation came to be and what has to be done to avoid the situation recurring. Unfortunately, these structural causes are almost always ignored in both news reports and in charity ads.

An Austrian study by Luger (1990)¹⁰ focussed specifically on development aid campaigns and the role of the media. The results revealed that a significant number of respondents held distorted and inaccurate views with regard to Third World people. For instance 33% of respondents were found to express racist attitudes. Images produced by the media, especially tourist related images, were also found to be detrimental in terms of fostering exoticism, racism and xenophobia.

Images of poverty and degradation focus almost exclusively on black Africans. The media's preoccupation with the countries in the horn of Africa (mainly Ethiopia and Sudan) to the exclusion of the many other diverse countries within Africa and the wider Third World has, as the Images of Africa report and other studies found, led to the perception by the European public that the Third World is in chaos and that the calamity is of such a magnitude that millions are on the verge of death, unable to survive, incapable of leading constructive and fulfilling lives.

But these images of Africa are only one dimension of a much larger issue, that of how the West portrays non-western peoples, of prejudice, ignorance and ultimately western ideological hegemony. For this reason it is pertinent to examine briefly some of the numerous studies of the representation of blacks in the media (especially the portrayal of blacks in advertising)¹¹. Many of the observations and conclusions drawn in these studies find parallels in

¹⁰ It is interesting to note Luger's suggestion that education of youth may be the key to reversing negative attitudes towards the Third World. Ironically this is because youth have been less exposed to the media (having watched less depressing television on the Third World and being much less well-read than their adult counter-parts). Luger found that there was some room for optimism amongst the young but that older folk felt that the problems of the Third World were hopeless.

¹¹ Although most of the studies of blacks in advertising pertain to Afro-Americans, many of the conclusions find equally valid application to other ethnic groups.

charity ads which unfortunately have often used similarly demeaning and derogatory images.

A PARALLEL DISTORTION - STUDIES OF BLACKS IN ADVERTISING: A SELECT OVERVIEW

A study by George M. Zinkhan et al in the mid-eighties addressed the following questions:

- what is the frequency of black exposure in advertising?
- in what contexts (social and economic) did blacks appear?

The research compared a content analysis of the 1983-84 period with earlier studies of the periods 1949-50 and 1967-68. This analysis revealed that the percentage of blacks in advertising had increased but not to a level numerically proportionate to the black population, and that black roles have also changed, with more blacks being shown in skilled occupations (as professionals and business people), as opposed to the very narrow stereotype of blacks in the entertainment industry in the 1970s.

Zinkhan et al maintain that although blacks and whites continue to be represented as different in ads, these differences are decreasing in a manner beneficial to blacks. These results were compared with the conclusions drawn by Colfax and Sternberg in their analysis of ads in four major magazines during the period 1965-70. This late sixties study bore similar results. For instance, both agreed that the portrayal of blacks in ads had increased but that this did not necessarily mean an improvement in the status of blacks - the black musician stereotype was still very pervasive at this time and was seen by researchers as a highly demeaning and derogatory cultural stereotype. The study by Colfax and Sternberg is interesting in that the various strategies used to incorporate blacks into ads in a non-threatening manner to whites were discussed. Many of the strategies used in product ads can also be detected in charity appeal ads.

One technique used to diminish the power (and threat) of the presence of a black person in an ad was to surround the 'token black' with a large number of whites (Colfax & Sternberg 1986:13; see also Humphrey and Schuman 1984:557, and Culley and Bennett 1976:170 for similar observations). This

allowed the black person some degree of visibility whilst concurrently underlining their minority status. Another technique which enabled blacks to be present in ads but on a clearly subordinate level was the use of black children rather than adults. Moreover, these black children were often shown under the supervision of a white adult. This is also a technique common to charity ads. A high number of ads were identified in the 1965-70 study as fitting this category. The portrayal of blacks in poverty-stricken/needful roles such as beneficiaries of charities or social services were identified as another common scenario in which blacks appeared, despite the fact that more whites actually use these services (ibid:13).

In conclusion Colfax and Sternberg noted:

"that despite the obvious increase in the number of ads which depicted blacks ... blacks were being cast in roles which distorted black realities and confirmed racial stereotypes, rather than those which presented a full and more accurate picture of black America" (1972-73:17).

In a 1976 study undertaken by J.D. Culley and Rex Bennett, it was found that blacks were appearing more in television (compared to twenty years earlier), but their appearances continued to be in background roles. When blacks did appear they were surrounded by whites. This supported the 1973 finding of Greenberg and Mazingo that "ads without blacks typically contained two people in them, those with blacks have more than six people" (cited in Culley and Bennett 1976: 172).

In a study of magazines spanning 1950-1982 Ronald Humphrey, and Howard Schuman found there were three times as many ads containing only black children as there were ads containing only white children. Also significant was the finding that while no ads showed white children supervised by a black adult over 38% of pictures of black children were shown under the exclusive supervision of a white adult (1984:557). There were even more images of black children under white supervision than black children under black supervision (ibid). While this was a decrease from Colfax and Sternberg's findings (in which two-thirds of black children were shown supervised by whites), it underlines the fact that "blacks are still being shown as subservient to white authority figures" (Humphrey and Schuman 1984:558).

Another interesting finding of this study was that blacks are three times more likely than whites to appear in charity ads (ibid). Humphrey and Schuman also found that a "large number of ads, however well intentioned, depicted blacks living in poverty either in this country [America] or Africa" (ibid:559). A double standard on racial grounds was perceived by the authors, who noted that in 'poverty/charity' ads poverty-stricken whites were depicted with poor blacks but that no ads in their sample showed destitute whites only (ibid).

Humphrey and Schuman noted that the status of blacks had improved in the area of occupation roles. Only 14% of blacks in their mid-eighties study were portrayed in servant type work. This was a significant improvement on the results of a study fifteen years prior, in which the sole occupation of blacks in advertising was in servant-like roles. The 14% result of Humphrey and Schuman's study was still three times higher than the result for whites in subservient occupations. Despite the more egalitarian portrayal of blacks 'at work' ads in the mid-eighties these ads continued to "show blacks as dependent on whites" (ibid: 563). This conclusion was based on the finding that "white authorities are disproportionately shown aiding poor blacks or supervising black children" (ibid).

In general the above studies (and many others) have revealed that blacks have been misrepresented. Blacks have often been shown in demeaning roles that serve to reinforce and perpetuate the prevailing cultural prejudices that a society holds. Most researchers agree that the degree of overt racism in ads has decreased but that more subtle forms of discrimination persist. According to Peitese (author of White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture 1992), in the past four decades a cycle can be discerned in which significant improvements can be seen in the depiction of blacks. Black portrayals of the 1950s had improved considerably by the 1970s but Peitese maintains that in the 1980s and 1990s "the commercial manipulation of blacks ... has made a comeback, albeit in new guises (1992:202).

Research into the portrayal of black Africans in the media rather than Afro-Americans is sparse in comparison and research into the portrayal of Third World people even sparser. But one area in which several studies have been

undertaken is the images used by the tourist industry to advertise foreign countries such as Africa. In these instances the 'images' are unrealistic and distorted. Unlike the above representations however, they focus on exotica and primitivism.

THIRD WORLD IMAGES AND TOURISM

Kern-Foxworth's study established the extent to which American travel brochures on Africa influenced the perceptions held by Americans of Africa. A number of interesting conclusions were drawn. Kern-Foxworth found that American's knowledge of Africa was extremely limited. For instance, nearly 30% of the sample group were unable to identify the outline of the African continent. Africa was perceived to be a wild and primitive nation. For many Americans the label for Africa as 'dark continent' is not a myth but a reality (ibid:157). Part of the reason behind the generally negative perceptions held by Americans is the biased way in which school textbooks present Africa, and the history of words Americans associate with Africa which are loaded with negative connotations, such as jungles, tribes, mudhuts, etc (ibid:158-161).

As so few Americans were informed about Africa, when contemplating a visit to this country they were heavily reliant on the images and information contained within tourist brochures. Kern-Foxworth makes the point that this medium has the potential to be an important vehicle for exploding myths and broadening peoples' image of Africa. Similarly charity ads are also a potentially important medium for exploding myths associated with the Third World.

Tourist brochures are an important source of information on far-away countries and the glossy photographs make a memorable impression on would-be travellers before they leave. Unlike the pornography of starving child images in charity ads, travel brochures offer a fantasy escape in an exotic land based on totally false images of smiling natives, hula dancers and sumptuous feasts on moonlit beaches. The main drawback of such representations is that this 'pleasure propaganda', to use Rughani's phrase, "perpetuates racist and sexist stereotypes that are culturally inappropriate and demeaning" (Patterson 1993:14). In tourist brochures foreign peoples are not

necessarily shown as subordinate but their 'value' is clearly in their difference to us. In both television and tourist brochures alike blacks, (and other non-whites) are presented to us as either exotic primitives or musicians, athletes, and comedians, but rarely as equals.

Kern-Foxworth highlighted the demeaning contribution of programmes like 'Tarzan' to American's image of Africans, while Staples and Jones(1985) highlight the denigrating affect of programmes like 'Amo's n Andy' and 'The Little Rascals' (shown in the 1950s) on American views towards black members of their own society. In both instances television helped to mould narrow and negative views of an ethnic group.

BLACKS, ADVERTISING AND CULTURAL HEGEMONY

The black characters on our television screens are a product of "the white mind and white culture, not the black mind and black culture" (Staples and Jones 1985:16). The roles in which we see blacks are analogous with our relationship with our pets - they are loyal, lovable, obedient but are seen as incapable of total independence (ibid). In contrast most of our childhood heros are white - Superman, Spiderman, Batman, Wonderwoman, etc. Both black and white characters on our televisions screens are a product of white cultural ideology.

"The ideology glorifies whiteness and demeans blackness by establishing, maintaining, and refining privilege ... Television ... radio ... newspapers support this ... ideology ... that works to maintain ... black Americans as second class citizens" (ibid:15).

Blacks are not the only victims of this dominant ideology. Other ethnic minorities are denigrated in much the same way. Even whites that do not fit the middle-class bourgeois image fall prey to the burden of this desirable yet unattainable lifestyle promoted by the media.

"The entertainment complex is selling a fantasy for the mass public that obscures class inequalities ... Rarely are the lives of the working class Americans, white or black reflected ... Instead, we are shown the lives ... of the bourgeoisie and taught to identify with their lifestyles" (ibid:20).

The roles assigned to blacks in advertising (and other media) are not accidental but rather the result of what Merelman (1992:322) calls "**cultural hegemony**", which he defines as follows:

"Cultural hegemony exists when a dominant economic and political group controls cultural imagery and political ideas in the state, civil society and the market. In practice, cultural hegemony usually involves the relative exclusion of subordinate personalities, history and achievements from public culture".

It is my belief that the converse of this (the over-inclusion of negative images of certain subordinate groups in a society) is also a part of cultural hegemony. To highlight the plight of minorities helps to reinforce the position of the elite. Through methods of inclusion and exclusion, blacks and other minorities are reminded of their place in the order of things.

BLACKS IN TELEVISION AND CHARITY ADS - THE CONNECTION

What relevance does the discussion on the role of blacks in television have with the representation of Third World people in charity ads? One clear link is the reliance on **stereotypes** of blacks in both domestic/commercial television and in charity ads. Stereotypes are defined in the Penguin Dictionary of Sociology (1988:242) as:

"a one-sided, exaggerated and normally prejudicial view of a group, tribe or class of people, and is usually associated with racism and sexism".

According to Peitese (1992:11) stereotypes are:

"based on simplification and generalization, or the denial of individuality; they can be either negative or positive. Though they have no basis in reality, stereotypes are real in their social consequences, notably with regard to the allocation of roles".

The stereotypical way in which blacks are portrayed in the advertising world and in television programmes reflects the ideology of the dominant group and therefore not only reveals how 'we' (the white populace) would like to perceive blacks but also how charity ads buy into this hegemonic perspective.

The criticisms derived from various historical analyses of the role of blacks in the media are often pertinent to charity ads. For example, the use of white adults with black children or the disproportionate association of blacks with poverty situations are techniques often used in charity ads. The numerous studies of blacks in media and the conclusions drawn are therefore highly relevant and enable the reader to see some of the hidden biases within the charity ads that would have otherwise remained unnoticed.

Studies of the representation of blacks and minority groups are also useful in giving the reasons as to 1) **why** certain groups are misrepresented and 2) the **affects** of such erroneous depictions on the audience. It is clear from the previous discussion that several authors maintain that blacks are unfairly portrayed because the way they appear is the result of someone else's interpretation of their lifestyles, interpretations which are subconsciously clouded by cultural and ideological biases. This principle also applies to the representation of Third World people especially those shown in charity ads intended for First World audiences.

CHARITY ADS - REPRESENTATIONS OF THE DISABLED

One other area in which there are distinct similarities in problems of representation is that of disability ad imagery. The images used by domestic disability charities and Third World charities have a number of characteristics in common. Firstly, both types of ads are commonly presented in black and white rather than colour. Hevey (author of The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability Imagery 1992) maintains that this is because black and white is oppressive whilst "colour denotes power" (ibid:86). Secondly disability ads share many of the same techniques to **disempower** the subject as do the images in the ads of Third World charities. For instance, both favour downward camera angles which construct subjects as helpless, dependent and subordinate. Hevey (1992:82) refers to this process as **victim positioning**. Thirdly, the subjects of the imagery for both Third World and disability charity ads are not consulted on how they are being represented.

The affect of disability ads on the public is a message which segregates the abled-bodied from the disabled. These ads play on the fears and guilt of the

former group. The guilt can be alleviated by giving donations (Hevey 1992:52). A similar technique is used in Third World ads where the difference in wealth and lifestyles between First and Third World people is stressed, which results in feelings of compassion and guilt. Again these ads having highlighted a moral difference (this time in wealth rather than health) and the channel of giving is provided as a way for consciences to be eased.

The victimization of subjects is similar in Third world charity ads as it is in disability ads. This is because the same emotions are being tapped such as guilt and sympathy. The fear and guilt associated with being able-bodied (when many are not) is substituted in Third World ads with anxiety and guilt at having adequate food and shelter (while many do not). In both instances the ads deliberately construct their subjects as objects to be pitied, as deserving of our compassion and yet incapable of being as 'whole' as we are. They are presented as a problem, and we the solution - they are in need and we have more than we need. These ads suggest that a simple transfer is all that is required.

The parallels between the dubious methods for soliciting funds for disabled people and the 'less fortunate overseas' are strong. Advertisers blatantly focus on their clients' perceived weaknesses and vulnerabilities (at the expense of other information) in order to arouse a sense of obligation to assist. That the objective is worthy is not being argued, but many of the images used to galvanize the public's generosity are insensitive and exploit the privacy and dignity of those portrayed.

THE CHARITY DILEMMA

The dilemma facing charities is that if they change their advertising images from the traditional negative stereotypes to ones that are more positive, the public will perceive of the client group as less needy and revenue will drop. In response to this dilemma Eayrs and Ellis (1990:349) undertook a study to:

"research ... whether it is possible for charity advertising campaigns to stimulate donations successfully as well as represent people with disabilities as valued human beings".

The results from this study are of relevance to Third World charities which also face the above predicament. In this study thirty-eight subjects were required to sort ten charity posters according to a list of emotional responses. Eayrs and Ellis found:

"that images which elicit the greatest commitment to give money are those most closely associated with feelings of guilt, sympathy and pity and are negatively associated with posters which illustrate people with a mental handicap as having the same rights, value and capacity as non-handicapped persons" (ibid).

Eayrs and Ellis concluded that if disabled people are to be perceived of as beings of equal value then the combinations of people, places and things within ads must make **positive associations** rather than negative ones.

The results from the study by Eayrs and Ellis indicate that there is some validity to the belief that exploitative negative imagery is more effective (in money terms) than positive images in charity ads. It seems unlikely that Third World charities would risk losing valuable revenue by changing their images to more positive ones so long as fundraising remains their top priority.

SUMMARY

Chapter three has focussed on the problems inherent to representational images, whether they be of blacks in television/advertising, disabled people in domestic charity ads, or Third World people in charity ads and news reports. A review of a variety of literature in these areas has revealed sharp parallels and shared dilemmas. Chapter four will introduce the five NGOs - WV, SCF, CCF, Tear Fund and CWS, and will outline briefly some of the historical and contextual details related to their establishment and development in New Zealand. An examination of content of the images within the promotional material of these five NGOs is covered in chapter five.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORIES OF FIVE OF NEW ZEALAND'S DEVELOPMENT NGOs

INTRODUCTION - RATIONALE FOR NGO SELECTION

There are many NGOs in New Zealand that are concerned, to varying degrees, with 'development'. Some idea of the number of NGOs that fit this development banner is given by MFAT (formerly MERT). MFAT granted VASS subsidies to over 100 different small voluntary agencies in 1990/91.

World Vision (WV), Save the Children Fund (SCF), Christian Children's Fund (CCF), Tear Fund and Christian World Service (CWS) were selected from this large field for detailed study for several reasons. Firstly, the philosophy of each of these NGOs is **primarily** development oriented. Secondly, these are the **five largest** NGOs (financially) with a special interest in the Third World. Given limited time and resources, it was not possible to study a sample group larger than five. There were also specific reasons for excluding several other NGOs that could also be said to be supporters of development. For instance, Red Cross was not included because of its concentration on 'emergency' aid rather than development work. Another contender for the sample was Caritas (formerly known as the Catholic Commission for Justice Peace and Development or CCJPD). The reason for its exclusion was the structural transition it is currently undergoing. The narrow focus of Voluntary Services Abroad (VSA) meant that it was an unsuitable organization to study, and Oxfam, although clearly within the parameters of the development arena, was excluded because of its very recent establishment and limited advertising. Corso, the only development NGO unique to New Zealand, was also reluctantly excluded because of its comparatively small annual income and subsequent limited ability to advertise.

A description of the origin and evolution of each sample NGO is outlined below. Although the accounts are brief it is possible to derive a sense of growth and maturity from these narratives, and also to detect an overall

pattern of philosophical change from an exclusively welfare focus to a more all-encompassing human development approach.

WORLD VISION (WV) - A BRIEF HISTORY

New Zealand's WV is currently the largest aid and development NGO operating in New Zealand. Its annual income of over \$17 million in the last financial year is more than the income of the other four NGOs together. Given the financial resources of WV, its advertising has been extensive in both print and television mediums. The result is a high public profile for this NGO.

WV (International) was established in 1950 by American evangelist and humanitarian Dr Bob Pierce, who was troubled over the plight of Korean children orphaned by the war. His work soon extended to include the poor and suffering in Taiwan, India, Hong Kong and other countries. World Vision International is presently involved in projects, programmes and child sponsorships in over eighty countries. The first office was established in the United States and was followed by support offices being founded in Canada (1959), Australia (1969), New Zealand (1971), and Europe (1978).

World Vision is a Christian-based, non-denominational, international organization whose primary concern is helping the poorest of the poor:

"Our vision is for a world transformed by practical expressions of love - a world in which all people will be able to meet their basic needs of body, mind and spirit".¹²

World Vision undertakes numerous activities, the most well known being their child sponsorship programme. It is also involved in emergency relief projects, agricultural development, literacy and vocational training and health care instruction.

The New Zealand branch office was established in 1971 after six years close affiliation with the World Vision office in Australia. A national campaign

¹² World Vision information pamphlet (no date).

by World Vision to aid Vietnam was launched in 1973 and the New Zealand office has gone from strength to strength ever since.¹³

WVNZ is primarily a child sponsorship agency. This is the focus of activity and its main source of funding. Child sponsorship programmes also play a pivotal role in the agency's advertising material. The fact that one in every thirty-six households in New Zealand sponsors a child through WV (making a total of 33,000 children sponsored by New Zealanders¹⁴) reflects the extent of influence that this NGO has on the New Zealand public.

As with most sponsorship, a WV child receives basic essentials such as food and clothing. WV also offers, "the opportunity to experience God's greatness and love".¹⁵ All sponsored children are given the opportunity to receive Christian counselling.

It should be noted that WV's approach to sponsorship has changed significantly in the past twenty years. Peter McNee (WV's Executive Director) points out that there has been a move away from "social welfare aid to individual children" with child sponsorship funds now financing "projects intended to benefit the entire community".¹⁶

The core of WV's philosophy is expressed in their mission statement as outlined below:

WORLD VISION is an international partnership of Christians whose mission is:

to follow our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in working with the poor and oppressed to promote human transformation, seek justice and bear witness to the good news of the Kingdom of God.

This Mission Statement continues:

WE PURSUE THIS MISSION through integrated, holistic commitment to;

¹³ Lovell-Smith 1986:175.

¹⁴ "Introducing World Vision" pamphlet (no date).

¹⁵ World Vision Child Sponsorship pamphlet (no date).

¹⁶ Comment by Peter McNee, Executive Director of WVNZ in the New Zealand Listener, April 20, 1985:18-19.

TRANSFORMATIONAL DEVELOPMENT that is community-based and sustainable, focussed especially on the needs of children;

EMERGENCY RELIEF that assists people afflicted by conflict or disaster;

PROMOTION OF JUSTICE that seeks to change unjust structures affecting the poor among whom we work;

PUBLIC AWARENESS that leads to informed understanding, giving, involvement and prayer;

WITNESS TO JESUS CHRIST by life, deed, word and sign that encourages people to respond to the gospel.

Some of WV's activities include:

- Child sponsorships at \$30 per month.
- Project partnerships at \$22 per month, which goes towards healthcare, childcare, water supply, etc. The donors can be individuals, groups or institutions.
- Feed-a-child partnerships at \$20 per month, for emergency food and medical supplies.
- Miss-a-meal \$2 a week appeals. Through this programme many thousands of New Zealanders miss one meal a week and donate \$2 for relief and rehabilitation.

One of the most important events in the WV calendar is its annual **40 Hour Famine** which is run by over 600 volunteers and involves 180,000 participants who are willing to fast for the specified time in order to raise funds. Sponsorship is on an hourly basis and gives those involved some insight into how it feels to go hungry. In 1991 the 40 Hour Famine raised over \$1.9m. Many of those involved were primary and secondary school pupils. WVNZ also runs a 20 Hour Famine for younger children.¹⁷

WVNZ has its own education officer who designs educational kits on key development issues. These kits are tailored to suit different age groups. A

¹⁷ "Introducing World Vision" pamphlet (no date).

number of resources are available to the public through WV's resource catalogue such as films, tapes and brochures. The organization's bi-annual publication is entitled simply WORLD VISION and keeps donors up to date on activities.

WV International is an umbrella governing body that was set up in 1978. Its headquarters are in Monrovia, California and its international Board of Directors (of which NZ has 1 member) meets every three years. WVNZ is thus an autonomous member of an international network. It has its headquarters in Auckland and has district managers in Northland, Waikato, Taranaki, Hawkes Bay, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago. Over 600 people work for WVNZ on a voluntary basis.¹⁸ The salaried staff number 55, several of whom are stationed overseas.

SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND (SCF) - A BRIEF HISTORY

Save the Children Fund (SCF) began in London in 1919 due to the dedicated work of its founder Miss Elgantyne Jebb. Miss Jebb was concerned about the many homeless and orphaned children after World War One, especially those children starving in Austria due to the Allied Blockade. With the help of her sister and through the use of advertisements Miss Jebb raised over £400,000 in the first year. From the day it was founded SCF has continued to flourish and has spread to fifty countries. Britain alone has over 800 branches and NZ has 27 branches and 30 sub-branches.

SCF was busy during the 1930s with countering the effects of the Great Depression and when the Second World War broke out much effort went into caring for the evacuees (aged under five) in thirty residential homes.

During the 1950s and 1960s SCF spread its wings internationally to help children (and their families) in Korea, Vietnam and many other countries. A more long-term approach to development grew out of the emergency service the SCF provided. The two aims of SCF's aid programmes are:

¹⁸ Directory of NGOs in OECD Member Countries, 1990:415.

"to meet the urgent needs of today and to lay the foundations for lasting improvements which will mean a better future for tomorrow's children".¹⁹

SCF still follows the guidelines laid down by its founder, Miss Jebb, in her DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD. At the core of SCF's philosophy is the opening statement of the declaration: that children must be helped "beyond and above all consideration of race, nationality or creed".²⁰ SCF also follows a policy of working with the poorest of the poor. Miss Jebb's "Children's Charter" was drafted in 1923, revised in 1948 and adopted by the United Nations as part of its own charter. An additional six points make up the charter and provide the foundations upon which SCF has been built. This charter states:

- The Child must be cared for with due respect for the family as an entity.
- The Child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, materially, morally and spiritually.
- The Child that is hungry must be fed, the child that is sick must be nursed, the child that is mentally or physically handicapped must be helped, the maladjusted child must be re-educated, the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured.
- The Child must enjoy the full benefits provided by social welfare and social security schemes, must receive a training which will enable it, at the right time, to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against every form of exploitation.
- The Child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow men.²¹

One of the key features of SCF is their Mother/Child Health Clinics (MCH), in which mothers are taught basic hygiene and health and babies are immunized. Regular check-ups are encouraged. Local staff are trained so that in the long-term each health centre will be able to run without outside help.

19 "Save the Children Overseas" brochure (no date).

20 "Save the Children: Putting the Children First Since 1919", brochure (no date).

21 *ibid.*

SCF provides nutrition and feeding schemes, disaster relief, child sponsorship and runs a highly successful international immunization scheme known as the Expanded Programme of Immunization or EPI. This programme aims to provide immunization against the following six childhood diseases: measles, polio, tetanus, whooping cough, tuberculosis and diphtheria. The EPI programme resulted from SCF's highly successful 1979 Stop Polio campaign and is run in conjunction with WHO.²²

There was an unsuccessful attempt to establish a Fund in NZ in the 1920s. A branch was eventually established in 1948 by Miss M. B. Havelaar of Christchurch. SCFNZ is primarily a fundraising agency. All funds raised are sent through the UK branch to specified projects in developing countries. The administrative costs of New Zealand's SCF are paid out of revenue raised through trade so SCF can guarantee that "what you give is what they get" (which is a recent campaign slogan).²³ The trade revenue is raised through the sale of SCF Christmas cards, wrapping paper and gifts from their Christmas catalogue. Funds for SCFNZ in 1991/92 were raised in a number of ways: child sponsorship 23.5% , appeals 22.8%, trading 13.7%, branch fund raising 20.5% and other 7.5%. The total funds raised in the year 1991/92 was calculated at \$4,285,899 ²⁴.

SCFNZ is an international, non-secular, apolitical Children's charitable organization. Its projects "reach out to over five million of the world's poorest children, bringing healthcare, food, immunization, education and vocational training".²⁵ It claims to be "the world's largest children's charitable organization".²⁶

In NZ we sponsor over 4000 children in 24 countries through SCF. SCFNZ has 10,000 volunteer members, which is a substantial achievement given that a national headquarters has only been established since 1986. SCFNZ's official publication is *WORLD'S CHILDREN* which is issued on a monthly basis.

22 "Immunization the Battle We Can Win brochure" (no date).

23 SCFNZ Annual Report, 1991/92.

24 *ibid.*

25 "Save the Children Overseas" brochure (no date).

26 "SCF: Helping Children in Need" brochure (no date).

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND (CCF) - A BRIEF HISTORY

CCF (originally known as China's Children's Fund) was established in 1938 by Dr J. Calvitt Clarke, a Presbyterian Minister of Richmond Virginia, who was anxious over the refugee situation, in the Sino-Japanese war. He responded by gathering his neighbours together and forming the first Board of Directors. Their first project was to raise funds to feed children housed in a run-down orphanage in Guandong Province. CCF has since expanded to help children in over forty countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the United States. An estimated 650,000 children are part of CCF's child-sponsorship programme (a number which is roughly equivalent to the total number of NZ children attending primary school). CCF provides these children with food, shelter, clothing, medical care and education. It also runs a CHILD ALERT programme to help provide emergency assistance to children in desperate circumstances who are beyond the reach of sponsorship.

CCF arrived in NZ in July 1990 and is part of an international partnership network which encompasses the United States, Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Ireland, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. CCF guarantees that no more than twenty cents in every dollar will be spent on administration. At least 80% of all donations go directly to benefit the sponsored child and their community. According to CCFNZ's 1992 Annual Report, administration costs were 19% or nineteen cents per dollar. The remaining eight-one cents provided vocational training as well as basic essentials. Over 8400 New Zealanders sponsor a child through CCF²⁷ and an additional 700 people provide funds for emergency relief and development projects.

CCF believes that child sponsorship programmes enable "caring people to effectively help children living in poverty".²⁸ It also maintains that the one-to-one sponsor/child relationship facilitates increased international understanding.²⁹ As a Christian based organization its key ethical consideration is to 'help thy neighbour' regardless of sex, race or creed. It

²⁷ Consumer Magazine, July 1993.

²⁸ CCF Mission and Operations Statement.

²⁹ 1990/91 Information booklet entitled "How CCF Helps Children Around the World: 53 Years of Dedicated Service 1938-1991".

believes that sponsorship is a means of expressing love. As a part of its religious philosophy, spiritual guidance and counselling are provided.

CCF is guided by two principles when selecting the countries for its child sponsorship programme:

"Will our aid be allowed to flow - without political, religious, or bureaucratic obstacles - to the poorest children...? Second, is there a sincere interest on the part of that country ... to accept us as partners and to use our expertise toward reaching the goal - someday - of being able to help their own poor without outside assistance?"³⁰

CCF is a non-profit, independent childcare and development organization with no political affiliations. It claims to be "one of the world's oldest and largest international child care agencies".³¹ CCF's publication, entitled *CHILDWORLD* is issued regularly to donors to keep them up to date on sponsorship activities. Its annual income for the year ending June 30 1992 was \$2,178,002, of which 80.3% was sent overseas.³²

TEAR FUND (THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE RELIEF FUND) - A BRIEF HISTORY

The historical origins of Tear Fund can be traced back nearly 150 years to the establishment of an Evangelical Alliance in the UK in 1846. This Alliance aimed to provide unity for Christians and a forum for expressing international caring and sharing.

As with many other NGOs (such as Oxfam and Corso), Tear Fund recognized the need for massive international assistance in the post-World War Two period. An Evangelical Alliance Refugee Fund was established in 1959/60 to enable Christians to respond to the desperate plight of millions of refugees. In the next decade the focus of the Alliance was broadened to incorporate assistance and relief to those suffering hardships under many varied circumstances. The Alliance had a holistic approach to rehabilitation which

³⁰ *ibid*:16.

³¹ *ibid*:13.

³² CCFNZ *Annual Report*, 1991-92.

included a spiritual and social dimension as well as concern for physical well-being.

The Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund (Tear Fund) was officially established in the UK in 1968. It was at this stage that "prevention was seen to be better than cure and greater emphasis was given to long term development projects".³³ The growth of Tear Fund has been rapid, with the establishment of several independent Funds in the Netherlands, Australia, South Africa, France, Belgium, and New Zealand. According to Burnell (1991:57), Tear Fund has grown so that it "now enjoys the second largest income of all religious based charities in the Third World sector". Its combined income in 1988/89 was over £14 m, derived mainly from private donations (ibid).

The New Zealand Fund was established in 1974 when the Evangelical Missionary Alliance (EMA) opened an account for Tear Fund. This Fund operated as the relief and development division of EMA (a grouping of fifty missionary societies). Five years later in 1979 Tear Fund NZ left the auspices of EMA and has since been operating autonomously. It still retains close links with EMA and with the World Evangelical Fellowship. Other affiliations include Compassion International, Interchurch Relief and Development, and the Council for International Development.³⁴

The central objective of Tear Fund NZ is:

"To work with fellow evangelical groups internationally in a variety of ministries, providing physical help and spiritual hope to people in need. To meet the needs of all members for a community irrespective of their philosophy or ideology".³⁵

Tear Fund's ministry is based on a number of biblical imperatives:

1. To 'love thy neighbour' and 'to be servants of one another'. Tear Fund consequently appeals to Christians in NZ to "give of themselves to meet needs in poorer parts of the world".³⁶

³³ Tear Fund, "Life in all its Fullness" brochure (no date).

³⁴ Directory of NGOs in OECD Member Countries, 1990:414.

³⁵ ibid.

³⁶ Tear Fund, "Life in all its Fullness" brochure (no date).

- 2 Tear Fund adheres to the principle that 'man cannot live by bread alone'.³⁷ From this tenet they justify/rationalize their evangelical activities which take place in conjunction with meeting physical needs.

Tear Fund maintains that the following features are distinctive to it:

- It works through evangelical Christians in any aid or development project.
- It requires evangelism to be the active partner in aid and development work.
- It maintains that it is not just a fundraising organization and that it believes in the importance of "encouraging involvement in the world's needs as an act of responsible Christian discipleship and stewardship". In this context Christians "live faithfully as disciples where their personal lifestyle validates their words and deeds".³⁸
- It seeks to minimize administrative costs.³⁹
- It seeks "to portray the true dignity and value of people as created by God".⁴⁰ Therefore its advertising and promotions aim to be informative and factual. It is opposed to the emotive and manipulative use of words and pictures.
- Tear Fund depends on the support of the Christian community.

In essence,

"Tear Fund's mission is to enable Christians to express their commitment to God and their fellowship with His worldwide church, by caring for the physical and spiritual needs of others. This charity explains mankind's [sic] problems in terms of spiritual poverty" (Burnell 1991:58).

Tear Fund (NZ) has a staff of five salaried workers in New Zealand and is 85% privately financed, 15% publicly financed.⁴¹ Its annual income for the

37 *ibid.*

38 *ibid.*

39 *ibid.*

40 *ibid.*

41 Directory of NGOs in OECD Member Countries, 1990:414.

year ending September 1992, was \$1.4m.⁴² TEARTALK is published quarterly with information on the organization's projects and partners.

CHRISTIAN WORLD SERVICE (CWS) - A BRIEF HISTORY

Christian World Service (CWS) was established in 1969⁴³ and is the official aid and development division of 12 member churches that make up the National Council of Churches (NCC) of Aotearoa (New Zealand). CWS staff and National Committees are accountable to the member churches through the NCC Executive and General Meetings.⁴⁴

The central objective of CWS is:

"To tackle the causes as well as the results of world poverty and injustice by assisting programmes that use local resources and encourage self-development rather than those that depend on excessive foreign funds and irrelevant technology. Assistance offered aims at promoting total human development".⁴⁵

CWS grew out of the missionary movement of nineteenth century New Zealand and the activities of the NCC concerning "inter-church aid". In its infancy CWS focussed on raising funds for aid and emergency appeals. The rebuilding of Europe after World War Two and the huge refugee problem of this time provided the impetus behind much of CWS's work. It was not until considerably later (the 1970s) that issues such as justice, peace and development were recognized to be inexorably linked, and thus were integrated into the organization's theology. There was a growing concern for **justice** rather than **charity**, for **development** rather than **aid**.⁴⁶ In accordance with its new philosophy of truly equal partnerships with less developed countries (particularly those of Asia), CWS made policy changes that empowered its partners. These changes enabled recipients to gain control

42 Tear Fund Annual Accounts, 1992.

43 The establishment date of CWS is sometimes cited as 1942 rather than 1969. 1942 was the year that the NCC and the National Missionary Council (NMC) joined forces. CWS has its origins in the inter-church aid of these two organizations.

44 Overseas Aid and Development Directory of New Zealand Organizations, (1980).

45 Commonwealth Asian and South Pacific Directory of Aid Agencies, (1981).

46 Lovell-Smith 1986:122.

over funds given, and allowed them to prioritize the use of these monies. A CWS worker at the time commented that these policy changes aimed to "destroy the remaining vestiges of imperialism in our thinking".⁴⁷

CWS has a staff of approximately 40, 10 being salaried and 30 working on a voluntary basis. It has a budget of approximately \$1m, 95% of which is privately sourced, 4% derived from the public and 1% self-financing.⁴⁸

Funds are raised mainly through an annual Christmas appeal among the member churches and distributed to areas of need globally. CWS uses a network of international and regional church partners to send and monitor funds. It responds immediately to requests for assistance in times of disaster and emergency.⁴⁹

Although CWS has up to now confined its efforts primarily within the church networks it will as of the Christmas period of 1993/4 launch itself publicly through a national television campaign. CWS has dabbled with this medium of exposure in the past but according to Barbara Stephen (Director CWS) this was abandoned five or six years ago because of the expense. The only television coverage of late has been a 'freeby' half hour time slot early on Easter Sunday morning.

This new campaign (the details of which had not been decided at the time of writing) will follow through with CWS's previous printed promotional theme of "Change Our/My World - we don't need your pity". CWS hopes through this campaign to make the general public aware of the work of CWS and give them an opportunity to support this NGO through donations. The key principle underlying all promotional material of CWS is that "if any ad reinforces that some people are of more value than others then it is wrong".⁵⁰ Part of CWS's work is to keep its member churches informed (as well as the New Zealand public) on issues of peace, development and justice. In the financial year of 1 July 1991 - 30 June 1992 7.4% of CWS's budget was

47 Lovell-Smith, 1986:123.

48 Directory of NGOs in OECD Member Countries, 1990:410.

49 Overseas Aid and Development Directory of New Zealand Organizations, (1980).

50 Comment made by Barbara Stephens (Director CWS) during a telephone conversation July 1993.

allocated to educational activities.⁵¹ CWS also provides support for Maori groups in New Zealand because it recognizes that New Zealand's own indigenous minority is also politically and economically oppressed.

CWS publications include: *WORLDWATCH* (for children), *TRANSFORMER* (for Christian youth) and *CWS UPDATE* which it publishes weekly with news about programmes and partners.

NGO PHILOSOPHIES AND CHANGE

The above five NGOs have all changed and adapted their philosophies and activities since their respective establishments, but some have altered their approaches in a much more radical way than others. If the philosophies of NGOs were placed on a continuum agencies such as CCF and WV could be placed at one end, in which small and relatively conservative modifications have been implemented, whilst at the other extreme an agency like CWS could be placed to demonstrate an agency that has radically altered its conceptualization of poverty. This polarization in perspectives is explained by Robert Chambers with his terms of "physical ecologist" and "political economist" approaches to development. Distinct parallels can be seen between this dichotomy and the major theoretical schism in developmental thought, namely that of the modernist school versus the dependency school. The latter school emerged in the 1960s as a result of the work of Latin-American theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank, who were dissatisfied with the modernist paradigm. The economic prosperity promised to 'developing' countries under modernization failed to raise the standard of living of the majority of poor within these countries and although there were signs of economic growth the disparity between rich and poor was growing. A new approach to development emerged contrary to the central tenets of the modernists. Under modernization theory it was believed that Third World countries were following in the same footsteps as the industrialized nations of the First World but were running behind time. An injection of funds and expertise would help these countries 'catch-up'. Prosperity was to result from increased interdependence between nations. Dependency theory holds that it was these very links between First and Third Worlds that caused

⁵¹ "The Plea of the Children Report" of CWS, 1 July 1991 - 30 June 1992.

poverty and **underdevelopment** because the First World had exploited the Third World's resources. The solution for dependency advocates is to break all ties between First and Third World nations.

The arguments of dependency theorists follow the same lines of thought as illustrated by Chamber's political economist approach, whereas the modernist's explanation for poverty bears similarity with Chamber's physical ecologist approach in that the causes of poverty are believed to be attributable to factors endogenous to Third world countries. The dichotomy of Chambers as applied to development NGOs is outlined below.

PHYSICAL ECOLOGISTS VERSUS POLITICAL ECONOMISTS

According to Robert Chambers NGOs can be placed into two categories. Adherents of the physical ecologist school maintain that poverty can be primarily attributed to physical causes. The emphasis is therefore on scientific solutions to problems such as drought, famine and civil disorder. Poverty is explained in terms of population growth and subsequent pressure on resources and climatic conditions. At the other end of the spectrum are the the political economist whose approach and understanding of poverty are totally different. Political economists perceive poverty as the result "of processes which concentrate wealth and power" on the domestic level and internationally. Poverty is understood "in terms of economic forces, social relations, property rights and power" (Chambers 1983:36-37).

From the sample of NGOs in this study only the philosophy of CWS fits the political economist umbrella. WV, SCF, Tear Fund and CCF all belong in the physical ecologist category. CCF's simplistic philosophy illustrates the tenets of this approach in an almost pure form, concentrating its entire advertising content on a message of physical need and resource transfer. WV, SCF and Tear Fund have similar focusses but are not quite so blatant.

First World audiences are bombarded on an almost daily basis with charity ads whose arguments pivot on the principles of the physical ecologists. These ads offer a kind of no-nonsense, common sense analysis which contains little more than a brief description of the problems and a channel through which to help.

The author of this research accepts the validity of the arguments provided by Anne Simpson. Simpson (1985:21) argues forcibly against the sort of analysis provided within ads which rely entirely on an appeal for material goods to send overseas because:

"...it rests on a potent racist myth: that the crises of Third World countries are caused by a lack of western seeds, tractors or experts; and that their poverty is due to their own inadequacies. This projects Third World people as helpless victims and westerners as saviours, neatly ignores the fact that western agents created the basis for underdevelopment in the first place through colonialism - and that they continue to profit from that same underdevelopment today".

The link between the simplicity of the physical ecologist approach and development oriented charity ads is clear:

"The misinformation about development is most crudely exemplified in charity fund-raising material" (ibid).

For the most part the messages in such ads can be reduced to a single trite sentence; "The Third World is in chaos and poverty because of ignorance and bad weather" (ibid).

Martin Syder (1989) also uses Robert Chambers' dichotomy to categorize NGOs as either physical ecologists or political economists. He classifies WV in the former and CWS in the latter. Syder points out that in general the physical ecologist NGOs are more **popular** and better able to raise revenue than the political ecologists. Another distinction between the two approaches is also identified. "The former [physical ecologists NGOs] tend to place a premium on popularizing poverty - money is pumped into elaborate advertising and poverty is reduced to its most basic and horrific elements" (Syder 1989:2). At the other extreme Syder maintains that political economists view all publicity "as opportunities to demystify traditional notions of poverty, and introduce the 'structural analysis' of poverty" (ibid).

The following transcript⁵² from a television commercial from CCFNZ epitomizes the physical ecologist approach:

⁵² This ad appeared on Television One at 1pm (18/5/92) and was presented by Alison Roe.

"They are so far away ... The wastes of Ethiopia, the slums of Thailand, India, and the poverty stricken Carribean.

They're poor, living in shacks often with an open sewer right outside, and there's one thing they all share, these lonely children, they're slowly dying from hunger, thirst, and diseases that could easily be cured if only there was a doctor they could see, but there isn't.

Just like there's never enough food, no clean water, no schooling, no future. Each day another 40,000 children die, its such a tragedy but there's one small thing you can do. You can save one child as a Christian Children's Fund sponsor. One dollar is all it takes to provide enough healthy food, water and medical care to make sure your child has clothes, books and a chance to go to school.

For only a dollar a day, thirty dollars a month, you can give that little boy or girl a future. Today more than 600,000 children of every race and religion are with CCF care programmes, but millions more wait to die. Will you help? From every single dollar you send CCF over eighty cents goes to help your sponsored child, their family and community. Please call us now and within a few days you will recieve a photograph, a family story of one special child, someone who needs your love to live. One dollar a day, it's so little to give, and yet it means so much."

Chamber's distinction between the two central and diametrically opposed approaches to development helps to clarify important differences and will be used later to help identify which agency belongs to which school. On a more mundane level Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provide a brief summary of core features of each NGO.

Table 4.1
Central Financial Features of Five Developmental NGOs

NGO	Income \$M	Admin Costs (%)	Devt. Ed (%)	Adv/Mkting (%)
W V	17.4	23.6 ¹	1.9	11.9 (=\$2m)
SCF	5.4	13 ²	na	9
CCF	2.2	19.7	na	na
Tear Fund	1.4	21.3 (exec. mktg)	see mktg ³	10 (incl. devt. ed)
CWS	1.0	17 (excl. ed & mktg costs)	7.4	8.2

Key

Admin.costs = administration costs as % of income

Devt. Ed. = Development Education as a % of income

Adv/Mkting = Advertising and Marketing as a % of income

na = not available

Notes for Table 4.1

- 1) This figure can be broken down as follows: Marketing 11.9%, Administration and taxes 9.8% and education 1.9% (Source: World Vision New Zealand Statement of Accounts, for the year ending 30 September, 1992.
- 2) The administration costs for NZSCF are derived from trade revenue and not from donations. The NGO's slogan is "they get what you give".
- 3) No separate figure was given in Tear Fund's Annual Accounts for expenditure specifically related to development education.

Table 4.2
Summary of Characteristics of Five Developmental NGOs

NGO	childsp (%)	No. sponsd	No. staff	Govt \$ (%)	NZ proj	Evangel
W V	70 (=\$12m)	36,364	55 fulltime	0.5	Yes ¹	Yes ²
SCF	18	3800	5 fulltime 8 overseas	9.5	Yes ³	No
CCF	80	8400	4 fulltime	na	na	No
Tear Fund	53	2000 ⁴	5 fulltime?	3.4	Yes ⁵	Yes ⁶
CWS	0	0	10 paid 30 vol	16	Yes (7)	Yes (8)

Key

childsp. = childsponsorship as % of income

No.sponsd= number of children sponsored

No.Staff = number of staff members currently employed on a paid or voluntary basis

Govt \$ % = % of income derived from government subsidies through VASS

NZ proj. = New Zealand projects

Evangel = Evangelism

Notes for Table 4.2

- 1) Virtually no NZ funding with the exception of 12 sponsored children at the Wallace School in Auckland (WV Autumn 1993:6).
- 2) Difficult to get exact figures. A small percentage of funds is given by donors for this specific purpose - \$9404 in the last financial year. Note that WV's child sponsorship programme has an evangelical element although the expenditure on this dimension cannot be calculated separately.
- 3) According to the NZSCF Annual Report, (1991-92), there is a growing concern for the needs of local children affected by the economic recession. Guidelines have been established to enable funds to be issued for domestic concerns. Funds have been used here in the past. For example, a SCF ad which featured in the New Zealand Listener (1

September 1979) mentions "Speech through Movement" classes for Polynesian children, at Onehunga Primary School and the pre-school Department at Mangere East Primary School where SCF provides the salary for an infant teacher. It is also noted in SCF pamphlet ("SCF Putting Children First Since 1919") that SCF "works in New Zealand with disadvantaged Maori and Polynesian children and in disasters".

- 4) This is a very rough figure derived from an advertisement in Challenge Weekly 24/5/93.
- 5) Tear Fund has been running a programme known as 'Youthcare' for the past four year which targets New Zealand's at-risk youth.
- 6) Difficult to obtain an accurate overall figure for expenditure on evangelical activities as evangelism plays an integral role in much of Tear Fund's work. However 10% of general purpose donations are transferred to EPOCH (Evangelical Partnership with the Overseas Church) for projects which are outside Tear Fund's relief and rehabilitation criteria (Annual Report 1992).
- 7) It is part of CWS's theology to work with and support people without power in New Zealand and overseas. For example funds were given to the Aotearoa-Maori Women's Centre and the Maori Trade Union Movement last year (as well as support for many other local initiatives).
- 8) 15.2% of CWS's budget went to fund the work of church-related and ecumenical groups (Report of CWS 1992).

Sources for tables:

WV Statement of Accounts for the year ending 30 September 1992.

NZSCF Annual Report, 1991-92.

CCFNZ Annual Report, 1991-92.

Tear Fund Annual Accounts 1992.

CWS Financial Statement, "The Plea of the Children", 1992.

WV information pamphlets.

Consumer Magazine, July 1993.

Directory of NGOs in OECD Member Countries, 1990

Challenge Weekly, 24/5/93.

SUMMARY

Chapter four has introduced the five NGOs selected for study and a brief coverage of the historical details concerning the establishment and growth of these agencies has been given. Chamber's ideas on the two divergent approaches to development were discussed to help position the philosophies of each NGO in terms of their understanding of the causes of poverty. In chapter five a sample of promotional material from each NGO is analysed in order to attain precise distributional information on the content of each NGO's imagery. In chapters six and seven the concepts of semiology are discussed and then applied to three case study ads selected from the content analysis in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NGO PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL

INTRODUCTION

Chapter five reports the results of a content analysis undertaken of an assortment of promotional materials (including ads, posters, pamphlets and other publications) belonging to each of the five NGOs under investigation. The majority of this promotional material was supplied by the NGOs themselves, whilst the remainder was gleaned from either personal correspondence or from library-issue books and magazines. An array of over 600 pieces of advertising were collected over a period of eighteen months, from January 1992 to June 1993. A total of 655 photographs contained within these pieces of promotional material were analysed according to three pre-set criteria - people, backgrounds and activities. This chapter considers only photographs, but chapter seven incorporates a textual as well as visual analysis.

The three main **objectives** of the content analysis are:

- 1) to establish what were the **most common** ad formats used by the NGOs under investigation;
- 2) to identify the elements within these formats;
- 3) to find out whether any trends or patterns of representation can be discerned.

This analysis enables a variety of questions to be answered such as - what are the most common images used, what are the most common ad strategies used overall, and how do the advertisements of child-sponsorship NGOs compare with those NGOs opposed to this form of solicitation for funds? The results from the content analysis are summarized in table format throughout this chapter.

Content analysis reveals the most frequently used compositions in charity advertising. With this knowledge, three case study ads have been selected

as typical of the most common compositions. These case studies are analysed in detail in chapter seven.

Table 5.1 below summarises the number of photographs from each category of promotional material for each of the sample NGOs.

Table 5.1
Categories of Promotional Material for Each NGO

NGOs	Ads	Pamphlets	Posters	Publications	TOTAL
W V	26	27	1	167	221
SCF	6	48	18	90	162
CCF	14	47	-	44	105
TEAR	4	47	3	51	105
CWS	18	13	21	10	62
TOTAL					655

The number of pieces of promotional material collected for CWS is relatively low for a number of reasons:

- 1) CWS does not advertise widely (and does so predominantly through the churches);
- 2) It is CWS's practice to use a small number of images repetitively (according to a theme);
- 3) A substantial amount of CWS's advertising is in diagrammatic form or line drawings and is therefore unsuitable for analysis.

For a complete list of the promotional materials used in the content analysis refer to Appendix 5.1.

The content analysis of ads was carried out in three stages, each of which is outlined below in Sections A, B and C. First, however, some general comments on research methodology are appropriate.

METHODOLOGY

In the very early stages of this analysis a variety of promotional materials were scanned to get a general idea of what elements tended to appear and

reappear in the images of the NGOs under study. A tentative list was made up which grouped the elements (or features) under three headings: people, backgrounds and activities.

Under the first heading of PEOPLE (groupings) an exhaustive list was constructed of all the different types/compositions of people that were likely to be found in the advertising material. Variables of interest included age (adults or children?), ethnicity (First World or Third World?) and the relationship between the people being portrayed. For instance, was the image of a Third World family group or a Third World child with a First World aid worker? The objective of such classifications was to calculate the frequency (by appearance) of certain compositions of people. This approach made it possible to see trends and compare the relative differences between different people groupings. For example, if 25% of images depicted First World adults in a parental-type role over Third World children whilst only 2% of images showed Third World children being taken care of by their own parents, what are the messages to be derived from such compositions?

The second heading of BACKGROUND was made up of a list of the different possible settings likely to be used in the imagery of these particular charities ads. For example, could the background be identified or was it blurred? If the background could be seen was it a rural or urban scene? Was it in the First World or the Third? A number of important issues arise from such classifications. For instance - in how many and what kind of ads were the backgrounds clearly able to be seen? In how many ads were backgrounds blurred? In how many ads had the backgrounds been deleted? Were the ads without backgrounds primarily child sponsorship ads or emergency appeals? What is the effect of this removal of context on the overall meaning of the ad?

The final heading was that of ACTIVITY. Section C of the content analysis asked the following questions - what were people depicted doing in the photograph? Were they posing for the camera? Were they working, at school or receiving aid? With the information from this section we are able to estimate how many images of Third World people show these people in an active and constructive fashion, and how many show people in a passive, apathetic or victim role.

These three sections identify and classify every photo according to who the people in the image are, where they are and what they are doing. The content analysis methodology establishes not only what all the elements contained within a large amount of material are, but also the **distribution** of these elements, that is, the number of times each element has appeared and in conjunction with what other elements.

This chapter focusses on photographs. Maps diagrams and line drawings are therefore excluded. The concentration on photographs and exclusion of the text surrounding these images was necessary given the huge amount of material. The text, however, is an important element of the meanings generated by charity promotional materials. The role of the text is considered in the semiotic analyses in chapter seven.

In instances of **matrices** (grids of photos, see Figure 5.1 below), these photos were counted as one image only in order to avoid skewing the results of the analysis. In these instances it was difficult to categorize the activity of the children who, although all posing for photographs, had numerous facial expressions. A compromise was made in which matrix compositions were assigned to category 2 (neutral) under the ACTIVITY heading, a 2 for the PEOPLE heading (the category of 'more than one Third World child'), and a 1 for the BACKGROUND heading (most backgrounds were white).

Figure 5.1
Example of Matrix Ad

The Collapse Of The Iron Curtain Didn't Solve The Problems Of Eastern Europe.



It Exposed Them.

Eastern European economies are in chaos. In Poland, the economy has collapsed, and inflation is soaring. In Czechoslovakia, the economy is in a state of collapse, and inflation is soaring. In Hungary, the economy is in a state of collapse, and inflation is soaring. In the Soviet Union, the economy is in a state of collapse, and inflation is soaring.

Through out Eastern Europe, millions of children are suffering from malnutrition, disease, and death. Their parents are too poor to buy the food and medicine they need. They are too poor to pay for the medical care they need. They are too poor to pay for the education they need.

As always, it's the children who suffer most.

We have a simple solution. We can help these children by providing them with the food and medicine they need. We can help them by providing them with the medical care they need. We can help them by providing them with the education they need.

medical attention and education. At the same time, we are beginning to establish similar programs in Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.

But we can't do it all by ourselves. For just \$24 a month, you can make a difference in the lives of these children. You can help them get the food and medicine they need. You can help them get the medical care they need. You can help them get the education they need.

Act today. Because the children of Eastern Europe need the help of us in the free world. So they can survive in their new world.

ChildEurope

\$24 a month
 \$48 a month
 \$72 a month
 \$96 a month
 \$120 a month

\$144 a month
 \$168 a month
 \$192 a month
 \$216 a month
 \$240 a month

\$264 a month
 \$288 a month
 \$312 a month
 \$336 a month
 \$360 a month

\$384 a month
 \$408 a month
 \$432 a month
 \$456 a month
 \$480 a month

\$504 a month
 \$528 a month
 \$552 a month
 \$576 a month
 \$600 a month

\$624 a month
 \$648 a month
 \$672 a month
 \$696 a month
 \$720 a month

\$744 a month
 \$768 a month
 \$792 a month
 \$816 a month
 \$840 a month

\$864 a month
 \$888 a month
 \$912 a month
 \$936 a month
 \$960 a month

\$984 a month
 \$1008 a month
 \$1032 a month
 \$1056 a month
 \$1080 a month

\$1104 a month
 \$1128 a month
 \$1152 a month
 \$1176 a month
 \$1200 a month

\$1224 a month
 \$1248 a month
 \$1272 a month
 \$1296 a month
 \$1320 a month

\$1344 a month
 \$1368 a month
 \$1392 a month
 \$1416 a month
 \$1440 a month

\$1464 a month
 \$1488 a month
 \$1512 a month
 \$1536 a month
 \$1560 a month

\$1584 a month
 \$1608 a month
 \$1632 a month
 \$1656 a month
 \$1680 a month

\$1704 a month
 \$1728 a month
 \$1752 a month
 \$1776 a month
 \$1800 a month

\$1824 a month
 \$1848 a month
 \$1872 a month
 \$1896 a month
 \$1920 a month

\$1944 a month
 \$1968 a month
 \$1992 a month
 \$2016 a month
 \$2040 a month

\$2064 a month
 \$2088 a month
 \$2112 a month
 \$2136 a month
 \$2160 a month

\$2184 a month
 \$2208 a month
 \$2232 a month
 \$2256 a month
 \$2280 a month

\$2304 a month
 \$2328 a month
 \$2352 a month
 \$2376 a month
 \$2400 a month

\$2424 a month
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 \$3480 a month

\$3504 a month
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\$3624 a month
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 \$4320 a month

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\$4584 a month
 \$4608 a month
 \$4632 a month
 \$4656 a month
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\$4704 a month
 \$4728 a month
 \$4752 a month
 \$4776 a month
 \$4800 a month

\$4824 a month
 \$4848 a month
 \$4872 a month
 \$4896 a month
 \$4920 a month

\$4944 a month
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\$5784 a month
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\$5904 a month
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\$11664 a month
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 \$11736 a month
 \$11760 a month

\$11784 a month
 \$11808 a month
 \$11832 a month
 \$11856 a month
 \$11880 a month

\$11904 a month
 \$11928 a month
 \$11952 a month
 \$11976 a month
 \$12000 a month

\$12024 a month
 \$12048 a month
 \$12072 a month
 \$12096 a month
 \$12120 a month

\$12144 a month
 \$12168 a month
 \$12192 a month
 \$12216 a month
 \$12240 a month

\$12264 a month
 \$12288 a month
 \$12312 a month
 \$12336 a month
 \$12360 a month

\$12384 a month
 \$12408 a month
 \$12432 a month
 \$12456 a month
 \$12480 a month

\$12504 a month
 \$12528 a month
 \$12552 a month
 \$12576 a month
 \$12600 a month

\$12624 a month
 \$12648 a month
 \$12672 a month
 \$12696 a month
 \$12720 a month

\$12744 a month
 \$12768 a month
 \$12792 a month
 \$12816 a month
 \$12840 a month

\$12864 a month
 \$12888 a month
 \$12912 a month
 \$12936 a month
 \$12960 a month

\$12984 a month
 \$13008 a month
 \$13032 a month
 \$13056 a month
 \$13080 a month

\$13104 a month
 \$13128 a month
 \$13152 a month
 \$13176 a month
 \$13200 a month

\$13224 a month
 \$13248 a month
 \$13272 a month
 \$13296 a month
 \$13320 a month

\$13344 a month
 \$13368 a month
 \$13392 a month
 \$13416 a month
 \$13440 a month

\$13464 a month
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 \$13560 a month

\$13584 a month
 \$13608 a month
 \$13632 a month
 \$13656 a month
 \$13680 a month

\$13704 a month
 \$13728 a month
 \$13752 a month
 \$13776 a month
 \$13800 a month

\$13824 a month
 \$13848 a month
 \$13872 a month
 \$13896 a month
 \$13920 a month

\$13944 a month
 \$13968 a month
 \$13992 a month
 \$14016 a month
 \$14040 a month

\$14064 a month
 \$14088 a month
 \$14112 a month
 \$14136 a month
 \$14160 a month

\$14184 a month
 \$14208 a month
 \$14232 a month
 \$14256 a month
 \$14280 a month

\$14304 a month
 \$14328 a month
 \$14352 a month
 \$14376 a month
 \$14400 a month

\$14424 a month
 \$14448 a month
 \$14472 a month
 \$14496 a month
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\$14544 a month
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 \$14616 a month
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 \$14712 a month
 \$14736 a month
 \$14760 a month

\$14784 a month
 \$14808 a month
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 \$15576 a month
 \$15600 a month

\$15624 a month
 \$15648 a month
 \$15672 a month
 \$15696 a month
 \$15720 a month

\$15744 a month
 \$15768 a month
 \$15792 a month

SECTION A

Table 5.2
People Categories Used in Content Analysis

Category Number	Category
1	Lone Third World Child
2	Third World children
3	Third World mother/child
4	Third World families or community groups excluding Third World helpers ¹
5	Third World people with a Third World helper
6	Third World people with a First World helper (e.g. First World celebrity/authority figure)
7	First and Third World adults and children
8	First World adults (in the Third World)
9	Very distant or no people
10	Staff members (not shown in the Third World); includes experts, celebrities, volunteers, participants in fundraising, all of whom are in New Zealand
11	Other

Note ¹ 'A helper' was defined as those people shown assisting others. This includes health workers, teacher, technicians, development workers and visiting sponsors.

The hypotheses pertaining to Section A (people compositions) of the content analysis are as follows:

- 1 The highest percentage of photographs will be categorised as 1 (lone Third World child).
- 2 Category 2 or images of Third World children will follow closely.
- 3 Photographs depicting Third World family groups will be the next most common people grouping.

- 4 WV, CCF and SCF will have a higher percentage of photographs fitting the first two categories than Tear Fund and CWS because the latter two NGOs do not run child sponsorship programmes.
- 5 Tear Fund and CWS will have a broader range of people depicted in their advertising imagery than the above named child centred NGOs because they work with both adults and children.

A reasonably high number of photographs showing both Third and First World people together was expected for all NGOs. This is an important category for this research as these images tend to display the most marked examples of unequal power relations between the First World and the Third. The meanings implicit in these images will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven. It was anticipated that the child focussed NGOs would exploit this type of imagery whilst the remaining NGOs would either avoid such representations, or use them very rarely.

SECTION B

Table 5.3
Background Categories Used in Content Analysis

Category Number	Category
1	Absent (white or another plain colour)
2	Blurred, or indistinguishable
3	Institutional (schools, hospitals, camps, training centres)
4	Villages - in and around local buildings (primarily rural settings)
5	Third World urban settings (cities, slums, rubble, etc)
6	First World settings
7	Agricultural settings or landscapes
8	Third World urban workplaces (factories, offices)
9	Other people, crowds ¹
10	Other (collages of small pictures, photos of miscellaneous items such as amenities, equipment, etc)

Note ¹ In these images a central figure is surrounded by other people who are only partial visible. These other people therefore constitute the background.

The hypotheses pertaining to Section B (backgrounds) of the content analysis are as follows:

- 1 The child centred NGOs (WV, SCF and CCF) will have higher percentages of images fitting the first two categories (absent and blurred backgrounds) than Tear Fund and CWS.
- 2 Village and agricultural settings will also appear frequently in the images of all the NGOs because these are the stereotypical settings for development-charity ads.

SECTION C

Table 5.4
Activity Categories Used in Content Analysis

Category Number	Category
1	Direct camera gaze/pose - negative expressions (sad, sick, pleading), also downcast gazes
2	Direct camera gaze/pose - neutral (passive, apathetic, expressionless)
3	Direct camera gaze/pose - positive (happy, content)
4	Receiving aid (from the First World) - also receiving comfort/support from First World person(s)
5	Working - agricultural work, building, healthcare provision by Third World person ¹
6	Daily life activities (DLA) - such as eating, sleeping, cooking, children at play, conversations, comforting each other, fetching water and tending animals.
7	School (also any educational/vocational training)
8	Staff photographs (includes experts, volunteers, celebrities, journalists)
9	Photographs of First World and Third World people together - such as pictures of visiting sponsors.
10	Other

Note ¹ When healthcare was being provided by a Third World person this was categorized as working rather than receiving aid because the provider was from the Third World and not from elsewhere. Also, categorizing this image under receiving aid would be misleading because it suggests a message of helplessness.

The hypotheses pertaining to Section C of the content analysis are as follows:

- 1 A high percentage of images for the child-focussed NGOs (WV, SCF and CCF) were expected in categories 2 and 3 (direct camera gazes with happy or passive expressions).
- 2 A relatively high percentage of images fitting categories 5 and 6 (daily life activities and working) was anticipated for all NGOs, although the two non-sponsorship NGOs (Tear Fund and CWS) were expected to have more of these images than the other three NGOs.

The results of the content analysis of 655 pieces of promotional material (according to the three criteria - people, backgrounds and activity) are discussed in the next part of this chapter, in light of the hypotheses outlined above. A summary table of the most common compositions for the three criteria precedes each discussion.

SECTION A - DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Table 5.5

Three Most Common People Categories for the Five Sample NGOs

NGO	Category	Percentage
W V	TW Adults	23
	TW Single Child	16
	TW Families	12
SCF	Lone Child	21
	TW Children	17
	TW People & TW Helper	15
CCF	Lone Child	40
	TW Children	25
	TW People & FW Helper	13
TEAR	Lone Child	20
	RW Adults	20
	TW People & FW Helper	10
CWS	Lone Child	34
	Families	24
	TW Adults	19

Key: TW = Third World

FW = First World

Note: Staff and volunteer photos are excluded from this analysis.

Photos which depict a single Third World child are by far the most popular image for virtually all of the NGOs (with the exception of WV, where this image came second to photos of Third World adults). Images of Third World children were also very popular. Based on the prevalence of this image a typical 'lone child' ad has been selected for more detailed analysis in chapter seven. The results for each people category in Section A are briefly outlined below.

Single Child Image

Not surprisingly, the proportion of images depicting a single/lone child was very high. In fact, this was the **most common** image in the PEOPLE section. For four out of the five NGOs this was the most frequent composition of people. The single child image came third for WV behind staff photos and images of Third World adults. CCF had the highest proportion of lone-child images (37%) followed by CWS (34%). The results from the other three organizations ranged from 16-21%.

Of the three child-centred NGOs (WV, SCF and CCF), only CCF performed to the expected level. Most of CCF's funding is derived from sponsorship and as this is the NGO's main activity, it was not surprising to find this situation reflected in the organization's imagery. What was unexpected was the high score that CWS attained, coming second overall for this category. Given that CWS does not have a child-centred philosophy (but rather a more general people/community approach), it was anticipated that its images would reflect a more diverse range of people. It appears that non-sponsorship agencies such as CWS recognize the appealing nature of photos of children and use these images in their advertising in much the same way as the sponsorship NGOs, despite CWS being opposed to this form of aid.

Third World Children

In this category CCF once again dominated, with 25% of its images portraying two or more children (with adults absent). SCF was the second highest in this category (17%), with all other organizations scoring 10% or below.

Third World Adults

Tear Fund, WV and CWS had similar proportions of images in this category, with approximately one fifth of their images depicting Third World adults only (18-20%). CCF and SCF scored very low, with only 2% of their images fitting this category. The low score of CCF and SCF can perhaps be explained by their focus on children and not adults, but WV is also a child-centred NGO and managed to incorporate a much higher percentage of adults in its imagery. Perhaps this is a reflection of the broader nature of WV's sponsorship programme when compared with that of SCF or CCF.

Families/Community Groups

Only CWS figured high, with one quarter of its images showing this particular people grouping. WV followed on 12%, with the three other organizations achieving scores below 8%. Given that WV is trying to move towards a more community-based sponsorship programme, perhaps families and community groups need to become as prevalent in its advertising as images of children.

Mother/Child Images

'Madonna-like' compositions (of mothers cradling young children) did not appear as frequently as expected. In general only 3-5% of all images for each of the NGOs were of this type, with the exception of CWS at 11%.

Third World People with a Third World Helper

A 'helper' was defined as somebody shown in a role of strength or power, whether it be in an instructive/advisory role (for example, nurses and teachers) or someone giving assistance or support to other people. In this category only SCF had a positive result, with 15% of its images showing a Third World helper in action. No images of CWS fitted this category, whilst only a 1-2% result was attained by CCF, Tear Fund and WV. This is an important image because it shows Third World people in a positive and constructive fashion, as agents of their own development rather than as the passive recipients of assistance from the First World.

Third World People with a First World Helper

Images which contained both First World and Third World adults were typically characterized by the depiction of a white First World adult (usually a male but sometimes a female) and a black child (usually very young). Figure 5.2 below gives two examples of this category. The definition of helper is the same as given above, but with the helper being white rather than black. This is a potentially very powerful and dangerous image because of the two binary oppositions contained within it, that of racial difference and an imbalance of power. This image and its inherent problems will be discussed in more depth in the case study analyses in chapter seven.

Figure 5.2
Third World People + First World Helper - Example Images

Dennis Scruggs with Lovely Obeabrun



Sally Struthers greets Antiguan children.

Sources: Teartalk Childcare Special 1993:7; Childworld Autumn 1991:6.

The content analysis revealed that 13% of CCF's images fit this stereotypical image of First World helper with Third World people. Tear Fund followed closely on 10%, with WV and SCF both scoring 6%. It is significant that no CWS images fitted this category. This finding evidences CWS putting its theological principles into practice in its advertising material. In its latest appeal (the Brown Bag Appeal) CWS makes the following statement which reasserts a commitment to equity and respect:

"The 1993 Brown Bag Appeal supports organizations in the world's poorest areas, who - **through their own initiatives** - are working for justice and a better life for their communities."

The nil result in this category illustrates the successful incorporation of the organization's theology into its advertising material.

The scores of CCF and SCF (13% and 10% respectively), do not sound significant, but they are high when compared to the results of other 'people' groupings. For instance, while 10% of Tear Fund's photographs portrayed First World people in the 'helper' role, only 1% of its images showed Third World people in this role; as **enablers** of their own development. The story is similar for CCF, with 13% of its images drawing attention to the First World aiding the Third but only 2% of the images showing Third World 'helpers'. WV showed no images of Third World 'helpers' but 6% of its images were of First World 'helpers'.

The message implicit in this type of composition can be harmful, for the 'partnership' between the different actors represented is clearly unequal. 'We', the First World donors, are positioned in the role of hero/saviour, while 'they', the Third World receivers, are placed in a position of relative subordination.

Staff/Volunteer Photos

There were high numbers of staff and volunteer photos for all organizations except CWS, which scored only 3%. 23% of WV's images were basically "of themselves", of staff members, celebrities and participants in fundraising activities. Tear Fund was second in this category at 17%, followed closely by SCF at 16%. As this research is concerned with how

charities portray Third World people, the images in this category are of limited relevance. They do suggest, however, that one important function of NGO promotional material is not so much to let us know about the "underprivileged" overseas, but rather to inform readers of member activities. This is a point that Hevey (1992:44) takes up with reference to charity ads. He maintains that the main purpose of charity advertising is not to raise funds ("at this it manifestly fails") but rather to "appeal to the volunteer army of the respective charity ... to inform these people that they exist and that their mission is happening" (ibid). This could perhaps explain why up to a quarter of all the images of four of the NGOs in the sample were of staff and volunteers.

No People

In the category of no people (or very distant figures) only Tear Fund featured relatively highly, at 10%, whereas only 2% of CWS's and WV's images fitted this category and CCF scored nil.

SECTION B - DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Table 5.6

Three Most Common Background Categories for the Five Sample NGOs

NGO	Category	Percentage
W V	Agricultural settings	25
	Blurred	21
	Villages	20
SCF	Blurred	23
	Institutional	23
	Villages	17
CCF	Blurred	40
	Institutional	17
	Villages	12
TEAR	Blurred	33
	Agricultural settings	17
	None (white)	12
CWS	Slums	26
	Blurred	18
	Agricultural settings	13

The most common background in used in charity images was one which was blurred and indistinct. This was the most frequently used background for three out of five of the NGOs. Other common backgrounds included agricultural and institutional settings.

In summary, the results of Section B of the content analysis support the first hypothesis, with categories 1 and 2 (absent and blurred backgrounds) being the most popular for the child-centred NGOs - CCF and SCF. WV was the exception in that agricultural settings appeared more frequently than blurred or absent backgrounds. Tear Fund, a non child-focussed agency also favoured blurred backgrounds over all other categories. Slum backgrounds predominated in CWS imagery, although this was an almost unused

category in the advertising of the other four NGOs. With regard to the second hypothesis, agricultural and village settings also featured frequently in the promotional material of SCF and CCF. The results from each category are described briefly below.

No Background/Blurred Backgrounds

The number of photos which had either no background or a blurred background is noteworthy. It was believed that those agencies which tended to decontextualize Third World problems (namely those that focussed on children rather than Third World people in general) would be more likely to have their simplistic philosophy reflected in their imagery, that is, in an absence of or reduced emphasis on backgrounds.

It is interesting to note that the highest overall results in the background section of the content analysis were in the blurred or no background categories. 40% of CCF's images fell into the blurred category, followed by Tear Fund at 33%, SCF at 23%, WV with 21% and CWS at 8%. In the category of absent backgrounds both Tear Fund and CCF scored 12%, followed by SCF on 10%, CWS 8% and WV 2%.

Section A above established that CCF almost exclusively shows images of children (lone child images making up 37% of all photos, and images of two or more children constituting an additional 25%, bringing the total to 62%). These two categories combined make up nearly two-thirds of all the NGO's photographs. It is therefore not surprising that 40% of CCF's images have blurred backgrounds, for the conventional format for child-sponsorship promotions is a photo of a single child gazing pleadingly at the camera with a relatively indistinct background.

The category of "no background" was determined by the use of white-only, or another plain colour. In its strongest form, the figures in these images had been removed from their backgrounds and superimposed on a blank sheet. This is an important point for it highlights the **constructed** nature of these images. In these images a decision has been made which affects the information given (or lack thereof) and which guides the intended reading of the image by those who see it. The complete absence of a background tends to simplify and reduce the meaning of the image into the elements left. Typically all meaning is concentrated into the symbol of the lone child.

This will be discussed further, along with other semiotic implications of absent backgrounds, in a later chapter.

It should be noted that some of the images that fit this category were photographs of staff and volunteers. In these cases the blank background was due to the photographic conventions associated with portraiture, rather than being due to the deliberate decontextualizing of Third World images. Nevertheless, such decontextualizing is a recurrent feature of the NGO material.

Agricultural Settings/Landscapes

WV took the lead in the agricultural background category, with one quarter of all the images from the promotional material depicting an agricultural scene (or scenery including deserts and other terrains). CCF showed no agricultural scenes and SCF, CWS and Tear Fund scored between 13-17% for this category. Agricultural scenes are significant for they are usually the context in which positive images of Third World people at work are shown.

Village Scenes

This was an interesting category because rural settings with rustic village buildings have become a cliché for rural living conditions in underdeveloped nations. Mud huts and other simple, locally made structures are often an integral part of the background in NGO ads and function to highlight how comparatively primitive and alien are the lifestyles and housing of people from poorer countries.

WV took the lead again in the village background category, with 20% of its images set in and around local buildings in a rural area. SCF's images came second in this category, with 17% of its images representing villages scenes. CCF followed at 12%; Tear Fund and CWS were not far behind on 10%. This category is important in that these types of images, when associated with poverty, tend to reinforce stereotypical ideas of primitive and backward cultures in the underdeveloped world.

Institutional Settings

SCF took the lead here, with 23% of images in institutional contexts, including hospitals, schools and training centres. Due to SCF's health focus, most of its institutional images were in healthcare facilities. 17% of CCF's

images were in institutional settings, followed by Tear Fund (9.5%), WV (6%), and CWS (5%).

Third World Urban Workplace

The scores for this category were very low. Three of the organizations did not score at all, with only 1% of CCF's images fitting this category and 6% of CWS's photos. This is perhaps because the majority of the photos which depict Third World people 'at work' focus on those who work in the agricultural sector in preference over images of the millions of Third World people who work in cities.

Third World Urban Settings

All organizations scored between 2-6% for this category, with CWS and CCF scoring the highest. These images included slum, rubble, and refuse scenes, and any images of Third World cities excluding those to do with the workplace.

Other People

Scores varied between 1-5% in this category for all of the NGOs.

The results from this section of the content analysis indicate a clear preference for backgrounds with very little detail. Organizations such as CCF have 52% of their images either devoid of a background or with a background too blurred to identify. Agricultural and village scenes were also popular. Both of these findings support the hypotheses stated above with regard to this part of the analysis.

SECTION C - DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Table 5.7

Three Most Common Activity Categories for the Five Sample NGOs

NGO	Category	Percentage
W V	Happy Expression	17
	Working	17
	Daily Life Activities	12
SCF	Daily Life Activities	19
	Receiving Aid	17
	Working	14
CCF	Passive Expression	27
	Daily Life Activities	17
	FW + TW people posing	12
TEAR	Passive Expression	17
	Other ¹	17
	Working	12
CWS	Working	42
	Other	15
	Daily Life Activities	11

Key: TW = Third World
FW = First World

Notes:

- 1 Tear Fund had many unusual photographs with evangelical implications that could not be categorized.
- 2 Staff and volunteer photographs are excluded from this analysis.

Several different categories of activity were popular with the NGOs, especially the categories of passive and happy expressions, working and daily life activities. There were some unexpected results, such as the

popularity of images of Third World people receiving aid in SCF's advertising. The results from each of the activity categories is given below.

Direct Eye-contact Photos (Categories 1,2,3)

Three of the categories in the 'Activity' section were concerned with photos of Third World people who were posed, looking directly into the camera. These photos were divided into three subcategories according to different facial expressions. The first category was of negative, sad looking photos, that is, expressions of despair, illness, etc. The second category was of more neutral expressions and the last category was of happy, contented images.

10% of CWS's images were of negative direct eye-contact photos, followed by both WV and Tear Fund on 6%. 2% of SCF's images were of negative expressions (usually the very ill) and none of CCF's photos fitted this category. In the second category of impassive/neutral expressions, CCF took the lead at 27%. Tear Fund rated 17%, followed by the other three organizations scoring between 8-10%.

CCF dominated this section due to the many photos of individual children available for sponsorship. Very few of these images showed happy contented faces. The 9% of CCF's photographs which did show positive expressions were mainly found in the context of children already sponsored, rather than those still awaiting sponsorship.

In the third category of happy, direct eye-contact photos WV took the lead at 17%, almost double the score of CCF (9%). Tear Fund and SCF scored 10% and 7% respectively. Of all the direct camera-gaze photographs, over half of WV's images were of happy children, while two-thirds of CCF's were of children with passive/neutral expressions, and half of the Tear Fund photographs were neutral.

These direct camera-gaze images are a common technique used by charities to appeal for funds. This approach is felt to be effective due to the underlying belief that when someone stares straight into your eyes they are somehow being 'true'. As photographer Susan Sontag(1977:37-38) explains:

"In the normal rhetoric of the photographic portrait, facing the camera signifies solemnity, rankness, the disclosure of the subject's essence".

Receiving Aid

One of the important categories in the 'activity' section consisted of images showing a Third World person or people in the act of receiving aid (in whatever form) from First World people.

SCF dominated in this section, with 17% of its images being categorized as 'receiving aid'. While this figure was relatively high, it can be argued that SCF also ranked highly in the 'people' category of 'Third World helpers' (15%). Although SCF had the highest proportion of images showing Third World people receiving aid (and hence reinforcing a message of helplessness and dependency), this is somewhat counterbalanced by its high score in the Third World helper category, in which Third World people are seen as actively helping themselves.

10% of WV's and Tear Fund's photographs showed Third World people receiving aid from First World persons. This compares unfavourably with the proportion of their images which show Third World people in the more active role of helping themselves. Tear Fund scored 1% and WV scoring nil in this category. 6% of CWS's photographs were of 'receiving aid' and 1% for CCF.

Working

CWS took a clear lead in this category, scoring an impressive 42%. Nearly half of CWS's photographs showed Third World people working, thus conveying images with more positive and constructive messages. The results from this content analysis suggest that CWS's imagery is four-times more likely to show people working than being passive or despondent. The images of work for this organization are usually in the context of struggle and hardship.

The images of WV, Tear Fund and SCF varied between 12-17% in this category. CCF was the lowest ranked on 6%. CCF's low score can no doubt be partly explained by the young age of the majority of the children in their photographs, although it could be argued that the other child-focussed

organizations managed to have twice as many photos of people working even though they too were catering for children.

Daily Life Activities

These images are important in that they convey a message of similarity between 'us', the First World, and 'them', the Third World. First Worlders can relate to the ordinary universal activities that daily life necessitates, such as cooking and cleaning. It could also be argued that these photographs emphasize the difference in effort required to meet basic needs and hence evoke a sense not only of empathy but also of sympathy. The NGOs in this sample scored between 6% (Tear Fund) and 20% (SCF), with CCF second on 17% and WV and CWS scoring 12% and 11% respectively.

School

Third World adults in training centres (learning new skills) were included in this category, along with Third World children in school. The results were surprisingly low, with the highest being SCF on 12%. CCF rated 8% and the other NGOs scored 3% or below. These low results were partly due to the fact that when Third World adults were shown in an educational context with First World rather than Third World instructors, these images were categorised as receiving aid rather than being in school.

The results from Section C of the content analysis yielded mixed support for the previously stated hypotheses. Direct eye-contact photographs with passive and happy expressions were indeed the most common category for the child sponsorship NGOs (WV and CCF), as predicted, but the other child focussed agency (SCF) preferred images of people busy with daily life activities over direct eye-contact images. Also unexpected was the popularity of images of people with passive expressions used in Tear Fund's imagery, Tear Fund being a non-child-centred agency. The most frequently appearing activity shown in CWS's photographs were those of people at work.

The second hypothesis anticipated that categories 5 and 6 (working and daily life activities) would be popular and that these two categories would feature more regularly in the images of Tear Fund and CWS. This was the case, although there were several unexpected categories that were also popular, such as the category of receiving aid (the second most common image in

SCF advertising), and images of First and Third World people together (the third most popular image for CCF).

SUMMARY OF CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS

The above content analysis provides the answers to three questions:

- 1 What kinds of people are commonly depicted in charity advertising (in terms of ethnicity, age and a number of other variables)?
- 2 What settings or contexts are regularly used in charity ad imagery?
- 3 What are the preferred activities shown in this material?

The content analysis focussed on the frequency of appearance of the various categories of people compositions, backgrounds and activities. A summary of the categories preferred by each NGO is given in Table 5.8. As this study investigates images that the First World receives of Third World peoples, staff and volunteer photographs (which were very popular) were excluded.

Table 5.9 shows the percentage of promotional material for each NGO that was in black and white or colour. The decision to present black and white or colour images has important semiotic implications. These implications are explored in chapter seven, following an outline of the techniques of semiotic analysis. Here it suffices to provide content statistics showing relative distributions. The predominance of black and white over colour should be noted.

Table 5.8
The Most Common Images Used in the Advertising Material of Five NGOs

NGO	People	Background	Activity
W V	TW Adults	Agricultural	Working
	Single Child	Blurred	Happy
SCF	Lone Child	Blurred	DLA
CCF	Lone Child	Blurred	Passive Expr
	Children	Institutional	DLA
TEAR	Lone Child	Blurred	Passive
	TW Adults	Agricultural	Other
CWS	Lone Child	Slums	Working
	Families	Blurred	Other

Key: DLA = Daily Life Activities

Table 5.9
The Proportion of Black and White to Colour Images in the Promotional Material of Five NGOs

NGO	Black and White (%)	Colour (%)
W V	60	40
SCF	89	11
CCF	100	0
TEAR	96	4
CWS	69	31

The content analysis undertaken in this chapter allows an identification of the three most common images used in NGO promotional material. The most predominant image overall is characterised by a LONE CHILD, accompanied by a BLURRED BACKGROUND, looking PASSIVELY at the camera. This is the conventional format for child sponsorship ads. However, this chapter has shown that this composition is commonly used

by other agencies that are not specifically oriented towards children (such as Tear Fund and CWS). Given the prevalence of this image, a more detailed semiotic analysis of a case study ad that fits this description will be undertaken in chapter seven. This includes a discussion of why images of children are used so often. A variant of this theme - why Third World children are so often pictured with white (surrogate parent) adults will also be considered.

Another image commonly used by NGOs in their advertising features a Third World adult working in an agricultural setting. A charity ad that meets these three characteristics has also been selected for semiotic analysis in the case studies chapter.

The third case study was selected not so much on the basis of the frequency of its appearance (as was the rationale for the previous two cases), but because of its impact. The third case study focusses on an emergency appeal ad typical of development charity campaigns for emergency relief. The core characteristic of this ad is the use of an image of a starving child. The semiotic implications of such imagery, as well as the ethics associated with images of the hungry, will be discussed. The order of the case studies should be noted: Case Study One relates to an image of a Third World adult at work, the second case study - a starving child image, and Case Study Three - a lone child image.

CONCLUSION

The central objective of this chapter has been to answer the questions - what images do "we", the First World, receive of Third World people? and which images are most common? The answers to these questions have been derived from the content analysis of a sample of the promotional material of five NGOs. The most prevalent forms of imagery have been typified as the three case studies outlined above. However, content analysis methodology is by its very nature intended only to grapple with the distributional aspect of the elements within the material. Having established which representations are most often seen, it is now necessary to address more qualitative questions - what do these images **mean** and **how** do they mean? To answer these questions we need to enter the world of

signs. The case study ads must be examined in terms of the relationships between the signs, and between the signs and the reader. In order undertake such an analysis, it is first necessary to discuss the central conceptual tools of semiology. This task is taken up in chapter six.

CHAPTER SIX

SEMIOTIC THEORY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter elaborates a working understanding of the central principles of semiology⁵³, so that these concepts can be applied to selected case studies in chapter seven. The content analysis method utilized in chapter five usefully identifies and categorizes the various elements contained within the promotional material of the five sample NGOs. Distributional data has been obtained on the surface (or denotative) level of the advertising material. But the question of the **meaning** of ads could not be addressed within the terms of content analysis. Nor could the issue of **how** ads create meaning. For these reasons a semiotic method has been chosen as the second investigation technique. This method complements the information derived from the content analysis methodology.

The first part of this chapter defines semiotics and provides a brief historical account of its emergence. This account includes a discussion of some of the crucial concepts such as signs, codes, and levels of meaning. A number of other concepts such as metonyms and paradigms are also discussed. The final part of this chapter concentrates on the role of ideology and power in the creation of codes and meaning. An understanding of semiotic concepts is highly relevant to the case studies investigated in chapter seven. In order to establish what these ads mean, the process through which meaning is formed must be understood.

Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), was one of the founding fathers of modern semiology. Saussure believed that semiology was "a science that studies the life of signs in society" (cited in Guiraud, 1971:1). Sless (1986:1) defines semiology in a similar fashion - "semiotics is above all an intellectual curiosity about the way we represent our world to ourselves and each other". Semiotics pivots on the use of signs and how they work. Given that signs are the basic unit from which semiology is built, it is important to understand what they are. A sign is "any item which can

⁵³ 'Semiology' and 'semiotics' are terms used interchangeably throughout this chapter. The former term is preferred by French theorists, and the latter by American theorists.

produce meaning" (Hartley 1982:11). Signs refer to something other than themselves. The meaning evoked by a sign is not linked to the object it stands for in any way other than social. That is, a community must collectively attribute a particular meaning to a specific sign.

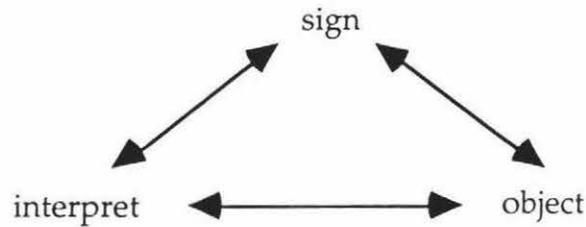
Saussure was a linguist and was interested in how signs, specifically words, relate to other signs within a system to create meaning (Fiske 1982:47). One of the fundamental principles underlying Saussure's work was the concept of binary oppositions - everything has a meaning in terms of its opposite, in terms of what it is not. For example, black and white, good and evil, big and small, etc. Binaries such as these are antagonistic two-term systems. These two-term systems are a product of culture, not nature. They are a human creation and they "function to structure our perceptions of the natural and social world into order and meaning" (O'Sullivan et al 1983:24).

A key component of semiology is the belief in the importance of structure to the creation of meaning. Saussure held that the true nature of things is not intrinsic to the things themselves. Rather, it is dependent upon "the relationships that we construct, and then perceive, between them" (Hawke 1977:19). This principle is central to Saussurean semiology and structuralist thought. Saussure maintained, "the full significance of any entity or experience cannot be perceived unless and until it is integrated into the structure of which it forms a part" (ibid:19). Language, the focus of Saussure's study, was a "supreme example of a self-contained 'relational' structure" (ibid:26).

C.S. Peirce (1839-1914), Saussure's American counterpart, was also interested in the generation of meaning. As a logician and philosopher, Peirce's approach to this topic differed from Saussure. Both theorists expounded models of a triadic nature, but each pose a different set of three elements. For Saussure, a sign was made up of a signifier and a signified, but for Peirce the relationship was between the sign, the interpretant and the object. While Saussure was primarily concerned with the relationship between the sign and other signs, Peirce took into consideration the relationship between the sign and the user. For Peirce, the meaning of a sign involved its user's personal experiences in the conceptualization of an object (Fiske 1982:45).

The two models of Peirce and Saussure are illustrated in Figures 6.1 and 6.2.

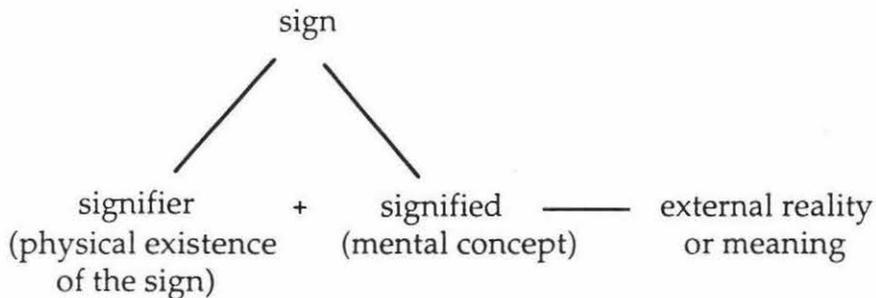
Figure 6.1
Peirce's Elements of Meaning



Source: Fiske 1982:45

The double-ended arrows indicate the interdependence of each element.

Figure 6.2
Saussure's Elements of Meaning



Source: Fiske 1982:47

Abercrombie et al (1988:218) explain the difference between signifier, signified and sign as follows:

"The signifier can be a physical object, a word, or a picture of some kind. The signified is a mental concept indicated by the signifier. The sign is the association of the signifier and the signified. For example a Valentine card (signifier) can signify adoration (signified). Both card and adoration can exist separately ... but their association constitutes a specific sign".

Peirce proposed three kinds of signs, each of which represented a different relationship between the signifier and the signified. These three sign types were icons, indexes and symbols.

PEIRCE'S ICONS, INDEXES AND SYMBOLS

Icons

A sign is 'iconic' when it bears a resemblance to an object (Fiske 1982:51). The most common example given in the literature is that of photographs or portrait/landscape paintings. As O'Sullivan et al (1983:106) state, "an icon is a sign which is determined by the nature of its object, thus in Saussurean terms it is highly motivated". The converse of motivation is constraint. When a sign is constrained there is no iconic resemblance between the two parts of a sign. The relationship is purely arbitrary and reliant on convention.

Indexes

Peirce's second type of signs are indexes. For a sign which is an index there is some kind of relationship between the signifier and signified which is "concrete, actual and usually of a sequential causal kind" (Hawke 1977:129). The most frequently cited example of an indexical sign is that of smoke as an index of fire.

Symbols

The third of Peirce's sign types are symbols. For symbols the relationship between the signifier and signified is purely arbitrary. There is no resemblance or natural linkage. The assignment of meaning to an object is therefore entirely based on convention. For example in western culture a gold wedding band signifies marriage and all the attendant values, such as love, commitment and romance. There is no inherent connection between the values associated with marriage and the material reality of a gold wedding ring. Such associations are **learned**. Therefore they are also culturally specific.

CODES

Codes "are the systems into which signs are organized and which determine how signs may be related to each other" (Fiske 1982:2). Codes provide the rules that organize signs in a meaningful manner. Therefore these codes play a crucial role in semiotics. Each sign may be made up of a signifier and a signified, but on its own an individual sign has little significance. It is the

codes that a society practices which organize signs into a meaningful message. For example, a charity ad could contain a variety of signs - a young black child, a white woman in a nurse's uniform, holding a syringe, in a hospital context. As discrete units these signs are not inherently meaningful but will be read/interpreted as signs in association with each other according to the code in which these ads operate. The intended audience must be familiar with this code in order to attain the intended message.

There are many different types of codes - codes of dress, of behaviour, etc. Guiraud (1971) suggests three kinds of codes - logical, aesthetic, and social. Various kinds of social codes are described below to demonstrate their organizational and signifying role in society. Social codes are concerned with communication between individuals and signs of identity. An example of a social code is dress - formal, casual, leisure, etc. The insignia of different military ranks is a specific example of such a social code. The importance of insignia is that they are: "marks which indicate the adherence of an individual to a group. Their function is to express the organization of society and the relations between individuals and groups" (ibid:84). Society is made up of a variety of groups - social, institutional, occupational, cultural or ethnic. These various groups are identified and organized by codes of meaning. One important characteristic of codes is their seeming invisibility. Codes provide the guidelines that shape thoughts and behaviour. As they are learned via our socialization processes, they assume a natural air. As Dyer (1982:135) states,

"codes organize our understanding of the world in terms of 'dominant meaning patterns' ... patterns which ... we largely take for granted and which are uppermost in our minds when we interpret things or think about them".

Berger (1984:156) calls the mix of codes that shape people's behaviour "**culture codes**". Berger defines culture codes according to two features. Culture codes are 1) directives in our culture which we do not recognize (generally), and 2) they have a highly articulated structure and are very specific (ibid).

Berger also uses the term 'secret structures', which implies a need to identify and unravel the mystery of codes. Such an endeavour is important because culture codes "are the keys to understanding behaviour, to seeing

beneath the apparent randomness of things and obtaining insights into what motivates people"(1984:157). In summary, codes are the structures which organize signs. Cultural conventions determine "how codes are constructed for they decide which signs may meaningfully go together" (Abercrombie et al 1988:218).

LEVELS OF MEANING - DENOTATION AND CONNOTATION

The meaning of signs can occur at different levels. That is, the same signifier can have a range of different signifieds. Connotation and denotation are the two main levels at which meaning can be determined. Dyer (1982:128) provides a description of both as follows:

"Roughly speaking denotation and connotation refer to first and second level meaning in a sign. The term denotation refers to the literal meaning of a sign: to what is 'objectively' present and easily recognised or identified. Connotation is a term used to refer to meanings which lie beyond denotation but are introduced by an audience/viewer/reader beyond the literal meaning of a sign and are activated by the means of conventions or codes."

Roland Barthes, a follower of Saussure, has described denotation and connotation as the 'two orders of signification'. The first order of signification (or meaning) for Barthes is denotative. It is the literal manifest reading of signs. The second order of signification is connotative. At this level Barthes conceptualizes three different ways the sign can work. The details of this are not important to this study. Suffice it to say that Barthes's two levels of meaning coincide with the following definitions of denotation and connotation.

Hawke (1977:133) defines **denotation** very simply as "the use of language to mean what it says" and connotation as "the use of language to mean something other than what it says". For Fiske (1982:91), connotation "describes the interaction that occurs when the sign meets the feelings or emotions or the user and the values of his [sic] culture". Corner and Hawthorne (1980:8) explain the distinction between denotation and connotation as "essentially between on the one hand, the literal meanings of words or those things which images primarily depict and, on the other

hand, the associative meanings which words and images have gathered around them within a specific cultural context".

Photography is often cited as a clear illustration of the difference between denotation and connotation. "Denotation is what is photographed, connotation is how it is photographed" (Fiske 1982:91). Examples of factors that can influence the connotative meaning of a photograph include camera angles, lighting, and focus.

It is important to note that these levels of meaning are as equally applicable to the interpretation of visual images, as they are to interpreting spoken and written language.

While the concept of denotation is relatively easy to grasp, the nuances of connotative reading are less tangible. A simple explanation provided by Morgan and Welton (1986:31) describes the **connotations** that surround a sign as "the totality of recollections evoked by it". This makes connotative readings very subjective and poses the question of how members of an audience can be expected to arrive at a common understanding of a message. This is where the role of culture and ideology come into play. The codes we use to interpret the combination of signs contained within a charity ad, for instance, are culturally determined and culturally specific. Just as there is no intrinsic link between the signifier and signified in a sign, there is no intrinsic or natural link between how different signs are organized. In both cases the conventions of the society dictate what signifieds are associated with what signifiers and what signs need to go together to be meaningful. It is only when we start to question such processes that we begin to realize the extent to which ideological and cultural factors influence our thoughts, behaviour and our ability to understand the most basic activities that constitute everyday life.

THE ROLE OF THE READER

In order to understand semiology there must be a recognition of the role of the reader/viewer in the interpretation or decoding of a message. Unlike the early communication theories of Lasswell (1948) and Shannon and Weaver (1949), the reader is currently seen as a participant in the communication act, rather than as merely a passive receiver of messages.

No message can be understood without the reader taking some part. Hall proposes three types of decoding which result from "the frame of mind or the cognitive set that the audience brings with it" (Inglis 1981:148). These three types are: the dominant hegemonic code, the negotiated code and the oppositional code. In the first code, the audience assimilates the message in a non-questioning, accepting manner. This is the code that some Marxists maintain blinds the working class from their oppression (a mystification commonly referred to 'false consciousness'). The second code is used by audiences that select what they want from a message and reject the rest. In the oppositional code the individual or group explicitly goes against the communicated message. Minority pressure groups (including some of the more radical NGOs) are examples of groups who hold beliefs in contradiction to the dominant ideology.

Hall's work on decoding points to the importance of ideology to semiotic analysis. Dyer (1982:115) discusses the link between ideology and the role of the reader as it specifically relates to the interpretation of ad messages:

"ads are not invisible conveyors of messages or transparent reflections of reality, they are specific discourses or structures of signs. As such we do not passively absorb them but actively participate in their production of signification, according to the way they 'speak' to to or 'ensnare' us. We come to advertisements as social readers".

Dyer's reference to the way ads 'speak to us' raises the issue of audience positioning, which is closely linked to the mode of address given in the ad. As Bonney and Wilson (1983:163) explain, "the mode in which the audience is addressed is one of the factors determining the position(s) which the text constructs for the audience". Althusser refers to this process as interpellation. The construction of the reader's subjectivity via an ad's mode of address is demonstrated in the case studies undertaken in chapter seven.

ADDITIONAL SEMIOTIC CONCEPTS

Before discussing the role of ideology and power in determining meaning, four more concepts should be briefly discussed, as they are incorporated in the semiotic analyses of chapter seven. These are the two Saussurean

notions of different sign relations (namely paradigms and syntagms) and the use of metaphors and metonyms in language and imagery.

Paradigms

A paradigm is "a set from which a choice is made and only one unit from the set may be chosen" (Fiske 1982:61). The two features of paradigms are that the units must be able to be distinguished from one another and they must have some "over-all generic similarity" (O'Sullivan et al 1983:166). This is easier to understand with examples. The selection of entrees, mains and desserts on a menu are the units that make up a paradigm. The alphabet is another paradigm, in which the twenty-six letters making up the set. Particular clothing, shoes, jewellery and other accessories are the units that make up a paradigm of fashionable dressing.

Syntagm

A syntagm "is the message into which the chosen signs are combined" (O'Sullivan et al 1983:166). Using the alphabet example, a word that results from a combination of letters from the alphabet is a syntagm. In essence paradigms consist of some grouping from which an element can be selected. The chosen unit is usually combined with other units and this combination or arrangement forms the syntagm. The combinations of syntagms follow sets of rules, (the codes outlined above). These include, for example, grammatical rules in the case of the language paradigm, and fashion trends in the clothing paradigm. These rules, like all codes, are social conventions.

Metaphors

Metaphors can be presented both in language and in imagery. Advertising often presents metaphors visually and the aim is to transfer the quality (signified) of a certain object (signifier) to a particular product. Fiske (1982:97) gives the example of waterfalls and natural greenery as a metaphor for menthol cigarettes. This type of metaphorical transposition can be seen in many ads. A short working definition of metaphors is that they express "the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar" (ibid). A metaphor is not a natural connection. Morgan and Welton (1986:93) provide the following general definition of metaphors:

"Metaphor is the use of a physical object to represent an abstract idea or emotion. It depends upon more-or-less conventional link between the connotations of the object and those of the idea".

This raises the the important point of how metaphorical connotations are correctly interpreted. In reference to advertising metaphors, Leiss et al (1986:214) maintain that:

"the metaphors of symbol, image, and icon work by analogy and allusions; they refer beyond themselves to something else; they invite comparison between two things that appear to be dissimilar but which, they suggest, have a shared meaning. It is our contention that metaphor is the very heart of the basic communicative form that is advertising."

Metonyms

A metonym is defined as "making a part stand for a whole" (Fiske 1982:97). Charity ads can be seen to be metonymical in that the images selected function to represent the reality of the entire Third World. Any representation of reality inevitably involves a metonym. Fiske gives the example of the urban setting used for a television crime serial. This setting, is a metonym "for a particular type of city life - inner city squalor, suburban respectability or city-centre sophistication" (ibid). Fiske makes the crucial point that "the selection of metonym determines the rest of the picture of the event that we construct" (1982:98). Therefore, the metonyms used by charities have implications in terms of the general public's perception of the 'reality' of Third World poverty and degradation.

Fiske briefly discusses the **dangers** inherent in metonymy because of the close link it forges with perceptions of reality. Metonyms are indexes - "They are a part of that for which they stand" (ibid). But unlike indexes such as smoke and fire, there is no natural link, only an arbitrary one. Unfortunately, the arbitrary nature of the selection of the metonym tends to be overlooked. As a consequence, the index is made to appear natural and "thus given the status of 'the real', the not to be questioned" (ibid).

IDEOLOGY AND IMAGERY

What cannot be questioned is often ideological. Nichols(1981:1) describes ideology in terms of "how the existing ensemble of social relations represents itself to individuals; it is the image a society gives of itself in order to perpetuate itself". As ideology constructs how we perceive of

ourselves and our world, it is an integral element of communication acts and must be taken into account in all semiotic analyses. What is the connection between a semiotic reading of a text and ideology? All texts are immersed in ideological meaning and the intended interpretation is reliant on a familiarity with what is ideologically part of that particular society. The signs and symbols used in advertising are ideological, that is, they fit within a larger framework of ideas and beliefs. According to Nichols (*ibid*), there is a close link between ideology and power and imagery for "ideology uses the fabrication of images and the processes of representation to persuade us that how things are is how they ought to be and that the place provided for us is the place we ought to have".

Ideology provides the audience with the substance from which it decodes messages, but it is much more than this. It is a frame of reference, a 'mind-set' that enables members of a society to make sense of the world in a similar fashion. Ultimately, it is a form of power.

Ideologies often seem not to exist because we are inculcated with these ideas, values, beliefs and attitudes from birth. We know no different and are not taught to question or challenge prevailing views. The fundamental ideological orientation of a society is perpetuated through the socialization of children and each message is reinforced by the major institutions that make up society. The socialization and structural institutionalization of ideology enables people to assume pre-set roles that facilitate the continuation of the system under the illusion of free choice. It also, from a Marxist perspective, serves the vested interests of the ruling class. People absorb ideology through what Althusser refers to as "Ideological State Apparatuses" (ISAs), which include schools, churches, social clubs, political groups, families, the media and other institutions. "All these 'apparatuses' are unified by the ruling ideology which they institutionalize in their actual practices ... They call up or 'interpellate' individual subjects into the places in society which ideology already has prepared for them" (Sinclair 1987:41). Advertising is but one example of an ideological mechanism that helps to "distribute us into the places that the productive system requires us to fill" (*ibid*:42).

Ideology, as described above, fits with a Marxist perspective. Marx maintained those who own the material means of production also control the mental means of production, that is, our thoughts. From this

perspective the bourgeois class provide the commonly accepted definition of reality, one which is favourable to their exalted economic positions and which supports the 'status quo'. The working class share this definition and, "accept that it is natural and reasonable for capitalists to pursue maximum profits. It accepts the Liberal ideology that everyone in society has an equal opportunity to 'make it' and that if one remains at the bottom of the heap it is one's own fault" (76201 Study Guide:89). From a Marxist perspective, Althusser's ISA's are the means through which the ruling class is able "to maintain the consent of society" (Inglis 1981:84).

The media is a powerful mechanism for the subtle dissemination of ideology and advertising is one specific medium through which ideologically-laden values and beliefs are dispersed.

Ideology and Change

Ideologies share two characteristics with codes, both seem invisible and both are able to change over time. Wernick(1991:22) cites a Pears Soap advertisement that was used in 1910 to illustrate how the seeming 'invisibility' of ideologies in ads can become apparent when times change and the ideologies are no longer adhered to. The Pears ad was divided into two panels,

"The top one [panel] shows a little black boy in a cast-iron bathtub about to be soaped and scrubbed by a young white nursemaid. In the panel below, her look of happy amazement registers the effects of what has evidently been a miracle. Where Pears has been applied the boy's skin has changed colour from black to white"(ibid).

The ideological premise underlying this ad, as Wernick points out, is the "identification of whiteness with cleanliness and blackness with dirt". Such open racial prejudice is no longer acceptable and this ideology is only able to be seen because "our (official) attitudes to racial difference have changed" (ibid:23). Contemporary ads often do not seem ideological at all because the values they expressed are in harmony with our prevailing belief system.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has covered some of the fundamental principles and concepts of semiology as a prelude to the application of these principles to the case studies in the next chapter. The content analysis in Chapter five identified several popular ad formats. These images reflect some of the most common (and presumably most effective) strategies used by charities for overseas development. Example ads have been selected as 'typical' in format, so the conclusions drawn on how these ads generate meaning will have some degree of generalizability to other development charity ads and promotional material.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SEMIOTIC ANALYSES OF THREE CASE STUDY CHARITY ADS

INTRODUCTION

The content analysis in chapter five revealed three of the most popular charity ad compositions or formats. These have been selected for further analysis. Chapter six discussed the conceptual tools that form the basis of the semiotic school. In this chapter these concepts will be applied to the three case study ads in order to address the question what do these ads **mean**? The answer will be sought by exploring the signs that constitute each ad, by examining the relationships between the signs, and by examining the relationship between the signs and the reader.

Chapter five established that images of Third World adults 'at work', in agricultural contexts appeared frequently in NGO ads. Case Study One is an ad by Tear Fund entitled "I thirst" which was selected as typical example of this composition. The image in Case Study Two was chosen to illustrate the use of starving children in emergency appeal ads. This ad was entitled "This is disaster". The third and most comprehensive analysis was of a child sponsorship ad by CCF, in which a wretched lone child is depicted surrounded by heart-wrenching text. This is probably the most common charity ad formula. It was the most popular format favoured by the five NGOs under investigation, and is the image that people are most likely to immediately associate with poverty and the Third World. As such, Case Study Three is the most thoroughly investigated. The issue of why the symbol of the child is so powerful is also addressed. Associated images, such as that of a Third World child with a First World adult in a parental role, and images of First World adults feeding sickly Third World children, are also examined briefly at the end of this chapter.

CASE STUDY ONE

Figure 7.1
Case Study One - "I Thirst"
(Page 1)



Figure 7.2
Case Study One - "I Thirst"
(Page 2)

TEAR FUND'S 1990 CHRISTMAS FOCUS

I THIRST

She walks up to six hours from her village to get a supply of dirty, brown, disease-infested water from a dry river bed in the Gama Gofa region of Southern Ethiopia.

She trudges home beneath the scorching sun moistening parched lips with a swollen tongue.

She knows what it means to be thirsty, to see her children die, simply because there is no water for them to drink or wash with.

But she has never known the joy of turning on a tap and getting an abundant supply of cool, clean water like we do.

"I thirst!" was the agonising cry that went up from the lips of Jesus as he hung in the heat of the day at the turning point of time, engulfed in the violent pain of a cruel crucifixion. And they gave him bitter wine vinegar to drink!

Today the same cry goes up from the people of Ethiopia as they seek to satisfy their need for water. And while their cry is not born out of crucifixion, it is nevertheless for them just as agonising to watch their children die; to see sickness and disease slay loved ones mercilessly, and needlessly. It is heart-breaking for them to know that such death and sickness could be reduced dramatically through an adequate water supply.

Water is a basic necessity of life, both for drinking and for meeting elementary standards of health and hygiene. For us here in New Zealand we get all the water we want through a simple twist of the wrist as we turn on the tap. For the women of Gama

Gofa it can be up to a six hour tortuous trek on foot with huge water jars strapped to their backs; and the prize is a jar of dirty, muddy water cupped from a hole dug in a dry river bed miles from home.

To respond as they did to Jesus, with a sponge of bitter vinegar to suck on, is to deny our oneness with these people. This Christmas Tear Fund is working with SIM Aid to cap many springs and to provide hand-dug wells in the south of this ancient land. Simultaneously, instruction is given to the community on health and hygiene, usefulness of clean water and maintenance of the simple technology involved. As living water is brought to thousands of people in this way, there is also much talk of **The Water of Life**.

"I thirst" the cry of these people, our brothers and sisters, must not be allowed to go unheeded this Christmas. Please use the Christmas Focus envelope to make a gift and support the thirsty people of Ethiopia's Gama Gofa region.



BREAKDOWN OF ELEMENTS - Figure 7.1

Expression: Eyes pleading, gaze slightly uptilted, deep frown, shadow over eyes. Implication: reinforces message of fatigue, desperation and frustration, of being on the brink of exhaustion and despair.

Gender: Figure appears genderless and could easily be mistaken for a man. The implication is that gender is irrelevant to the ad's message. The woman is used to symbolize the predicament faced by many Third World adults struggling to sustain a livelihood. The image of the woman is also aimed at an adult audience who can relate to the pressures of struggling to make ends meet.

Build: Lean and gaunt. Implications: reflects the idea of extreme hard work and physical tiredness. Parallels with the biblical theme. She is very lean and her expression of desperation and exhaustion are similar to the images of Jesus on the cross.

Clothing: Rags. Implications: poverty, deprivation, subsistence existence.

Posture: Bent slightly forward to carry the weight of the gourd, also bent forward under the weight of hard work in general and the burden of life.

Ropes: Cutting into shoulders. Implications: symbolic of shackles, restraints. Parallels with the ties around Jesus's wrist in the drawing behind the central figure. Note that this image is repeated twice in the background, with the ropes around Jesus's wrist also shown in the top left-hand corner.

Religious Connotations: There are a number of signs that link the central figure with the image of Jesus in the background. These include the ropes (as discussed), the agony reflected in the central figure's facial expression and body posture, and the textual linkage, that is, the biblical quotation "I THIRST", as well as the 'love thy neighbour theme'.

There is a strong similarity between the suffering of Jesus and the plight of the woman depicted. The woman is looking upwards for help, Jesus is also looking upwards. Both seem to be searching for salvation from a higher power.

Gourd: An old fashioned object that provides a link between the era in which Jesus was on earth and the present day. Also ties in with the theme "I thirst" for it is a vessel for carrying water. Water is the symbol for life and is another theme that underlies this ad. The gourd looks to be made of earthenware which helps to symbolize a closeness with the earth, a basic element like water and life.

Ragged Torn Edge: A torn edge (like ripped paper) is used to differentiate one image from the other. It is an interesting technique for it subtly reinforces in a physical fashion the organization's name - 'Tear' Fund - which in itself evokes feelings of sadness. The shape of the tear is like a hill which gives the impression of height to the image in the background.

Colour: Black and white - for clarity and impact; reflects a good and evil dichotomy, also implies a simplification of issues to the fundamental elements.

Colour correlations: There is a colour correlation between the white ragged clothes and the white Jesus figure. Qualities associated with what we know of Jesus's plight on the crucifix are transferred to the African woman, for example, pain, suffering, need for help. Whites of eyes and teeth also part of the correlation. The fact the Jesus figure is a drawing and the image of the woman is a photo helps to reinforce the difference in substance between the two - the woman = reality, Jesus = beyond reality/spirit world.

The image of the Ethiopian woman is symbolic in two ways. Firstly, she is a symbol of poverty and hardship. Secondly, she functions as a metonym. That is, she has been selected to **represent** those less fortunate than ourselves. All the signs within this ad stress the difference between her plight and our lifestyles. This difference is underlined by the various binary oppositions at play, such as poverty and wealth, work and leisure, sadness and joy, pain and comfort and the like. None of these signs are particular to the women of the Gama Gofa and are equally applicable to other Third World people.

The text (see Figure 7.2) is focussed around the theme of water. The fact that we have water on tap whilst many people in the Third World have to trek great distances to collect water (an arduous daily task) is accentuated. As a result, feelings of guilt are aroused at having such a vital resource literally

'on tap' and yet by-in-large take this for granted. For example, the text states that, "She had never known the joy of turning on a tap". Such statements stress the difference in lifestyles between "us" (New Zealanders) and "them" (specifically the women from the Gama Gofa area of Southern Ethiopia). It is clearly a reiteration of the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'.

The text describes the situation in a way which reduces its scale to one which is manageable and that we can relate to. That is, it depicts a small community group with a specific problem - access to water. There is a danger in giving the false impression that the case is exclusively an issue of 'need'. This negates any possibility of questioning or examining further the circumstances from which the problem/situation arose.

Tear Fund clearly focusses on symptoms rather than the causes of poverty. Its aim is to produce feelings of sympathy with this woman and to evoke a sense of Christian duty/obligation to help. Some degree of familiarity with Christian ideology is needed if the message in this advertisement is to have maximum effect.

What are some of the strategies used that make this ad so powerful?

- Strong emotive language: For example "trudges home ... scorching earth ... parched lips ... agonizing cry ... tortuous trek".
- Use of bold print: Bold print emphasizes the theme of water and delivers the message at a glance. The main examples are "I thirst" and "The water of life".
- Explicit stated unity with people: Examples include "our oneness with these people", "our brothers and sisters".

The similarity with Jesus's plight and the situation of the Ethiopian woman is highlighted in the words "I thirst". The significance of this cry is explained in the text. When Jesus cried out "I thirst" the people responded by giving him a bitter wine vinegar to drink. This little story is used to make the readers feel that they should respond to 'need' in a more charitable manner. This idea is repeated later in the text.

This ad is based on an understanding of Christianity, Christianity providing the actual **code** from which this ad is intended to be read. One of the central tenets of Christianity is the belief that one should treat others in a Christlike manner. That is, when you help others you are helping Christ. This is why

a close identification of the audience with the Ethiopian women is so important - so that her needs are seen as the needs of Christ. Our relatively wealthy status is also emphasized. We are in a position to help and it is our duty (in Christ) to respond to people in need. The fact that this is a Christmas Appeal makes it almost unchristian to not respond. It should be noted that this ad was not aimed at the general public but to a church-based audience.

SUMMARY OF CASE STUDY ONE

The meaning of Case Study One is a product of the interconnections between human suffering (as condensed in the figure of the woman) and heavenly suffering as epitomized by the religious icons in the background. The theme of water reinforces of idea of need and of life. The pain and despair apparent on the woman's face represent the pain of Christ on the Cross as a result of the superimposition of her image over the picture of the crucified Christ. Various other signs act as linkages, such as the ropes around Christ's wrists and the ropes around the gourd. The meshing of the two central symbols (the woman and Jesus) around a common theme of suffering generates a powerful biblical message, one which entreats readers to respond as Christians to the human need made apparent in this advertisement.

CASE STUDY TWO

Case Study Two was selected to represent the use of images of starving people in any charity advertising material. It differs from Case Study One in a number of ways. It is aimed at a much more secular audience than Case Study One (although it is produced by NGO with a Christian philosophy), and the focus is on a child rather than an adult. The state of malnourishment of the child raises issues of the ethics of 'starving child imagery', a discussion which is incorporated into this analysis.

BREAKDOWN OF ELEMENTS - Figure 7.3 (Page 1)

Expression: As in case study one the eyes of the subject are downcast and give the impression of dejection, despair and illness. The vacant gaze also functions to stress the distance between the subject and the reader, with the former isolated and vulnerable.

Clothing: The sparse and ragged garment stresses the poverty of the subject.

Posture: The child is sitting in a folded-like manner which gives the impression that his or her frailty requires such a position in order to keep upright. The body language re-emphasizes the isolation of the individual and the self-protective element. Such a posture also exposes the thinness of limbs.

Proximity: The isolation of the subject is of paramount importance. The distance of the child from other individuals (who can be seen partially in the background) is one of the key indicators of abandonment and vulnerability. If the subject were part of a crowd the message imparted would not have the same appeal. The child would not seem so needy if surrounded by a community group. Part of the appeal in this ad necessitates that the nameless child appear without recourse to anyone else for assistance, thus providing the reader with a moral imperative to help. It is interesting to note that the people in the background are clearly adults. They could perhaps even be family or friends, but by virtue of their distance they appear not to be responsible in any way for the child.

Activity: The subject is eating but the facial expression and other body language suggests that this is not an enjoyable experience but rather an effort. The mug of white liquid (milk?) and bowl with plastic bag containing food is obviously an assignment of food aid and is probably being given out in a food aid centre.

Colour: The image is in black and white, giving it a no-nonsense news-like flavour. (The implications of the use of black and white instead of colour on meaning is discussed in more depth in Case Study Three).

Other Signs of Foreignness and Poverty

- The bare feet of the subject and the people behind.

- The parched, cracked earth beneath the subject.
- The ragged clothing of the background individuals, also the stick being held of the adults in the background.

From this brief outline of some of the key signs within this image it becomes apparent that all items contribute to a very simple and yet strong message - this child and many others will die if we do not take action.

The image of the starving child in this advertisement plays a crucial role in capturing the attention of the reader. Very little information is provided and yet the message is clear. There is a cliché that states that "a picture is worth a thousand words" and in this instance this seems to be true. The subject has no name, is genderless, apparently without family, on the brink of starvation and living somewhere in Somalia. The only direct link made in the text to the photograph is the reference to "this photograph of human disaster".

Despite the virtual non-existence of information about the child and the situation that has led to his or her predicament it is assumed that the image and brief text will be of sufficient significance that empathy and feelings of pity will be aroused and will induce the reader to select from the catalogue of 'giving' options outlined.

This ad 'works' because it fits a specific charity ad genre common in First World societies. It operates within a convention or code associated with such ads about the poor. Its conventionality can be seen in terms of the elements that constitute the message. That is, it contains all the elements that we have come to **expect** in charity ads, such as a dramatic (black and white) photo, an attention grabbing headline, a short situational text and the inevitable coupon. This ad, then, is a typical example. The construction of the ad is reduced to its essential elements, a strategy which helps to infuse the message with urgency. Elaborate background information is not expected by the viewer/reader, for the ad **plays** on the themes of African poverty, famine and drought which will already be in the audience's ideological mind-set. It is assumed that what has been said and shown is sufficient to motivate people to donate. The fact that the audience is assumed to be content to accept so sparse an account of the situation gives some indication to the ideological framework within which this ad is understood. The image of the emaciated child is not unfamiliar. Its

authenticity is proclaimed by the photographic 'evidence'. Moreover, we have seen such images before on the news, in documentaries, etc. For whom the aid is needed is almost deemed irrelevant. An illustration of human need in a foreign land is all that is necessary to make this ad successful. This ad, then assumes a prior knowledge (albeit uninformed) of the reader concerning poverty and famine. The ideology of famine is such that the ad is written in a type of shorthand. There is no intrinsic link between the headline ("This is disaster") and the image of an individual suffering child. Is this child disaster? This is a literal (or denotative) reading, but the ad relies on poverty conventions to fill in the gap between the headline and the image for the reader. We realise that it is not the child but the sentence which is a disaster, and the suffering of this child is symbolic for the suffering of all. We come to this understanding in a second. We know that famine has hit Africa (again) and that thousands of people will be affected. Children will be especially hard hit, hence the focus on one child to demonstrate suffering.

Symptomatic of this presentation is the de-individualization and dehumanization of the child in question. As a symbol, the child has no self. He or she has become "a photograph of human disaster" rather than a photograph of an individual.

It is necessary to briefly discuss the elements in page two of this ad because the second image also contributes to the overall message. As it is not possible to see both pages at once the construction of the message is such that the first page is not dependent on the second page.

Figure 7.4
Case Study Two - "This is Disaster"
(Page 2)



Today some of Somalia is very different with five of the six feeding centres started in September 1992 no longer needed thanks to World Vision and New Zealand donors.

Like this girl from the village of Rowlo many children have returned to 90% or more of their normal bodyweight and families have ploughed and planted for next growing season.

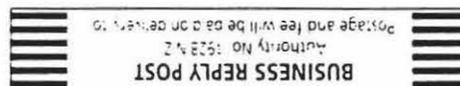
Everyday food is distributed and mobile health clinics operate to remote villages. Peace is possible and people can start to help themselves.

You too, can help people gain a new beginning, hope and life by supporting a World Vision relief or community project.

Mail this coupon or call 0800 80 2000 now and be part of the World Vision work for people in emergency and relief needs.



World Vision of New Zealand, Private Bag 92078, Auckland.
WORLD VISION



Rather than break down the elements in figure 7.4, these will be discussed in relation to the first image (Figure 7.3). This image works by **contrast**, it has meaning through difference with the first image. The subject in this ad is happy (which is self evident in her facial expression). She is more healthy as seen in the less emaciated body, shiny hair, sparkling white teeth, etc. She appears to be more wealthy for she is not dressed in rags and is adorned by a necklace. The absence of clothing does not suggest poverty because of all the other features of the image. The trinket functions to stress the exotic. She is standing rather than crouched and the body language, though limited because of the cropping of the photograph, is that of a healthy, happy individual. The background to this ad is blurred slightly but it is still obviously of greenery, of trees, as opposed to the parched earth in the first image.

The most important feature that infuses this second image with health and vigour is the use of **colour** rather than black and white. The use of colour gives this image life and vibrancy whereas images in black and white seem more depressive, newslake and foreign. By putting the girl in colour, this ad semiotically suggests that there is a direct link between the connotations associated with colour and the work of WV. WV is not merely providing aid, but providing enlightenment - 'a world in colour'. Colour in this instance is clearly instrumental in making the image closer to 'our' reality.

Images of starving and ill infants, children and adults is a strategy much used by developmental charities. Such images have not been without controversy and are usually used only in situations of dire need. As these images are so memorable and charities constantly resort to their use in emergencies, some of the ethical issues surrounding them are discussed in more depth.

THE ETHICS OF IMAGES OF SUFFERING

Many charity ads are presented in a historical and political vacuum. This is reflected not only in their texts (which avoid reference to historical causes, unfair terms of trade, World Bank policies, and the like) but also in the visual component of the ads. A common characteristic of the charity ad (especially in emergency appeals) is the presentation of starving children, and sometimes adults, with literally **no background** - on a white page.

These alien-like figures consequently look even more pathetic; the drama of the image is intensified and the simplicity and urgency of the message enhanced. They need help, your help, or they will die. (See Appendix 7.1 for examples of starving child ads whose common feature is the absence of background/context).

As Patricia Holland points out, "suffering is condensed into the figures of children; backgrounds tend to be erased or played down" (1981:89). The children have no background; their plight is also without context. On both levels this presentation is the result of a choice. Ads are created and truth constructed rather than merely transmitted. In the process of constructing the image, the background was removed and any mention of the causes of famine or civil wars and the like deliberately excluded.

The absence of backgrounds in instances of grave desperation is a visual means of emphasizing "the shocking drama of the central figures"(ibid:92). As Holland explains, it is also a useful mechanism through which images of Third World children are taken from their context and reconstituted in a form of suffering familiar to readers. Both ads and news reports alike present Third World children in a way which removes them "from the narrative that makes up their lives" and they are "replaced in a context which makes them part of ours". They are offered to us as examples representative "of the conditions of life in their own country"(ibid).

It seems quite ironic that many charity ads present children as individuals, on a one-to-one level (this is especially the case with child sponsorship ads), so that the reader can relate to the child and not be overwhelmed by the scale of global poverty. The rationale is that an individual focus - with the familiar image of a lone child looking pleadingly at the viewer - enables potential donors to feel that they can make a constructive contribution to the situation. What is ironic about this strategy is that it could be **any** Third World child:

"Third World children tend to be offered to us as examples. We may pick at random between the thousands of sick, emaciated, lost pathetic, dying dark-skinned children" (Holland 1981:89).

We are not asked to help the child depicted but to help another child. This must be the case particularly when the appeal is for emergency assistance,

because the actual individual photographed will have in all likelihood either died or have already received aid (Inglis 1990:100).

The WV ad below (Figure 7.5) is a typical example of a charity ad which stresses the help we can give on a one-to-one level by paradoxically focussing on one child who could be **any** child.

Although it is increasingly acknowledged by NGOs that the "starving child" images presents a very narrow and damaging view of the Third World (a concern which is illustrated by the NGOs that produced the European Code of Conduct), these images nevertheless continue to reappear in newspaper articles and charity ads. The justification for the use of such intrusive imagery often follows an "ends justifies the means" argument, and that shock tactics are required to get people to give money. As a staff member from the United Nations advertising agency (which was responsible for an horrific image of a starving child on the cover the Christmas edition of New Statesman and Society in the late 1980s) explained,

"We tried to make advertisements far more positive - get away from the 'starving baby' image. But no-one dipped their hand into their pockets. The only thing that does it is guilt: you have to shock people" (cited in the New Internationalist April 1989:11).

This was also the opinion of the National Director of Canada's Foster Parent's Plan, who in the same article claimed:

"Happier, more positive images don't bring in the money. These images are kept for the already 'converted' who also get more information" (ibid).

From a different perspective Peter Stalker, a photojournalist, explains his experience as a photographer of starving children in the Third World. The photographer is constantly aware that certain images will be selected for publishing over others. As Peter Stalker explains:

"I found myself taking only certain kinds of pictures. If I wanted to illustrate food shortages ... I was very careful about what to include in the shot. There was no point, say, in showing a family eating - however meagre the meal - otherwise they would not appear to be hungry. And they should not be smiling at the camera, even though it is quite possible to smile and be hungry at the same time. It was better to concentrate on children since hungry adults who are listless ... can come across ... as lazy ... The most efficient visual shorthand for hunger was of course a child with a distended belly or skeletal appearance. Not only was the child ill but also looked ill" (New Internationalist, July, 1988:6).

In spite of the success of this "effective visual shorthand" (at least in monetary terms), how **ethical** is it? Also, what are some of the long term

consequences on audiences? These are issues of deep concern to Jorgen Lissner.

According to Lissner(1981:23), the starving child image is unethical because it verges on being **pornographic**. He defines pornography as "*the exhibition of the human body and soul in all its nakedness, without any respect and piety for the person involved*". He goes on to explain that:

"the public 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, human suffering. It puts people's bodies, their misery, their grief and their fear on display with all the details and all the indiscretion that a telescopic lens will allow" (ibid).

Lissner observes that while such images are popular with charities for overseas aid they are virtually non-existent when it comes to charities **within** the First World (such as Barnados), where the needs of children are not that different. He asks a very pertinent question: *Why does this concern over distressing publicity not extend to the people in the Third World?* Perhaps it is because the images projected are aimed at our consumption whilst being unobserved by those most likely to protest at the lack of dignity and respect displayed, the Third World subjects themselves. This lack of sensitivity regarding the images of Third World peoples perhaps also reflects the view of many charities that the "psychological needs of potential donors are seen as more pressing than those of distant Third World beneficiaries" (Coulter 1989:12). Coulter similarly notes the discrepancy between how we go about raising funds for Third World people and how we portray disadvantaged groups in the First World. She states that domestic anti-poverty organizations "are obliged to refrain from this kind of racism". Rob Cooper (Executive Director of Tear Fund) addressed this issue with the following questions:

"Should the organization [Tear Fund] portray for instance a starving mother and child? Would we portray such personal suffering if it were here? If not, isn't it paternalism or racism? We have to face up to our prejudices and become more sensitive about how we portray the poor" (cited in Quinn 1986:50).

Another related problem with starving child images is that they are so full of symbolism that the people depicted scarcely appear human. As the New Internationalist (1982:21) comments, "The meaning has been added by the brain so quickly that the child himself [sic] has been submerged". Another article from the same publication (a decade on), describes starving-child photos as presenting African children like "creatures from outer space ... dehumanized" (ibid 1992:8). These were the only images of the Third World available to the First World in the 1960s and sent the message that the millions of inhabitants of underdeveloped countries were "listless objects for our pity, instead of active, resourceful people worthy of our respect" (ibid).

Stalker (1988:6)) also touches upon the inherent dangers of using images of starvation:

"Nowadays when we see a picture of a skeletal child we see little more than the idea of malnutrition. The human figure is so overpowered by their symbolic significance that she or he almost disappears. Cameras can rapidly transform people into objects. Many photographers and aid agencies, for this reason, refuse to use such pictures, except under very special circumstances".

Stalker does not explain what he means by 'special circumstances'. In all probability he is referring to emergency situations such as famines. Until photographers and aid agencies recognize that they **cannot** have **selective ethics** (that is, a belief that it is sometimes appropriate to use images of starvation), the appearance of these images will continue.

For agencies such as WVNZ 'the child' is the dominant marketing symbol and is used in a particular way. That is, the child is presented as "dependent and needy, appealing to the parent in each of us" (Syder 1989:21). When this 'child' is presented on the brink of starvation the implications go even deeper. Syder remarks that the starving child (and images of emaciated people in general) show people "stripped of their cultural and social environment ... reduced to isolated beings who have only physical needs" (1989:21). The symbol of the child is thus defined in very narrow ideological limits, that is, as suffering, needy and powerless. An important ramification of this is that

"WVNZ staff have defined the terrain upon which large sections of society understand development issues. Through producing a simplistic, broadly inclusive message, they are able to circumvent underlying issues which have become very dominant in the development debate" (ibid:22).

Another detrimental aspect of starving-child imagery is its underlying premise. This premise (or 'myth', as Lissner calls it) maintains:

"that material wealth is the very foundation for a decent quality of life ... A recurring theme in this type of advertising is that 'we are so fortunate ... so shouldn't we spare some cash for those poor people who are so much less fortunate'. All the pain and agony in our own midst - broken homes, pollution, crime, drug abuse, loneliness - are all conveniently swept under the carpet. And so are all the strengths and riches of 'unfortunate ones' - their ingenuity, their hospitality. The result is inevitable - once again the superiority of Western civilization and Western values have been brought home" (Lissner 1981:23).

Lissner's discussions highlight how the First World is not **all** good and the Third World not **all** bad. Starving child images show a distorted and simplistic view of the reality.

SUMMARY OF CASE STUDY TWO

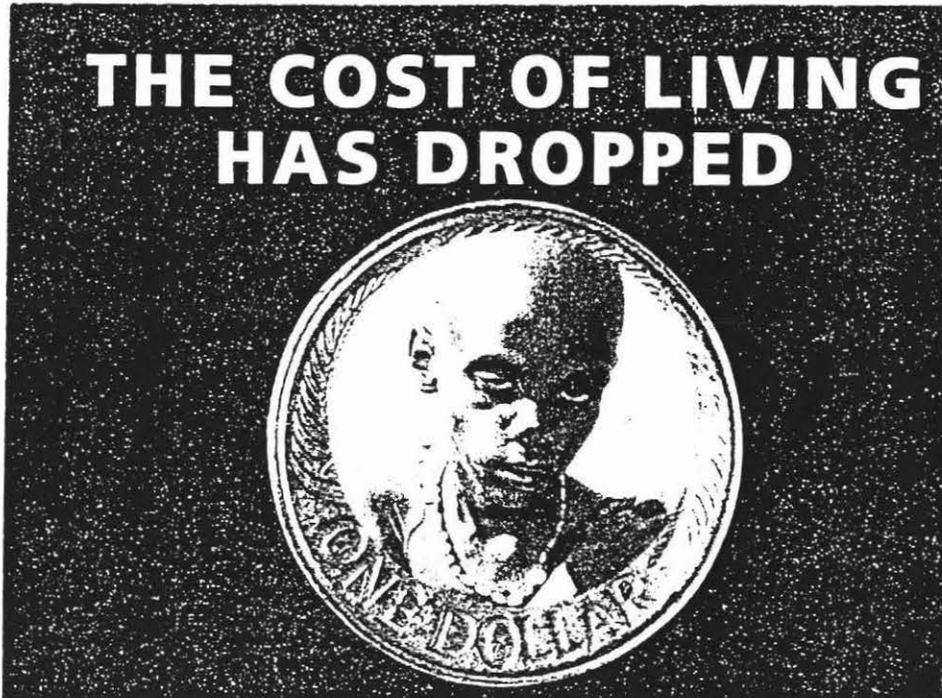
Meaning is generated in this ad primarily through the linkage between the title "This is Disaster" and the figure of the skeletal child. The distance between the child from the people in the background reinforces the child's isolation and vulnerability. Colour plays a strong role in this ad with the starving child image (the problem), being presented in black and white while the solution, offered by WV on page two is presented in colour. Another important factor in this ad is the lack of information available to the reader. The pain and suffering associated with famine (condensed into the starving child symbol) provides sufficient motivation for donors to give without knowing the details related to this specific disaster. The lack of analysis or even descriptive information in this emergency ad example reflects conventions associated with ads of this type. There is no expectation from the reader for the ad to say more. Starving child images are problematic. These presentations are almost always used in a apolitical and ahistorical context. The image is almost always of a lone child and although

the intended audience message is the ability of the reader to help ONE child, a contradictory message is also put across - that this could be any child because there are thousands of children in need. The child is given no context and is therefore drained of individuality. The issue of privacy is also important with writers such as Lissner viewing starving child images as pornographic. Many of the issues associated with the ethics of starving child imagery are discussed in chapter eight in the individual NGO advertising assessments.

CASE STUDY THREE

Case Study Three is an example of a typical child sponsorship ad featuring a wretched lone child who stares impassively into the camera. Chapter five's content analysis established that this was **the most common** charity ad format in the promotional material of four of the sample NGOs, with the exception of WV (in which is the second most popular ad format).

Figure 7.6
Case Study Three - "The Costs of Living has Dropped"



You may think it's costing more and more just to live nowadays. But every day around the world 40,000 children just stop living. They die slow and miserable deaths from thirst and hunger, poverty and abuse.

What cost do you put on a young life?

For just \$1 a day you can actually save a child's life
By becoming a CCF sponsor you give one needy child a second chance
Your \$1 a day gives them clean water, food, clothing, medicine, and an education
You'll also show the child someone really cares about them

As a Christian Children's Fund sponsor you receive the joy and satisfaction of knowing you actually made a difference in the life of one human being.

Become a lifesaver today. Just fill out and return the coupon below. Or call us (toll free) on 0800-808-822...



"As you can see your help really does make a difference"

To Freepost 3260 Christian Children's Fund of New Zealand, PO Box 90-600 Auckland Mail Centre, Auckland

I WILL HELP!

Yes, I would like to sponsor

30c 1.00 1.50 from

Kenya Philippines Caribbean
Colombia Ethiopia Thailand
India Guatemala Ecuador
Brazil Indonesia Mexico

Please select one for me

Enclosed is my first month's payment of \$30
Please send me a photo and my sponsor's kit
I'd like to sponsor more than one child please specify the number in boxes in your check
... I wish to know more about the child assigned to me first. If I accept the child send my first month's \$30 within 10 days. If not I'll return the material so someone else can help.

I can't sponsor a child now but I'm sending \$_____ to help needy children

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

Christian Children's Fund of New Zealand

BREAKDOWN OF ELEMENTS - Figure 7.6

Expression: eyes with half closed lids, downcast gaze (disengaged from photographer and therefore from viewer). Implications: dejection, hopelessness, illness, undernourishment, alienation, loneliness. Drooping mouth - again suggests weakness helplessness. Head - not upright but drooped and humble, reinforces depressive body language.

Baldness: makes the child look infantile. Implications: emphasises vulnerability, evokes paternalistic feelings in viewer. Also functions to makes the child less of an individual, that is, genderless, could be any Third World child.

Clothing: None visible, naked shoulder exposed. Implications: suggests poverty, deprivation, also stresses the difference between 'us' and 'them'. Necklace - emphasises cultural difference.

Cropping: This picture has been cropped so that the top of the child's head is not included in the image. The effect of this is to give the illusion of the child being closer, more forward, making him/her impinge more on the reader's personal space. On a deeper level, it gives the impression of incompleteness.

The overall impression to be derived from these elements is of a sickly Third world child who is defenceless, dependent on and non-threatening to First World readers. The accompanying text induces both guilt and compassion for this child through the use of hardhitting headlines, subheadings, and questions.

In the text the child's life (and the lives of all children in this predicament) are equated with money:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{life} &= \text{money} \\ \text{child's life} &= \$1 \text{ a day} \end{aligned}$$

This idea is stated directly in the text:

Headline: "The cost of living has dropped".

Text: "You may think it's costing more ... to live these days ... they die ... what cost do you put on a young life?"

The link between a child's life and money is **visually reinforced** with the picture of the child encased within the picture of a New Zealand \$1 coin. The coin fits the organization's well-known theme of "one dollar a day ... ", which the organization uses as a slogan for audience familiarity.

The superimposing of the child's image on the face of the \$1 coin functions to fuse the significance of the two elements together. The distinction between the two becomes blurred visually and conceptually. This visual merging enables readers of the image to comprehend the message at a glance.

THE USE OF COLOUR

This ad, like the majority of Third World charity ads, is presented in black and white rather than colour. There are a number of important reasons for this. These reasons are worth outlining in some detail because of their generalisability to other development-oriented ads. The reasons why black and white imagery is favoured over colour are linked with the meanings and connotations inherent to both coloured and black and white images.

Firstly, colour would be **inappropriate** for this above ad because of the feelings and connotations that are commonly associated with particular colours. For instance, tones of orange and yellow are linked with warmth whereas greys and pale blues are cold and dull. Inglis (1990:99) makes the point that colour tends to **infuse** "all its subjects with glamour" or "makes photos of foreign countries appear intrinsically exotic". Holland (1986:96) also notes how colour supplements denote "richness, variety and intensity", in other words **exotica**. Black and white are used for disaster issues, colour for hedonistic rather than concerned audiences (ibid). (This association of colour with richness helps to explain why page 2 of Case Study Two, "This is Disaster", was presented in colour whilst page one was in black and white).

Secondly, Inglis (1990:99) maintains, black and white images take on the values and characteristic integrity associated with traditional news photographs.

"The politically conscientious class of the rich western societies learned a way of seeing from them. The similiar technology of black and white film gathered special semiotic richness. We know that such pictures are true".

Given this history, the mere fact that many charity ads are in black and white helps to authenticate them for audiences whose experiences with such imagery suggests a 'newsy' factuality.

In Case Study Three the use of black and white is eye-catching and dramatic. The connotation is one of simplicity - this is the problem: this is what you can do about it. The black background behind the coin/child icon represents the colour of mourning and death. It is also a stark and inflexible colour. The headline is in white for contrast. The black background frames the icon and gives it enclosure, whereas the rest of the text is not framed, implying flexibility and freedom. Note that the child in the inset picture has no noticeable frame.

ADDITIONAL FEATURES WHICH CREATE MEANING

Differences Between the Main and Inset Photographs - Figure 7.6

The child in the inset photo is seen to be healthier by being plumper, having a smiling expression, wearing clothing, looking alert and looking directly at the camera/us. These points make up the difference between the pathetic larger image and the smaller picture. These differences are underlined by the slogan beneath the inset photo: "As you can see your help really does make a difference".

Language

The language used is personal and direct. "You" and "you'll" are used repeatedly. Imperatives are also used to give the message more force ("Become a lifesaver..."). The focus is on the singular - you and your child. Such an approach aims to reinforce the one-to-one nature of child sponsorship. It is also the method used to interpellate or position the viewer. Through the use of such language the relationship between the reader/viewer and the Third World child is clearly defined.

Subjectivity and Implications

The central assumption is that we the readers (for whom the 'you' is directed) are New Zealanders and are relatively wealthy. On this basis (that of our ability to pay without undue stress), it is argued that we should feel a sense of moral obligation to provide for someone less fortunate. We are **empowered** in the text by our ability to **buy** a life. For example, we are told that "For just \$1 a day you can save a child's life". We, by virtue of our wealth, can become 'lifesavers'. Our superiority is clear, for we are able not only to provide for ourselves but also for others if we choose to do so. Our superiority and control over our own lives is reinforced by the very dichotomy of wealth and poverty that CCF plays upon.

The Danger in the \$1 a Day Slogan

"We" the potential donors, are able to save someone else's life for \$1 per day, an amount of money which in itself has little value to us. Follow this logic:

\$1 is a relatively small amount of money (equivalent to a price of a chocolate bar for example). This small amount of money is sufficient to save a child's life.

Logically, then, the price (or worth) of a child's life is comparatively cheap if it can be saved/bought for such a small amount.

The fact that 'they' (the Third World masses) do not need much to survive (if one dollar a day is adequate) reinforces the differences between us and them. It is beyond our comprehension to be able to subsist on such a small amount. \$1 is a pathetic sum and that makes their lives also appear to be pathetic. How can CCF avoid such a connection when this ad's message pivots on the premise that money can be equated with life?

An important component in the effectiveness of this ad is the promise of **personal satisfaction** to be derived from becoming a sponsor. When this is kept in mind the focus moves away from the benefits to be bestowed upon the child to the building up of self-esteem in the sponsor. In Figure 7.6, the CCF sponsor is told "you receive the joy and satisfaction of knowing you actually made a difference in the life of one human being". This point is also noted in an article about hard-hitting charity campaigns (entitled

"Appealing to the Masses") published by a marketing journal. In this article, Catherine Bond maintains:

"As most professional fundraisers will tell you, giving to charity has nothing at all to do with guilt; it is about making oneself feel good" (Marketing, March, 1989:49).

The Other Hidden Assumption

The theme that money can buy life is accompanied with another theme which is also fraught with dangers. This is the assumption that not only can money buy life but that **money is love**. We have money, therefore we have love to share. Conversely, they are poor and therefore they are **unloved**. This message is made most obvious in the statement "You'll show a child that some really cares about them". The implication is that needy children would have been provided for if their parents/guardians cared. The suggestion that parents who do not have the means to provide for their children do not love them is a totally unsubstantiated implication that is insulting to Third World parents and guardians.

Figure 7.6 is made up of a number of **signs**, the most important being the centre photograph of a Third World child, the coin, and the smaller (inset) photo of a child from overseas. The central child image generates meaning for its audience through contrast. Using the Saussurean principle of binary oppositions, the Third World child's image has meaning only in terms of what it is not. The key binary oppositions are - illness versus health, poverty versus wealth, sadness versus happiness, weakness versus strength and, ultimately, First World versus Third World.

The image fails to be totally shocking because we have become desensitized through exposure to other similar images in newspapers, television reports and documentaries. In order to arouse emotion and sympathy, CCF plays upon the difference between our lifestyle (and incumbent wealth) and the relative material deprivation of Third World lifestyles. Western ideology clearly outlines the expectations/values associated with the perceived minimal needs and rights of a child. There is no arguing that all children (and all people) need food, shelter, and clothing, but many of our values cannot be simply transferred. The happy Third World child (shown in the inset photo of Figure 7.6) is wearing a western style t-shirt. The underlying message is that western material goods are necessary and needed to

maintain an adequate standard of living. Who are we to assume that western dress is appropriate to that particular climate and culture?

Meaning is also derived at the **denotative** level from the elements that are contained within this ad, namely, the two images of children and a picture of a coin plus the text arranged on a part black and part white background. This is the literal reading of the elements within the ad, and is Roland Barthes's 'first order of signification' or meaning. As discrete units, these signs do not mean much, but the reader does not see the elements within this ad separately. They are seen in terms of the linkages and relations between them. We automatically "read" ads at Barthes's second order of signification, at the **connotative** level. We interpret this ad as a whole, linking the various signs subconsciously, because this is how we have learned to attain meaning. Shared meaning is possible because of a shared cultural (ideological) environment. The connotations in this ad suggest (visually) through the use of a metaphor⁵³ that a child's life is equal to the value of a one dollar coin. As argued above, such a message is intrinsically dangerous.

Another danger arises from the **metonymical** element of this ad. A metonym occurs where "a part is made to stand for a whole". In this case, the image of the impoverished child is a metonym for the state of Third World children in general. It is not possible for the image of one child to accurately represent all Third World children, but it is evident from the text that this child is meant to be seen as a symbol of the many thousands of Third World children in similar circumstances.

The most important sign in this ad is the image of the Third World child. It is important to note that this child's image was selected from a paradigm, that is, from the vast array of images of Third World people (adults, children, babies, teenagers, the elderly etc). This paradigm of selection is important because it implies that there were reasons why this image was chosen over all the other possible images available. What is not chosen can then be **as important** as what is. In many charity ads images of children are selected over images of adults (as illustrated in chapter five). This leads to

53 A visual metaphor occurs when the qualities of a familiar object are transposed onto a less familiar object. In this case we are visually lead to transfer the ideas and values associated the coin to the Third World child. There is no intrinsic (natural) link between the two.

the very important question - why use images of children? What are the implications of such imagery?

WHY FOCUS ON CHILDREN?

Charity advertisements frequently depict wretched black children as the primary vehicle for their message. Women also frequently appear, alone or with children, but adult men are virtually always absent. There are a number of important reasons behind the decision to use (and, in the opinion of some, exploit) children in charity ads. It could be argued that because of the young age structure of most Third World countries somehow this numerically justifies the preoccupation of development-charities with images of the young. It is true that the proportion of children under 15 years of age is much higher in the nations that make up the underdeveloped world than in western countries. Burnell (1991:67) estimates that 37% of Third World populations are aged under 15, but this in no way accounts for the virtual absence of male adults in charity ads. There are a number of reasons why images of children used so extensively.

Firstly, children in our culture symbolize innocence. They epitomize what is good and pure in humanity. They also tend to be viewed in a universalistic fashion. We believe that our values pertaining to children, their needs, families, the function and responsibility thereof, are the same everywhere. Therefore, by focussing on children charities are exploiting and appealing to the strong parental instinct within us - the urge to protect, support and most importantly to provide. (See the WV ads in Appendix 7.2 for examples of ads that focus on the material needs of children and our potential role as substitute parents). This in itself is not wrong, but when charity ads appeal to us as "foster parents" to care for the world's vulnerable children they are in danger of generalising this parent/child relation to all Third World peoples, thus placing us in a position of relative strength and superiority. As Simpson (1985:22) explains,

"The constant representation of Third World people through images of children means that, like the white missionaries before them, the donors can bask in the powerful position of adult in relation to child".

Secondly, as Alvarado et al (1987:233) point out, representations of babies and children are popular because:

"Childhood can be constructed as a form of universal human reference point transcending class, race and gender - a human essence untainted by the marks of economic and social relations".

Images of children, especially images of Third World starving children, according to Alvarado et al, are the most **pronounced** example of the "tendency to abstract children from their historical context" (ibid). The focus on children enables charities to neatly circumvent any awkward or detailed analysis of the circumstances which brought about poverty in the first place.

Thirdly, by focussing almost exclusively on children (and usually black children) charities are also in danger of reinforcing some of the old racial myths that lie not too far from the surface of our society. For many years blacks were considered to be stupid and childlike in nature, happy but simple. This stereotypical perception was not only patronizing but insulting and degrading. It was at the core of the representations of the colonial relation between whites and blacks. In the post-colonial era we have not been fortunate enough to totally shake off these attitudes and treat all people, particularly blacks, as people of equal value and intellect. Charity ads, through their invariable focus on black children, are allowing such myths to be perpetuated. In the main, they do not challenge stereotypes but work within the existing ideology. It should be noted that it is not just that charities concentrate on children but the way in which they do so that is harmful. The people portrayed are almost always depicted as **victims**, silently suffering, as vulnerable, listless and incapable of providing for themselves.

Fourthly, the focus on children coincides with western societies' stereotype of women. Women are seen as the weaker sex in our culture, so it is not surprising to find primarily women (and children) in images that represent those in need - in need of protection and basic essentials. "**Woman means weakness, victim - is considered a pitiful state in itself**" (Simpson 1985:22). One UK study done for the "Images of Africa" paper found that 60% of fundraising photographs were of women and children portrayed as 'victims' (New Internationalist, April, 1989:10). The 1988 Images of Africa report noted that in its research into the perception of Africa held by the

European public, the photographs selected as 'most typical of Africa' included the distribution of aid to the needy and the white nurse among black refugees. It found that the **most common** image selected was that of the mother with a sick child (IFDA Dossier, 67:17).

As Patricia Holland (1981:95) notes:

"anyone who has any control of their lives is missing from this range of pictures ... the most striking omission is of young adult men. But we rarely see any child older than about six and few women who are not burdened by children. The condition of the Third World is appropriately expressed and encapsulated in pictures of children".

There is very rarely any reference to political or historical factors in charity ads. The thrust of most ads is with the provision of material goods (and sometimes of spiritual guidance) to meet basic human needs. The apolitical and ahistoric approach is enhanced by our cultural view of children which "only recognizes children as the objects and never the subjects of history" (Alvarado et al 1987:235). They are therefore somehow less able to be blamed for their predicament and more worthy of help.

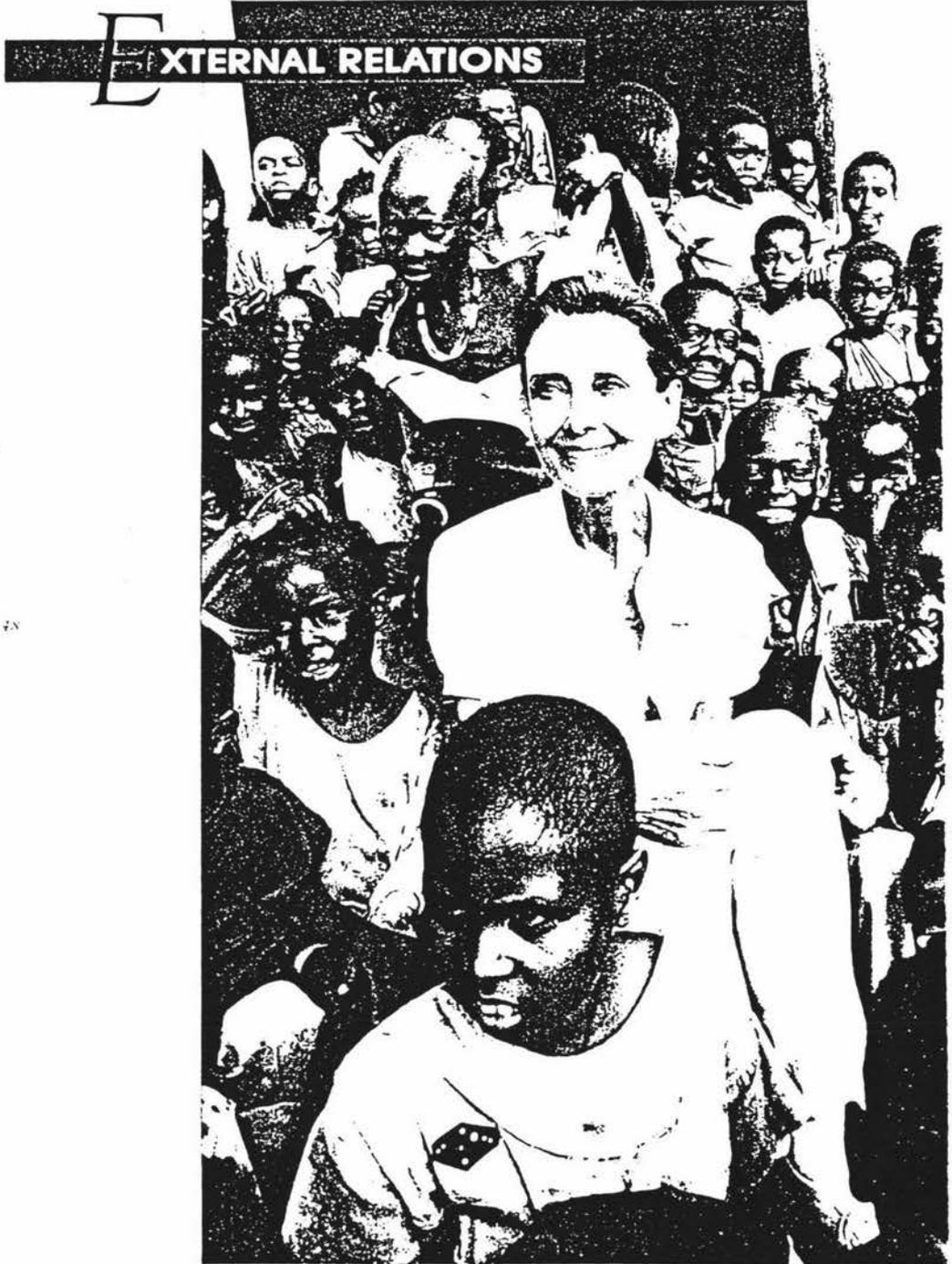
ASSOCIATED THEMES - WHITE SURROGATE PARENTS, WHITE FEEDERS OF SICKLY THIRD WORLD CHILDREN

Closely associated with the fixation of development charities with images of children is the variant theme of "white surrogate parents". This image is popular not only in charity ads but also in news and other media reports (such as articles in women's magazines). The two Figures below (Figure 7.7 and Figure 7.8), both featuring Audrey Hepburn, are typical examples of images that depict a white First World adult in a parental role with a black Third World child (or children).

Figure 7.7
Audrey Hepburn in the Role of White Surrogate Parent



Figure 7.8
Audrey with her Third World 'Family'



Source: UNICEF, 1993 Annual Report

This is a very powerful image featuring the popular Audrey Hepburn, who was the Goodwill Ambassador for UNICEF until her death on 20 January 1993. In Figure 7.7 she not only takes on the role of parent but as 'saviour' as well. She looks determined to carry the sickly Third World child away - away to where is not important. The watchful eyes of the other Third World adults shown in the photo reinforce her role as someone doing something to help where they have failed. Figure 7.8 shows Audrey Hepburn in a happier role, as a benefactor to the Third World's children.

Images containing white adults in helper/parental roles with a black child (or children) are, as previously mentioned, dangerous because of the two binary oppositions contained within them - that of racial difference and an imbalance of power. The First World is portrayed in a dominant position while, in contrast, the message we receive about the Third World is one of weakness and need. These images subtly reinforce the myth of the superiority of First World societies and the apathy and incompetence of the Third World.

Images of black children taken under the wings of supportive whites are loaded with messages. Underlying this image is the message that 'we' in the First World are taking over the most fundamental role of any parent, to care and provide for the material and emotive needs of children. This implies that for some reason their natural caregivers are no longer capable. The tendency is for these children to be considered as isolated needy individuals rather than members of vulnerable families and communities. Our role is to help take over the functions of absentee or inadequate parents - to provide for, protect and comfort these innocent victims.

The role of 'white surrogate parent' to the Third World's poor is often adopted by a First World celebrity. It is a popular role for film stars, rock stars and royalty. The attendant helper is usually a female, who thus functions in the universal role of 'mother'. Some of the more prominent women in the role of international charity workers include Princess Anne (who for many years has worked on behalf of SCF), the late Audrey Hepburn (former ambassador for UNICEF) and Princess Diana (patron for British Red Cross, Leprosy Mission and hopeful replacement for Audrey Hepburn's role in UNICEF). Appendix 7.3 contains examples of images of these women 'at work' as global mothers. Note the highly patronizing

caption accompanying the images, such as "Di can save the world" and "She's set to take Audrey's role as mother to the world's children".

There is another image more narrowly defined and equally damaging as the above - that of a white westerner feeding a sickly Third World child. With these images come demeaning captions such as that by Cliff Richard for Tear Fund - "Come on now, one more spoonful!" Figure 7.9 below gives an example of this image.

Figure 7.9

Image of a Sickly Third World Infant Being Fed by a First World Adult



Source: Tear Fund information pamphlet.

SUMMARY OF CASE STUDY THREE

In Case Study Three, meaning is generated through the visual metaphor of the child's image within the icon of a New Zealand \$1 coin. The association of the Third World child's life with one dollar is stated explicitly and repeatedly in the text. The use of black and white adds to the drama of the image and enables the photo to assume news-like and factual connotations. The representation of the ad in black and white also helps to underline the simplicity of the message - you can save a child's life for \$1. The assumptions upon which the core message is based are not only erroneous

(because they equate a child's life with money, and money with love) but are also manipulative in the extreme.

This ad works on an emotive level. It is not wrong to evoke emotions of outrage or guilt in an ad, but it is wrong when these these emotions are a substitute for providing well-balanced argument and information on why donors should give.

The lone child is the central symbol on which the entire ad pivots. Some of the reasons why children are so often used in development charity ads have been outlined. The variant themes of white surrogate parents and white adults feeding sickly Third World children were also discussed with the intention of achieving a deeper understanding of the most popular charity ad format. Given the wide-spread appeal of images of lone children, and their capacity (as arousers of our most basic emotions) to make the economic and political context seem irrelevant, it is likely that these images will continue to be the predominant ad strategy adopted by the charities. This is especially true of those charities which favour physical ecologist philosophy because the focus of this philosophy is, like lone child images, devoid of any socio-economic or political context.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has undertaken a semiotic analysis of three case study charity ads. In the next chapter, the advertising material and techniques utilized by each NGO under investigation are evaluated. Each assessment includes an examination of some of the worst and best advertising practices of each NGO and is accompanied by a summary of the areas which are the most problematic. Chapter nine concludes this thesis with a brief checklist of how not to present a charity ad. Suggestions are given on alternative methods to use and a selection of examples illustrating good advertising techniques are incorporated into this discussion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INDIVIDUAL ASSESSMENTS OF THE ADVERTISING ETHICS OF EACH NGO

INTRODUCTION

In chapter seven three case study ads were analysed semiotically in order to ascertain how the elements with each ad helped to create the overall ad message. Three ads were selected on the basis of either their popularity or their impact. The work of chapter eight involves taking an in-depth look at a broad range of promotional material that reflects the various advertising techniques used by each NGO. Each assessment will include a discussion of the advertising practices of that particular NGO, in light of their organizational guidelines (as found in their constitutions, mandates, etc) and in the context of international recommendations on appropriate advertising practices (as outlined in the 1989 Code of Conduct on Images and Messages Relating to the Third World). Included in this chapter are the organizational and personal opinions of various NGO staff members as expressed in a questionnaire on ethics and NGO advertising practices sent in July 1993 (see Appendix 1.1 for a copy of this document). Issues covered in this questionnaire included problems with child sponsorship advertising, the use of starving child imagery and the involvement of evangelism in advertising material. Questionnaires were completed by Peter McNee (WV's Executive Director), Maureen O'Sullivan (the sponsorship marketing manager for WV), and Susan Warren (WV's Education Writer). Ted Clothier, National President for SCFNZ completed a questionnaire as did Jill Eagle (National Director for CCF), and Barbara Stephens (Co-ordinator for CWS). Unfortunately there was no response from any staff members from Tear Fund. The core questions being addressed in this chapter are:

- 1) Are the messages and images used in the advertising material of these NGOs ethical?
- 2) Is the content of each NGO's advertising compatible with its stated philosophy and objectives?

When examining a charity ad the following questions should be asked:

- Does this ad present a false and/or inaccurate image of developing nations and their peoples?
- Does this ad offer genuine explanations for the reasons why the people portrayed are suffering?
- Do they offer feasible long-term solutions to the problems presented?
- Do they portray Third World people in a dignified and humane manner?
- Do they convey a message of western patronage and heroism?
- Do they portray Third World people as weak and passive victims of fate?
- When an explanation for suffering is provided, does it reinforce the idea that poverty is the result of powerful natural forces rather than showing that this situation is a product of human action (or inaction) that is merely exacerbated by droughts and floods etc?

The following assessments are examined in accordance with the issues outlined above and are organized thematically. That is, issues such as evangelism, child sponsorship and the use of starving child imagery are discussed separately under subheadings within each assessment.

WORLD VISION - ETHICS AND ADVERTISING

Advertising and Evangelism

The advertising material of WV does not clearly illustrate the evangelical side of their activities. This is problematic in that there appears to be a schism between the 'image' that WV projects to the public about itself through its general advertising material and its true nature. From an examination of the advertising material of WV any member of the public would probably summarize WV's work in approximately the following statement: WV's work is primarily of an humanitarian nature, which is expressed in practical terms (such as sponsorship, medical aid and agrarian expertise) because of a commitment by staff to help those in need. In actual fact internal agenda of WV is of a much more overtly evangelical nature. The 'secular' image that WV clings to publicly is in contrast with its constitution, "which requires Board members to subscribe to a strongly fundamentalist religious creed. It is also in contrast to the evangelical emphasis apparent in World Vision's project work" (Quinn 1986:48).

Gordon Campbell discusses some of the practices of WV that demonstrate their strong evangelical orientation in an article that appeared in the New Zealand Listener on April 20th, 1985. According to this article aid applications are evaluated by WV according to a section in the WV Project Planning Workbook called 'Witness Evangelism Strategy'. "What, the subheading asks, are the key elements of the evangelism strategy of the project?" (ibid).

In this Planning Workbook five of the ten pre-planning questions relate to church building and evangelism activities. They are as follows:

- How could the project strengthen the local Christian community?
- How could a project enhance local Christian leadership?
- In what ways could a project enhance the self reliance of the local Christian churches?
- In what ways could a project change the attitudes of non-Christians towards the Christian community?
- How could we share our vision for Christian development with the local churches?

(cited in Quinn 1986:112)

According to Campbell (1985: 16) "if the application meets the criteria for evangelism potential listed in the World Vision planning Work Book and is approved, field officers are then required to include a 'narrative description of evangelism activities' in each quarterly report on the progress of the project". Such documentation is clearly indicative of the high priority given to the 'evangelization' of aid recipients.

Quinn (1986:48-49) claims that WV's internal documents suggest "that evangelism is a major objective of the organization" but that this objective is not apparent in its mass advertising material. On a closer inspection of a number of WV advertisements from the content analysis sample, it becomes apparent that there is some credibility to Quinn's claims. Of the ten advertisements examined by this researcher, eight made no reference whatsoever to the evangelical component of WV's work. In fact, they did not even mention that WV was a Christian-based agency. In two of the ads the Christian dimension was mentioned in a very non-specific manner. For instance, the motto 'Caring for the World God Loves' was written at the

very bottom of one child sponsorship ad⁵⁴, and the description of WV as a 'non-denominational Christian organization' in the text of another ad⁵⁵ were the only two explicit references to Christianity.

In one particular brochure, "Why does clean water make Kundai Happy?", the Christian component should have been mentioned and was not. This brochure was much longer than most other WV ads as it was a fold out 'one piece mailer'. One section provided a brief history of WV, with a mention of the founder, organizational objectives, etc, and even here there is no mention of the NGO's evangelical or Christian component. WV, by selecting what elements to stress and what elements to underplay, deceives the public of what its true intentions are. It is possible to mislead by omission and on some occasions WV is guilty of this.

It should be noted that WV's pamphlets are more 'honest' in that at least the evangelical dimension of its philosophy is mentioned. Of the five informational pamphlets examined in the content analysis (see Appendix 5:1) all state that the organization is Christian and two address the question - "What is the Christian content?". Admittedly the reply is very vague but the fact that the issue is addressed (albeit poorly) should to be acknowledged. WV needs to be more candid about its religious nature. This conclusion is also drawn also by Consumer Magazine in its summary of development charities - "Faith, Hope and Charity: Where do your aid dollars go?". This article found that WV's advertising was misleading:

"no mention is made of the organization's religious outlook and the fact that some money is spent for religious purposes. We [Consumer] are not criticizing these beliefs, but we think they should be mentioned in ads that ask for money" (Consumer, No 317, July 1993:27).

Ethics and Sponsorship

It is not the aim of this discussion to broach the already well documented debate over the ethics of sponsorship. Rather, the problem lies with how the sponsorship ad is presented. There is a degree of inconsistency in WV presentations of its child sponsorship ads. There is a gap between the

54 "Sponsor a child and help a family build a better world."

55 "Make a bequest" (1993 Charity Gazette)

relationship being appealed to (clearly a one-to-one relationship) and the actual use of sponsorship funds (on a community level). Although this is nearly always mentioned, it is never explicitly explained how the money is carved up between the individual child and their community. The move to incorporate the "community" rather than focus exclusively on individual children is not the issue but how funds are allocated should be made clear. If the focus is the community then it is misleading to continue using photographs which give the ad an individual focus. Figure 8.1 is a typical example of a WV child sponsorship ad which follows a conventional format used by many charities. Note the absence of any information of substance and the vague reference to the benefits for the child's family and community in the text, all of which is at odds with the individual focus promoted by the image.

Figure 8.1
 "Don't Hold Back Your Love"



Don't hold back your love

So many children in Asia, Africa and Latin America desperately need your love. Jackie Nabue, just over three years old, is one of them. She lives in Uganda. Her widowed mother struggles desperately to support Jackie and her brother - but it seems to be a losing battle. Jackie is severely malnourished and constantly sick. Her future? At this stage, bleak and empty.

But in that kind of situation your love makes a huge difference - when you sponsor a child like Jackie through World Vision.

For just \$29 a month (tax deductible) you give your child the things that will help her to live: food, medical care and education. You'll also enjoy the peace of mind that comes from knowing your child is safe and healthy. So please mail the coupon today. It's the best way to help a child who needs you most.

Sponsor a child now and put your love into action!

Yes, I'll help a suffering child

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PHONE _____

WORLD VISION CHILD SPONSORSHIP
 GPO BOX 9944 MELBOURNE 3001

Source: New Idea, June 26, 1993.

Although this is an WV Australia ad, it, and many others like it, appear frequently in women's magazines in New Zealand. This discrepancy between funding for individual sponsored children and for community projects has also been noted in a government report by MFAT. This report assessed the performance of seven projects selected from a pool of fifty African projects that received government (VASS) subsidies between 1988 and 1991. Three of these were found to be problematic, two of which were WV projects. As a result of this critical report World Vision has lost its eligibility for block funding and will now have to apply for subsidies on a much more time consuming project-by-project basis. According to the New Zealand Herald⁵⁶ (28 December, 1993) the report noted:

"World Vision used public donations intended for child sponsorship on general development of an area, including villages, in which no children were sponsored".

The report team was highly opposed to this practice "unless the sponsorship providers were fully aware" (ibid). Peter McNee, Director of WVNZ has publicly stated that WV has changed its sponsorship programme and is moving away from the early welfare focus to a community focus. A new Vision Statement emerged as a result of this new approach:

"World Vision's ministry in the 1990s will address the rights and potential of children and families through community development in which each sponsor becomes a partner with the community, family and the child" (WV, Spring, 1990:2).

Given the above commitment, WV should also consciously change the focus of its ads in accordance with the changes made within its child sponsorship programme. It is not enough for WV to assume that "The majority of sponsors would know we've [WV] moved to a wider development mode" which was the response of Peter McNee to the above report's criticism (Herald 28 December, 1993).

⁵⁶ Several other criticisms directed at World Vision in the government report were discussed in the abovementioned Herald article. These included problems with water pumps which were never installed, classrooms that were never built and New Zealand funded development workers whose training was largely of an evangelical nature instead of development-centred.

WV and the Use of Starving Child Images

WV's central philosophy is expressed in its Mission Statement (see chapter 4). However, this document makes no specific references as to preferred methods of advertising. For this information WV adheres to the guidelines within the "Code of Conduct - Images and Messages relating to the Third World" adopted by the 1989 General Assembly of the Liason Committee of Development NGOs to the European Communities. According to Beulah Wood, the Communications Manager for WV, "WV advocated these attitudes even before they were adopted by the European NGOs" (personal correspondence 19 November, 1992). Ms Wood underscores the differentiation she believes should be made between advertisements for relief donations (in cases of emergency, such as the Somalia Appeal) and for development. In the former case she maintains that "when the situation is urgent we use urgent messages", but she points out that the majority of WV's work is developmental (an estimated 75-85% of its money is used for this purpose) and should reflect a "more normal life" (ibid).

This distinction between what images and messages are appropriate for 'emergency relief' advertisements and 'development advertisements' is not recognised in the Code of Conduct which WV purports to uphold. In fact, this document explicitly states its opposition to images of severely malnourished people. Page 4 of the Code recommends that NGOs "avoid catastrophic ... images which appeal to charity and lead to a clear conscience rather than a consideration of the root problems". It also states that "all people must be presented as human beings and sufficient information provided ... so that their cultural identity and dignity are preserved". The ability of starving child images to achieve this objective is highly questionable.

A conflict of opinions over this crucial issue is clearly apparent. In defense of accusations made by some NGOs that images of the starving are "contrary to respect for the dignity of the poor" (Quinn 1986:26), Ms Wood argues:

"Where the situation is an extreme emergency people have already lost their dignity and are likely to lose their life, we must tell that story. We will not pretend there is dignity when there isn't nor that they are not dependent when they are" (Personal Correspondence, 19 November 1992).

All questionnaire respondents from WV (Maureen O'Sullivan - Sponsorship Development Manager, Susan Warren - Education Writer, and Peter McNee - Executive Director) stressed the importance of honesty in their advertising and maintained that they had a responsibility to use images to "portray the situation as it is" (Warren 1993:5). They saw no problem in using images of starving people in cases of emergency. In fact, Peter McNee went so far as to comment (in response to a question as to whether he believed that there were any effective alternatives to using these images) that to use any alternative images would "misrepresent the situation".

But the use of images of the starving is problematic, a point that Susan Warren alludes to in the following response. When asked if there were any reasons why WV would avoid images of starving people, Warren stated:

"We avoid malnourished people in all other [non-emergency] advertising because: a) it is usually not the reality, b) it's depressing and off-putting, c) it can sometimes be an invasion of privacy, d) positive images (healthy people working for their future) remind us that these are real people just like us" (Questionnaire Response).

It is difficult to see why these criticism (or any others directed at images of suffering) are any less valid in of emergency situations. Obviously, it would be unethical to use such images if the situation was not dire, if the photographs were out of date or some such reason which would make their use dishonest. But photographs of people whose bodies have wasted away can never be described as 'sometimes' an invasion of privacy, rather, they are always an invasion of privacy. The fact that many of these situations are desperate in no way reduces the degree of intrusion. Neither can images of suffering be justified in the terms Ms Wood provides, that is, to claim that these people have already lost their dignity and that this somehow makes it permissible to photograph them in any way we like.

With reference to the last point made by Warren, if positive images help the public to perceive Third World people as 'like ourselves' then logically Warren validates the earlier argument that images of the starving present people in an alien-like, almost inhuman manner, as unlike ourselves.

Images of this nature cannot alleviate the widening global abyss between the First and Third Worlds.

On many occasions the advertising material of WV contravenes the recommendations outlined in the European Code of Conduct. The way in which the Third World's problems are presented are, as mentioned in chapter four, a reflection of what Robert Chambers calls the 'physical ecologist' approach. Such presentations, which focus on physical factors such as climatic conditions in an ahistoric and isolated manner, manifestly fail to provide the public with sufficient information to understand how situations of privation and distress arose. The images of suffering used by WV do not meet the standards outlined in the Code, which recommends that NGOs avoid the following:

- Images which generalise and mask the diversity of situations.
- Images which foster a sense of Northern superiority.
- Apocalyptic or pathetic images.
- NGOs must also ensure that the messages they project do not present an image of dependency or "hand-outs", and that the viewpoint of the South is taken into account. To do this the account must come from the people concerned, not an interpretation from a third party

(Page 3 of the Code of Conduct).

WV's advertisements tend to aggregate the many diverse problems of the Third World together under the banner of suffering children. The differences between communities are usually only highlighted in discussions of development projects or educational material, not in the NGO's general advertising and certainly not in its child sponsorship material. The child sponsorship ads and the emergency appeals alike instil a sense of superiority in the reader. An example of this will is considered below.

The Third World Perspective

WV's images of suffering, like the frail child shown in their Somalia Appeal Poster (entitled "In Somalia, Life Expectancy Is Now Being Measured In Days), do little more than impart a message that people are in desperate need. As Simpson (1985:21) notes, "the people referred to in these adverts

do very little apart from suffer". This does not adequately reflect the viewpoint of the Third World. These images fail to show what action people from the Third World are taking to help themselves. The manner in which the Third World voice is heard is also vitally important. Take the example of the WV ad entitled "Why does clean water make Kundai Happy? One section of this ad (see Appendix 8.1, photo 1) pictures a woman with an infant balanced on her hip; she is looking directly at the camera (at us) and the following sentence in quotation marks is provided beside the photo:

"Sometimes we are thirsty. Sometimes we get very hungry too. We cannot grow enough food because the ground is too dry. Please help us".

Are these her words? Is this the viewpoint of the South? And who is this unnamed woman anyway? Perhaps these are her words, but if so is she not entitled to be named? Perhaps she did not say this at all and the ad designers put in the caption. With such a pleading and demeaning caption the connotation of the ad is distorted in a way which demoralizes the woman pictured. This is not the view point of the South. Such a construction denies the woman and her child independence of thought and capability. She is reduced to the status of a beggar and we to that of the benevolent provider. Worse still, underneath this picture and quotation the following patronizing caption is supplied, "If they could help themselves they would". Note that in the ad the quotation marks are around what we assume is her comment; the latter statement is free from quotation marks and is presumably supposed to be a comment made by WV.

Partners as Equals

If WV expects the public to believe that it treats the people who receive funding as equals, in "partnership" to use the popular terminology, then it must genuinely endeavour to treat Third World people in a manner consistent with how we deal with images of ourselves. This inconsistency is reflected in another section of the above-mentioned ad (see Appendix 8.1, photo 2). Why when two photos of families are shown (one of a New Zealand family and one of a family presumably from Kundai's village) are the individual members of the New family named whilst the people in the

Third World family are unnamed? Such a practice implies that the identity of the individual New Zealand family members is worth mentioning but those of the Third World family are not.

The Gateway Travel Scheme

The equity of the 'partnership' relation WV so strongly advocates is also harmed when WV implements gimmicky, lottery type schemes. For the past several years WV has run a competition for those who sponsor children or who wish to start sponsoring a child. This scheme (run in conjunction with Gateway Travel) offers sponsors the chance to meet their sponsored child. The winner of the most endearing letter competition has the opportunity to fly anywhere in the world courtesy of Gateway Travel to meet their sponsored child⁵⁷.

This type of advertising campaign is inherently flawed. It demeans the recipients of sponsorship by in effect treating them like 'free gifts'. Also, it endangers the validity of the partnership quality of the relation between sponsor and sponsored. Fundamental to child sponsorship philosophies is the belief in the equity of the exchange, an equity which is clearly under threat when a 'lottery style' approach is adopted. The needs and feelings of the sponsored children and their families appear to have been of little consideration. Perhaps the child (or the child's family) would prefer not to meet face-to-face with the people who provide their sponsorship money. One of the common criticisms directed at child sponsorship programmes is its apparent 'tailoring' primarily to sponsor needs. This accusation seems validated by this Win a Trip to Meet Your Child' campaign.

The Impact of Images of Suffering

As noted, only a minority of WV's ads are for emergency appeals; most of its publicity deals with child sponsorships and development projects. Despite the relatively small number of 'images of the starving' these images are important because of their impact. There may be less of these images as opposed to more positive images, but it is the negative images which are

more dramatic, attention grabbing and more memorable. It is therefore these images that are more likely to influence the public's perceptions surrounding Third World people.

Although 'starving images' are the best (or the worst) illustration of how WV fails to come to grips with some of the fundamental guidelines within the Code of Conduct, many of the above arguments can be applied to their more development oriented promotional material. It is possible, however, that the NGO's educational material designed for different aged school children would give give a more balanced and well-informed view.

WV's child sponsorship ads project a much more positive and healthy image. One of its latest ads, "This is Nazma" (see Figure 8.2), is an example of an ad that attempts to move beyond the stereotypical (often derogatory) conventional format. Although this ad makes a commendable change and is a vast improvement on some of these more traditional approaches, it still falls far short of meeting the guidelines outlined in the Code.

Figure 8.2
"This is Nazma"



This is Nazma.

The first child in the village of Paratek, Bangladesh to be sponsored by World Vision New Zealand in 1986.

When this photograph was taken five years ago Nazma's mother was a street beggar. Her father near death with malaria. The village of Paratek is a very different place with a school, market, clean water, sanitation and a community savings center thanks to World Vision and New Zealand sponsors. Nazma's father is now in a well while her mother begins to get something.

And Nazma? Eight years on, Nazma is a beautiful, healthy and highly intelligent young woman who, one day, hopes to become a doctor.

You can help people like Nazma gain an education, hope and life by sponsoring a World Vision child for just one dollar a day. Mail this coupon now or call 0800 80 2000 and find out how World Vision works for the children of the world.



For more information on World Vision and how you can help, please contact your local World Vision office. For more information, please contact World Vision New Zealand, P.O. Box 100, Auckland. Tel: 0800 80 2000. Fax: 09 308 1000. Email: info@worldvision.org.nz. Website: www.worldvision.org.nz. Please send information to: World Vision New Zealand, P.O. Box 100, Auckland.

WORLD VISION

WV fails to meet the recommendations in the Code not so much in what it says and shows as in what it fails to include in this ad. The practical guidelines of the Code of Conduct state categorically in points 5-8 that:

- A message should be formulated in such a way that generalisations are avoided in the minds of the public;
- The internal and external obstacles to development should be clearly shown;
- Interdependence and joint responsibility in underdevelopment should be emphasised;
- The causes of poverty (political, structural or natural) should be apparent in a message in order to enable the public to become aware of the history and real situation in the Third World, and the structural foundations of these countries before colonisation. It is the situations today, coupled with a knowledge of the past, which should be the starting point for examining ways in which extreme poverty and oppression can be eliminated. Power struggles and vested interests should be exposed and oppression denounced.

The "Nazma" ad blatantly fails to meet the above standards, particularly points seven and eight. It is, and will continue to be, difficult for the public to avoid generalizing about the Third World when WV uses vague and general phrases such as "Around the world children urgently need our help", "You can rescue a child like ... ", "Everyday, some 35,000 children pass beyond the reach of help", and so on. The scale of problems may be global but there are differences, importance differences, between different countries and these need to be incorporated into advertisements if the public is to become aware that the Third World is not just a clump of countries made similar by virtue of deprivation and needy children.

This point on the over-generalization within charity ad texts is picked up by Jack Shakely in an article entitled "Ethics of Charitable Solicitation" (The Grantsmanship News Centre, 1974) in which Shakely cites the criticisms of an American Fundraiser Helen O'Rourke. According to O'Rourke (who was head of the Philanthropic Advisory Division of the Council of Better

"A picture of a starving child with the caption, 'Tonight Maria will go hungry,' could run year after year in magazine advertisements without ever having to prove that there ever was a Maria or that she was going hungry tonight or any other night. Helen O'Rourke thought this was something more than poetic license. She thought it was untruthful" (ibid).

According to Shakely American charities at this time "were free to say anything about themselves, their clients, the social ills they were tackling or the people they were trying to influence" (ibid). The "totally unsubstantiated phraseology" (to borrow Shakely's terminology) such as "half the world is going hungry tonight" continue to appear in the texts of charity ads such as those of WV and CCF⁵⁸ and reveals that contemporary charities ads appearing in New Zealand are subject to the same criticisms that Helen O'Rourke found so worrisome. There are even conflictive phrases. According to CCF 40,000 children die a day, but according to a WV television commercial featuring Phil Collins, 35,000 children die every day in the Third World. Which is it to be?

None of the ads examined in the content analysis referred to the causes of poverty in anything more than a superficial manner, with the exception of one Latin American centred child sponsorship ad ("Sponsor a child and help a family"). Some WV's ads referred to the problems of famines, droughts or even civil war, but there was never anything more than that. Nor were there ever even a hint of western complicity in foreign underdevelopment. Even in the Latin American example the historical context was limited. The plundering by the conquistadors and the hardship experienced by many poor working on large coffee estates are mentioned, as well as reference to 'political violence'. But the reasons behind this violence, loss of land and consequent poverty are not addressed. Instead the solution of sponsoring a child is offered to 'break the poverty cycle'. The child sponsorship solution offered in this ad is not a permanent solution because there will never be enough sponsors to keep pace with the growing need. The real solution is much more difficult to attain and will require

⁵⁸ Examples of unsubstantiated phraseology from the advertising of WV and CCF include: "Everyday another 40,000 children die" (CCF), "A child like Milkias dies of hunger-

major global restructuring. It will require a change in the way we live, for in the long term our level of consumption in the First World far outstrips our capacity to maintain our own lifestyle let alone help anyone else. The need for major structural changes is a point raised by Simpson in her analysis of development-charity advertisements. She queries, in reference to a VSO ad claiming to 'treat the causes of poverty' by sending qualified personal to help 'share their skills with local people':

"what good are agricultural skills when you've lost your land?
And what good is a Western out-reach worker, when your
product is being driven out of the market by a multinational?
And standing on your own two feet is all very well, as long as the
local police, in their American or European-supplied equipment,
don't take objection" (Simpson 1985:21).

These questions challenge the very heart of the simple solutions that all child sponsorship agencies offer to the public. What they do is not wrong it is merely not enough. What is erroneous is to offer the public the sponsorship package as 'the solution' when in fact it is only part of the solution and one fraught with limitations.

Summary

WV needs to review its advertising techniques if it is to meet the standards detailed in the European Code of Conduct, to which the NGO claims to adhere. WV fails to meet the standards outlined in this document because its ads are presented in a primarily apolitical and ahistorical fashion. WV's conceptualization of the poverty problematic is simplistic. The activities that they endorse to eradicate poverty are also simplistic. Because WV's ads are merely a reflection of their worldview many of the areas in which their advertising fails to meet the Code of Conduct recommendations, are problems of philosophy and are not the product of dishonest or ethical advertising practices. Given this, the challenge to WV (if it is genuinely committed to meeting the guidelines in the Code), is to reconsider the way their ads are presented with the objective of not only raising funds but also of informing the public of the underlying reasons behind poverty. With regard to evangelism, WV needs to make this dimension of their work

images of severe malnutrition, WV needs to be aware of the detrimental effects of such imagery and at least consider the possibility that there may be better ways to advertise which can meet urgent need and maintain the privacy and dignity of the subjects at the same time.

SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND - ETHICS AND ADVERTISING

New Zealand's SCF has no specific guidelines on how not to advertise. The NGO's main criteria is that the image be relevant to the campaign. In some instances SCF uses drawings and these are excluded from this discussion. Apart from its Annual Appeal SCF does not advertise widely. Of the 162 images examined in the content analysis (see chapter five), only six were of ads whilst the vast majority were derived from SCF's publication 'World's Children', and from a selection of pamphlets and posters. As a secular organization, SCF is able to avoid any complications over expenditures of donations on evangelical activities. 18% of its income is derived from child sponsorships - it is this form of solicitation for funds that will be examined. In cases of emergencies SCF does resort to using images of suffering, so this will also be discussed. The central issue revolves around the the NGO's philosophy and its understanding of poverty, as this is the most crucial factor guiding SCF's presentation of problems in the Third World, a presentation which in turn influences the perceptions of the public towards foreign peoples and nations.

SCF's Stance on Religion and Politics

As SCF is a secular organization it suffers from none of the attendant problems of needing to incorporate religious philosophy into its advertising or of having to be up-front about how it spends public money on evangelical activities. SCF's philosophy is reflected in its Children's Charter (see chapter four). In summary, this charter on 'The Rights of the Child' outlines SCF's belief that every child has the right to be protected, respected, have their material, moral and spiritual needs meet and be brought up in an environment that enables them to reach their full

The Charter aptly reflects the very practical and pragmatic nature of SCF's work. Many SCF activities centre around health issues for women and children, such as mother and child health clinics, immunization programmes and the like. The work and dedication shown by the staff of SCF worldwide is not to be denigrated, but the NGO's philosophy falls far short of questioning the factors that bring about poverty for children and adults alike. In this specific sense, SCF is extremely backward and appears content to deal with the challenge of meeting human need in an apolitical context. Its philosophy clearly allies with the physical ecologist perspective, an ideology which, for reasons already discussed, is inherently flawed and can do no more than ameliorating the manifest symptoms of much deeper problems.

A recent comment made by John Bowis (Executive Officer for NZSCF) is an example of the NGO's down-to-earth attitude towards development:

"He [Bowis] explained how a few hours with a bulldozer or tractor and scoop can provide an irrigation channel to ensure local farmers are able to establish and grow crops of wheat and vegetables on their land in an often low rainfall environment" (Feilding Herald, September 21, 1993:11).

Unfortunately, long-term development requires more than western seeds and tractors. It is no longer acceptable to maintain that Third World problems are due to the backwardness of the local people, their ignorance and lack of expertise. However, this perspective underlies the analyses of poverty given in SCF's advertising. The 1979 ad below (Figure 8.3) is a good example of how SCF claims to treat the causes of poverty and yet explains these causes in terms of inadequacies in people's skills and equipment. Some of the causes of poverty identified in the text include: "feudal farming techniques that poison the land" and "a total lack of knowledge of basic health care and hygiene".

Such analyses demean the capabilities of Third World people. Like rather slow children, they need to be taught basic hygiene, how to farm, etc. Implicit in these ads is the connotation of western superiority. Although the current advertising material of NZSCF does not explicitly state that the problems plaguing underdeveloped nations are 'their own fault', by not mentioning the role of international (external) factors SCF is inadvertently leading the reader to conclude that the problems of the Third World are exclusively endogenous. On this issue SCF is not adequately meeting the following two recommendations contained within the European Code of Conduct:

- To emphasise interdependence and joint responsibility in underdevelopment, and
- To explain the causes of poverty (political, structural as well as natural).

Because of the way the problems of poverty are presented, SCF also has difficulty meeting several other recommendations within this Code. For instance, the Code strongly suggests that NGOs "do not present an image of dependency or hand-outs". But it is a message of dependency and need that lie at the core of SCF's child sponsorship ads, as can be seen in many of the headlines that accompany these ads ("This child desperately needs you" - exclaims one such ad).

SCF also has difficulty in meeting the recommendation that advertising should be produced in dialogue, that is, as the result of consultation with the people being portrayed. SCF's advertising tends to be a monologue, a constant stream of third party interpretations of the problems endemic in the Third World. Despite the respect and dignity that most of the images of SCF's promotional material seek to attain, a patronizing undertone results from their simplistic evaluations and one way communication.

SCF and Child Sponsorship

Although SCF does not advertise its child sponsorship programme to the

The format of SCF's child sponsorship ads follow a 'conventional' approach which is not dissimilar to those used by other agencies such as WV and CCF. Like most child sponsorship programmes, SCF offers the sponsor a direct link with a specific child through supplying a photograph and full details pertaining to that child. Unlike some of the other agencies, SCF focusses on the ability of sponsorship money to provide education, which it maintains will enable children to lift themselves from poverty and will help to lay a foundation for a better future. In one recent ad, entitled "You can give Asha the priceless gift of learning", the brief text read as follows:

"This Christmas all Asha wants is the gift of education.. For as little as 65 cents a day you can play a vital role.. Asha will be able to go to school to gain the valuable skills needed to earn a living .. Please clip the coupon below and help a child gain the education he or she needs to survive".

In another ad:

"sponsor a child like Tashi, and you'll receive your own photograph, full details, and annual reports on her educational progress.. And you'll get to see exactly what your sponsorship is buying - school fees and books, a school uniform, an education and a real chance at life."

These ads fail to refer to the context of these children's lives are from or the reasons why their own families are unable to pay (apart from saying they are too poor). It is unclear whether any of the sponsorship money is spent on anything other than education, such on as food and clothing. Neither is it clear what would happen should a child like Tashi not perform well academically. The assumption that the sponsor has a right to see school reports is also questionable. The idea that education is the solution to eradicating poverty is overly optimistic and misleading. Education is important but it can only be part of the solution to a highly complex problem. For what use is an education if there are no jobs or adequate housing or decent medical care? What use is education if you have lost your land and are forced to move to the city to seek employment? What use is an education if you are denied a job because of your gender?

Although the provision of educational opportunities is vital to empowering people, although literacy and employment skills are crucial in development, it is the responsibility of organizations such as SCF to portray poverty 'as it is', as complex and messy rather than as clearcut and simple. In terms of the European Code of Conduct, these ads do not help to improve the public's understanding of:

- The realities and complexities of the countries of the Third World in their historical context;
- the obstacles posed to development;
- the diversity of situations in these countries;
- the efforts being made in the South itself;
- and the progress made.

Recommendations from the European Code of Conduct, 1989:4.

SCF's child sponsorship ads cannot meet the above guidelines because they simply do not say enough. These criticisms can also be directed at SCF's non-sponsorship ads, such as the Somalia Emergency Appeal in Figure 8.4.

Figure 8.4
SCF - Somalia Appeal Ad

721111D 29/1/92

The next phone call you make could save a child.

Call us free on
0800 734 734



Save the Children Fund 24-Hour Somalia Emergency Appeal.

Last night, thousands of New Zealanders immediately pledged their support to save the stricken children of Somalia.

It's not too late for you to play a part in this life-saving emergency appeal. Please help us by making your donation now.

A team of New Zealanders is actively working in Somalia in an effort to relieve the suffering of so many thousands of children caught up in the war-torn African nation.

The money you give today will make their work more effective through the provision of urgently needed food and supplies.

Make your donation by credit card over the phone on 0800 734 734, or clip the coupon.

Please - do it now. For the children of Somalia, time is running out:

I want to help save the children in Somalia. Please accept my donation of

\$100 \$75 \$50 \$25 Other _____

Or by cheque

\$100 \$75 \$50 \$25 Other _____

Exp. On: _____

Name: Mr/Ms/Ms/Ms _____

Address: _____

Postcode: _____



Post to: Save the Children Fund
24 Hour Somalia Emergency Appeal,
Freepost 14014, Wellington.

This ad is typical of most development charity 'emergency' ads. The reasons why the lives of children in Somalia are in danger are not provided (apart from a brief reference to being caught up in a war-torn African nation). An image of a single child is shown, the universal symbol of innocence and suffering; the background is erased to emphasize the essence of the message, the text is short and to the point as if to underline the urgency of the situation. An imperative is given - "Please - do it now. For the Children of Somalia time is running out". To its credit, in this example SCF does not resort to a picture of a severely malnourished infant, showing instead a black toddler eating messily from a large bowl. It is the headline beside the relatively undramatic image which creates the sense of urgency. According to Ted Clothier (National President for NZSCF), this campaign was the NGO's most successful emergency appeal (in financial terms), raising NZ\$1.5 million. Evidently it is not necessary to use a horrific image in an emergency campaign in order for it to be successful in raising funds.

SCF and Images of Starvation

SCF does use images of the severely malnourished in its advertising material although very rarely. It is the view of Ted Clothier that such images would only be used "when the purpose of the appeal demands it" but that the NGO is aware "aware of donor fatigue and would prefer to use positive images" (Questionnaire Response).

SCF and its Apolitical Philosophy

The strongly apolitical stance of SCF is evident in the opposition of Ted Clothier to the following statement (provided in the Questionnaire):

"The work of NGOs in developing countries must be political if it is to challenge the present unequal distribution of resources" (Question 16f).

In defense of SCF's apolitical role, and in response to the suggestion that there are better ways to spend donations than on child sponsorship programmes, Ted Clothier argued that this was an "unrealistic question" because:

"At the end of the road, if you cannot work with the government of the day, irrespective of their politics, you will not be able to get started.

SCF recognizes that causes must be challenged but its basic policy is to help the victims. That is where we started 75 years ago at the end of World War I".

Unfortunately, this is where SCF will stay unless it radically changes its understanding of the issue of underdevelopment.

Summary

The main problems associated with SCF's advertising are a reflection of their apolitical and ahistoric philosophy. It is not sufficient to recognize the need to challenge causes but to settle for helping the victims. Unless SCF alters its philosophy it will continue to contribute to the public's misunderstanding of the fundamental structural causes of poverty. These factors must be incorporated into the NGO's everyday advertising and promotional material. On the more positive side, very few of SCF's images were found to be exploitative and even in its emergency campaign for Somalia the image used was respectful. The success of this campaign clearly illustrates that the use of horrific images is not a prerequisite to raising funds.

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND - ETHICS AND ADVERTISING

The New Zealand office of CCF has only been operating since July 1990. Consequently its activities and advertising have been limited. CCF is a child sponsorship agency, hence all its energy is focussed on this form of development. All CCF sponsored children are from Third World countries. No funds are spent within New Zealand on disadvantaged children. Although CCF is a Christian-based agency it maintains that no money is spent on evangelical activities. The NGO's philosophical grasp of the global and interdependent nature of underdevelopment is, at best, rudimentary and, more often non-existent in their advertising material.

Of all the organizations examined in this study, CCF has by far the most narrowly focussed and blatantly naive approach to issues of poverty and oppression. Its philosophy and work revolve around a profoundly inadequate understanding of why people are poor and why people are unable to provide for themselves and their families. The solution that

CCF offers (namely child sponsorship) reflects how the physical ecologist perspective permeates all levels of its analyses. For CCF, the answer to suffering lies in the provision of food, clean water, shelter, clothing, medical treatment and education. It does not lie in questioning or challenging the factors that enabled people to become destitute in a world with sufficient resources for all.

Given its ideology, CCF is a proponent of a physical ecologist approach in its most pure sense. CCF projects a message that all that is needed to eradicate poverty is food, clothing, adequate shelter and perhaps some basic teaching in literacy. These are premises fundamental to the NGO's philosophy, to its activities and to the content of its advertising.

Personal comments on the value of CCF child sponsorships by the National Director of CCFNZ (Jill Eagle) illustrate its narrow apolitical and ahistoric approach to development issues:

"[child sponsorship programmes] provide an opportunity for a genuinely caring relationship between sponsor and child. Child sponsorship enables caring people to effectively help children living in poverty to improve the quality of their life within the context of family, community and culture to provide education, medical care, food, clothing and shelter and seeks to direct their self-development in socially beneficial ways" (Questionnaire Response).

The central message in CCF ads is:

"By coming a CCF sponsor you can save one needy child. Sponsorship does make a difference in the lives of needy children and their families" (ibid).

According to CCF's Mission and Operations statement, the NGO aims to provide not only the material essentials but also to "focus on promoting self-sufficiency.. and to work with local government agencies to promote improved child welfare standards and services". This Mission and Operations statement is the mandate for CCF internationally. It would be unfair to evaluate NZCCF's performance in these areas due to the infancy of the New Zealand office. NZCCF has so far confined its activities to a child sponsorship programme, which it believes is the best method to achieve the central organizational goal, namely "to improve the

conditions of the world's children". Because of the limited activities of NZCCF, the following discussion will concentrate on its child sponsorship programme and the associated advertising.

CCF And Child Sponsorship

CCF advertises its sponsorship programme extensively through printed advertisements and lengthy television commercials. The very simplistic philosophy is reflected consistently in this advertising material. CCF's core message contributes nothing towards increasing or challenging the public's understanding of the diversity and intricacies surrounding the problems of the underdeveloped world. Rather, CCF chooses to work within the conventional child-centred/victim paradigm with which New Zealand audiences are comfortable and which arouse sympathy and financial support.

CCF uses a number of emotive and blatantly guilt-laden techniques in its ads. A selection of CCF's ads are given below (Figure 8.5) to illustrate the variety of ways the NGO appeals to the public with the same basic message.

Ads 1 and 2 in Figure 8.5 are CCFNZ ads, whereas ads 3 and 4 are from the American publication of *Childworld* (Autumn 1991). Ads 1 and 2 pivot on the "aren't we so lucky" message, in which New Zealand parents are made to feel guilty at being able to provide for their children whilst parents in the Third World are unable to do so. Both of these ads also use local celebrities to endorse their message. Alison Roe is seen holding a Third World child. This image functions to reinforce the mother/carer role that CCF wants potential sponsors to assume. It is the classic madonna/child composition. The soft focus gives the aura of sentimental romanticism and spiritual connotations. Judith Dobson, on the other hand, is less effective in this role as she is less mature and has no children of her own. For 'Jude', the role is that of an adoptive parent. The New Zealand *Woman's Weekly* even ran a story on famous Kiwis who sponsor children in the Third World. Judith Dobson (then Kirk) was featured on the front cover under the headline "JUDE becomes a 'mum'" (*NZWW*, September 2 1991).

Ad 3 is a typical no-nonsense sponsorship ad containing virtually no information aside from the usual trite clichés. Although it is an American CCF ad, the message contained within it is virtually the same as the New Zealand versions. Ad 4 is interesting because of its composition. The picture of Sally Struthers (National Chairperson for the American CCF) is positioned in an almost God-like/saviour role in relation to the waif like Third World child. The upturned pleading gaze of the dark haired child reinforces the dominance of the blonde white sponsor, whose angelic features underscore the Christian flavour of the text. Potential sponsors are empowered through the visual composition of the ad and by the message it contains. According to this ad, needy children pray for help (that is, sponsorship) and if you act you "become a blessing to one needy child".

In all four ads the intending sponsor is given options on the gender and nationality of the child they wish to sponsor. Ad 2 asks the readers to circle the letter below the image of a particular child shown to indicate what they would like their sponsored child to look like. It is not necessary (or ethical) to offer such choices to the public. CCF is one of the worst

Figure 8.6
"You May be Their Last Chance"

You may be their last chance

Please don't make these children wait any longer... help us to find them a sponsor

Profiles of these children and so many others have been sent out to people who said they'd sponsor and then didn't go ahead...

Maybe the children weren't cute enough. Maybe they wanted a boy instead of a girl, or an African instead of a Brazilian.

Whatever the reason,

these children were REJECTED.

They have been waiting a long time for someone who cares to reach out and provide all the things that sponsorship makes possible.

Maybe you know a friend who can help?

You're already making a special contribution. Yet you can do so much more simply by letting us ask a friend of yours to sponsor a needy child. We just want to reach caring and compassionate people like yourself.

All you need to do is....

Simply write below the names and addresses of anyone you know who you feel would be interested in sponsoring a child, pop the coupon in your reply paid envelope and post it to us.....*and we do the rest* 7,245 children could be sponsored in one day! If every CCF sponsor encouraged a friend or relative to sponsor a child, another 7,245 children could be helped immediately. All it takes is your decision to fill out the coupon below.

You can remain anonymous.

If you don't want us to, we won't mention your name when we contact the people you nominate.

Sketch here and send to: CCF, New Zealand, 290 Victoria Street, Auckland.



Mumu, 8 - Kenya
Mumu's family lives in miserably poverty. Her parents are old and have no jobs and no way to stay. They must beg on the streets to stay alive.



Ana, 3 - Guatemala
Ana's family owns a small patch of land. Her father works as a farm labourer. They live in a one room hut with a dirt floor, no electricity or running water and have to use a latrine. Ana suffers from malnutrition.



Aldin, 6 - Philippines
The youngest of seven children, Aldin is active and healthy despite the poverty and hardship he's endured in his short life. Both parents struggle to make ends meet.



Marcelino, 6 - Mexico
This one little boy's father grows vegetables, but rain can ruin an entire harvest. Sometimes there is not enough food to go around the family. Marcelino is a cheerful and polite little boy but he suffers from undernourishment.



Babulal, 7 - India
Living in a mud brick house with no electricity or running water, Babulal's parents work hard to provide food for their family's struggle every day.



Wualporo, 6 - Thailand
This sweet little girl lives with her parents and little brother in a one-room shack. Wualporo's parents work on a farm and do some manual jobs but earn too little to provide all the basic essentials for their children.



Guadalupe, 6 - Mexico
Guadalupe lives with her brother and parents in a small hut with dirt floor and no tap water. She suffers from undernourishment, intestinal parasites, and parents desperately need her to grow. Basic essentials for...

Names and addresses of two people who would genuinely consider sponsoring a child:

First Name _____ Surname _____

Address _____

Town _____

First Name _____ Surname _____

Address _____

Town _____

My name _____

Yes, please mention my name when you send them the material.

No, I wish to remain anonymous.

My CCF reference number **A501**

Yes, I personally want to reach out to a child who's still waiting for a sponsor. I look forward to receiving the photo and the sponsorship kit of a (please circle) boy/girl living in Latin America/Asia/Africa. Enclosed is my cheque/money order for my first sponsorship gift of \$20 (please debit (please circle) Bankcard/Mastercard/Visa).

Name of Sponsor

Address of Sponsor

Town of Sponsor

Country of Sponsor

Telephone of Sponsor

The "You May Be Their Last Chance" ad appeared on the reverse side of a letter sent to existing sponsors from Bob Brookes (at the time National Director) on November 24, 1992. The ad focusses on rejection, pity and guilt. It was also timed just before Christmas. The ad requests existing sponsors to give CCF the names of two individuals they believe would be genuinely interested in sponsoring a child. You can even request to keep your name anonymous if you do not wish your friends to know 'who doxed them in'.

This is an example of one of the worst kinds of sponsorship ads. Individual pictures of children are shown, each with an expression revealing varying degrees of hardship and despair. A short demoralizing story is provided about the bleak situation facing each child.

The tone of these brief profiles is patronizing and does little to inform the reader of the more important issues. It is interesting to note that in the first half of this ad CCF stresses how these particular children have been rejected. Among the reasons given for this are - "Maybe the children weren't cute enough. Maybe they wanted a boy instead of a girl, or an Africa instead of a Brazilian". As was CCF's intention, these reasons seem pathetic to the reader. All children are important and 'cuteness' is totally irrelevant. Arguably, these children would not get rejected on such trivial grounds if potential donors were not given the option to select such characteristics in the first place. CCF also appears to have a somewhat ambivalent stance with regard to providing the sponsor with choices. On the one hand it clearly believes it is unfair to 'reject' a child because of some petty donor preference. Yet in the coupon provided at the bottom of this ad offers these very options once again. This ad also manipulates the reader through the use of flattery. CCF hopes to motivate the reader to cooperate (and write down some names of people who might be interesting in sponsoring a child) by using phrases as unsubtle as "We want to reach caring compassionate people like yourself".

CCF's Worldview

CCF's advertising presents a distorted and wholly negative image of the

without acknowledging that their circumstances are a product of human actions (or inactions), and that these children and their families are oppressed. People are not poor because they are unfortunate or unlucky, because they are stupid or were born in the wrong place. They are not poor because of bad weather, antiquated farming techniques and ignorance of birth control. There are a myriad of reasons why people are in need, are landless, are powerless. As an agency which seeks in its Mission and Operations statement to "meet the long-term development needs of children", it is crucial that CCF begins to rethink its approach in order to recognize the factors which bring about hardship and suffering.

Summary

CCF fails consistently to meet the most basic guidelines outlined in the Code of Conduct. If CCF was to meet the recommendations within this Code it would need to radically realter its philosophy from one which is primarily focussed on ameliorating symptoms to one which recognizes the historical, political and economic dimensions of poverty. The understanding of underdevelopment demonstrated by CCF in its advertising is so crude it misleads the public by implying that global poverty can be solved through sponsorship - "one needy child at a time". Equally it insults the intelligence of the public by assuming that people do not need or want to know more about the factors which create disparities in wealth. There are several techniques used by CCF that will have to be abandoned if this NGO wishes to improve the ethics of its advertising. CCF needs to drastically alter the way in which it presents its child sponsorship ads in order to avoid commodifying children. That is, presenting them as products rather than people. This will entail replacing matrix presentations with something else. Instead of showing a grid of twenty photographs of children, why not show an image of a child in the context of their home, family and community? The reasons for giving also need to change from a blatant focus on guilt to an intelligent analysis of the internal and external factors that have brought about deprivation.

TEAR FUND - ETHICS AND ADVERTISING

Tear Fund is unique in that it directly refers to the issue of exploitative imagery in its organizational constitution (as outlined in the 'Life in its Fullness' brochure). Tear Fund's Ministry is outlined in two ways - firstly, in the list of biblical imperatives from which it operates, and secondly in a list of features that Tear Fund maintains are "distinctive" to it. Point seven on this list refers to Tear Fund's responsibilities with regard to its advertising:

"We seek to portray the true dignity and value of people, as created by God. Therefore our aim in advertising and promotion is to be factual and informative rather than to elicit an immediate response through graphic words and pictures".

Vivienne Coombs, then Promotions Co-ordinator for Tear Fund, reiterated this point in personal correspondence, May 5, 1993):

"There have been no attempts to change our approach to advertising over the years. We are committed to a policy of treating both our donors and recipients with respect. This means that we don't set out with the overt intention of making our donors feel guilty with very graphic words and pictures. At the same time, we don't believe in using the 'pornography of poverty' as a promotional gimmick. The poor have their dignity too, so we don't use them as fund raising objects. We endeavour to present the need as truthfully and accurately as possible and encourage a rational and informed response."

Unlike SCF and CCF, Tear Fund demonstrates an awareness of some of the issues surrounding the use of negative and emotive imagery. Despite this commendable stance, there is some doubt over the extent to which Tear Fund is committed to implementing these principles. One glaring example of the distance between what they say and what they do is illustrated in the image below (Figure 8.7).

Figure 8.7
 "What Does Tear Fund Do?"



Source: "What does Tear Fund do?", NGO information pamphlet (no date).

Can images such as the above promote 'the restoration of human dignity' (as the supplied text states) or do they merely contribute to a widening gap between the affluent and the impoverished? This type of 'starving child' imagery seems to be diametrically opposed to the NGO's constitutional commitment to avoid such pictures. It also seems ill-fitted to the message in the text. Although Tear Fund's projects may contribute to enabling the very poor to live more dignified lives, it is difficult to believe that such images of sickly skin-and-bone infants

Tear Fund and Child Sponsorship

Over half of New Zealand's Tear Fund income is derived from its child sponsorship programme (known as 'Childcare') so it is important to look at the images and techniques used to attract sponsors.

Tear Fund does not advertise widely in New Zealand. From the material collected for chapter five's content analysis only four items out of 105 were actual ads. There were however, numerous coupons for child sponsorships in 'Teartalk' and within informational brochures. It is therefore from these sources that the following observations are made.

In many instances Tear Fund (NZ) does not use photos at all in its child sponsorship promotions. Instead, a coupon is provided for an intending sponsor to fill out. Nevertheless, several comments can be made. Firstly, Tear Fund does cater to the preferences/whims of potential sponsors and offers them a choice of gender and sometimes nationality of their sponsored child. For reasons already mentioned there are important reservations about this method. Secondly, on several occasions in the promotional material on sponsorship sexist language was used. In one full page A3 size ad the sponsored child is referred to as a 'he' six times ("Love Makes a Difference" in Supplement to Challenge Weekly, May 24, 1993:4). As in any other literature sexist language is inappropriate and should be avoided. Thirdly, Tear Fund equates money with love explicitly in its sponsorship ads (as does CCF). There seems to be an underlying assumption that because these children are poor they are unloved (see chapter 7, case study 3) for an earlier discussion of this issue with regard to CCF's advertising).

In the instances where images were included in the sponsorship ad, Tear Fund often opted for a matrix format. The picture below (Figure 8.8) is an example of this format

Figure 8.8
 "Bringing Children Love"

Bringing Children Love



Will you sponsor one of these children?

Source: Teartalk Special Edition, 1992:6-7.

This format is problematic because it tends to categorize and commodify children. It is appropriate to choose size and colour when choosing shoes from a catalogue. But this is a highly dubious technique to adopt when what you are selling is, in effect, children. This style of ad also has ethical problems in terms of the information contained in the ad. The example ad is virtually devoid of information. It provides no explanation or context and, as such, it denies the reader the opportunity to make an informed

"the Childcare programme is far more than an emotional, kneejerk reaction to the lifeless eyes of a child peering out from a photograph".

If Tear Fund believes that this is the case then it should accept the responsibility to avoid creating such perceptions in the public by using such images.

Sponsorship - Individual Child Focus versus Community Focus

Tear Fund believes that its sponsorship programme differs from other agencies because it focusses on the child before the community - "Their [other agencies] idea is that if you put in a community project .. then the individual child is going to benefit from this project. But we start with the child, ensuring that each one receives what their sponsorship ought to be providing" (Teartalk Childcare Special Edition, pp6-7). But the community is not neglected, it is claimed, because \$2 from each sponsorship donation goes into a special fund for community projects. It is interesting to note that although Tear Fund's sponsorship philosophy is at odds with other agencies such as WV and CCF, its sponsorship ads are not. In fact, CCF and Tear Fund's ads are nearly identical. It is not that Tear Fund's ads are dishonest in any way. Rather the opposite - the NGO's philosophy is child-centred and so are the ads. It is the other agencies whose ads are inconsistent, for their sponsorship programmes incorporate a community as well as child focus, both of which are not always adequately reflected in their ads. In a WV television commercial (screened in early November 1993) virtually all the images shown were of community projects and yet the ad was for the NGO's child sponsorship programme. The ad aptly illustrates the ambiguity demonstrated by many agencies whose sponsorship programmes are hovering uncertainly between community and individual child focusses.

Tear Fund's Child Focus

Tear Fund addresses a number of commonly asked questions regarding its work in one of its information pamphlets. In this pamphlet Tear Fund

"Isn't child sponsorship just a clever ploy to exploit the emotional impact of a needy child?" ("A Great Way To Say I Care" brochure).

This is the response they provided:

"There is no denying that children are a very marketable commodity. However, that is not the reason why Tear Fund focusses on children. We do so because, first and foremost, children hurt the most in poverty. We all know that the ills of society tend to spiral downwards and they fall right on the heads of the little children" (ibid).

Assumptions that children are the worst hit by poverty and 'hurt most' are shared by many child-centred agencies. It is true that children are physically more vulnerable than adults. However, the belief that children hurt the most is questionable and is in a sense irrelevant. Surely absolute poverty demoralises everybody and all people in need deserve compassion and help? When asked why Tear Fund focusses on children, the NGO replies that children are the only hope for the future in the Third World. It also gives several other reasons - that it makes sense to administer to children because (unlike adults) they are not infused with a sense of fatalism yet, because children are going to live longer (and therefore there is more time to make a difference), because they can teach their parents what they have learnt, and because they are the Third World's greatest resource. None of these reasons justifies an exclusively child-driven philosophy. In response to the premise that the children are the future, the adults of the Third World are the present and suffering knows no time boundaries. Fatalistic attitudes can be changed. Surely it is the role of the parents to teach and provide guidance to their children rather than some extension worker from a foreign aid agency?

Tear Fund and Evangelism

Tear Fund makes no pretence of being anything other than what it is. It is a relief and development organization based on Christian principles. Tear Fund explains the philosophy behind its work as follows:

and sisters in the developing world. We are residents of one of the earth's wealthy countries and we are concerned for the residents of some of the earth's poor countries. We are servants of God and mankind, following Christ's call to care for 'the least of these'" (Teartalk Childcare Special Edition, 1992).

This strong Christian message is evident in Tear Fund's advertising material. The NGO's ultimate aim is "nothing less than to change the world .. one child at a time" (ibid) and it believes that it can do so through a holistic child sponsorship approach which incorporates physical, spiritual, mental and other social development. Tear Fund is not unlike other child-focussed agencies in this belief, but like WV, SCF and CCF, its work can only be limited to alleviating hardship for a small minority of the vast and ever-increasing number of people in desperate need. Tear Fund's philosophy appears not to go beyond an awareness of injustice and a biblical response to the needy. The perpetrators of this injustice are clearly not within the boundaries of its philosophical discourse.

Poverty and the New Zealand Connection

Tear Fund asks Christians in New Zealand to examine their own lifestyle but it does not go so far as to suggest that our relatively affluent lifestyle could be a direct result of our historical and contemporary economic and political relations with less developed countries. In regard to the European Code of Conduct Tear Fund falls short of the recommendation to emphasize INTERDEPENDENCE and JOINT RESPONSIBILITY between rich and poor nations in the process of underdevelopment. Although Tear Fund asks New Zealanders to examine their own lifestyles, this request is not in recognition of any of the historical or economic links between rich and poor nations. Rather it is based on the physical ecologist perspective as is revealed by the reason they give for such an examination - "so that more resources are made available". Tear Fund does not go so far as to recognize the interconnected nature of global poverty and only acknowledges that such disparities exist.

Although Tear Fund maintains that it will help the needy irrespective of religion or race there is a strong underlying belief that Christianity is

Cooper (Tear Fund's current Director) less than subtly hints at the religious agenda:

"I read recently that the Christian church is particularly negligent in its mission to children. Most people become Christians between the ages of 4 and 14. It is estimated that 78% of the young people in the world, 1.4 billion of the 1.8 billion, are growing up in non-Christian settings or are being raised in non-Christian homes" (Teartalk Childcare Special Edition, 1992).

So what? The fact that so many children are being raised in non-Christian homes (probably in the religion of their parents) should not be an issue. This paragraph suggests that Christians, and particularly organizations such as Tear Fund, have much work to do and that 'conversions' need to take place before the age of fifteen! This letter continues:

"The opportunity to receive Christian training is an integral aspect of the Compassion/Tear Fund Child Sponsorship Programme. Poverty has a spiritual dimension and unless this is recognized and tackled, the poverty cycle can't be broken."

All people have a 'spiritual' dimension, but this does not necessarily mean a religious or more specifically Christian dimension. Spirituality comes in many different forms, all of which should be respected and none of which are superior to others.

There appears to be another latent premise in Tear Fund's work - that people will be more receptive to a Christian message when they are in need. This can be seen in the remarks of Leigh Vickery, a Tear Fund worker for the ACTs project on aids in Thailand. This project is run in conjunction with the local Christian mission in Thailand - World Concern.

".. World Concern seeks to implement projects that assist the local church in meeting practical needs in the community. In this way deeds become the salt and light of the Gospel, CREATING A FORCE FOR EVANGELISM within the community. Right now there are tremendous opportunities for Christians to become involved!" (Teartalk, Summer 1992:4 5, my

Although the Christian teaching provided by Tear Fund (or any other Christian-based organization) may be voluntary, it is difficult to accept that people are making a totally free decision to adopt a Christian belief system. As recipients of much needed material assistance, the 'receivers of alms' are necessarily in the less powerful and more vulnerable role and therefore will have less resistance to a foreign ideology.

Tear Fund and other religious-based NGOs intent on 'sharing their theology' need to recognize the ethical imperative to respect and accept the belief systems of others. Part of the process of respecting another's beliefs requires that no attempt be made to change a person's outlook to be more like your own.

Tear Fund and Advertising

Through any organization's advertising a reader should be able to acquire 'a feel' for what that organization is about. When it comes to development-oriented NGOs it is through the information provided in the promotional material and literature that one comes to grips with how that particular NGO perceives of problems and solutions to poverty and degradation. Therefore to critique the advertising of Tear Fund one has to critique its philosophy as well.

It has been pointed out how some of the images used by Tear Fund need to be reassessed in light of their own guidelines on respectful and responsible advertising. This is especially true of the images of malnourished children. Child sponsorship ads which are devoid of information and context are also unethical in that they inhibit the ability of the reader to perceive the 'wider picture' and make an informed decision.

One of the problems with Tear Fund's ads is that they tend to focus on the problems internal to the particular country under discussion, whether it be the thirsty women of the Gama Gofa region of Southern Ethiopia, or the exploited brick kiln workers in Pakistan. This is not wrong. In fact, Tear Fund should be commended for provided reasonably detailed backgrounds in some of its promotional material. But this is not the

such representations is not shared between developed and underdeveloped nations.

Tear Fund needs to broaden its analyses of the causes of poverty to a global level if it is to meet the recommendations under 'Practical Guidelines' in the European Code of Conduct. This is more a challenge to the NGO's philosophy than to its advertising. In most instances Tear Fund does meet many of the recommendations in its own constitution on advertising and in the above named Code. For the most part, people are presented as 'human beings' and sufficient information is provided to ensure that their "cultural identity and dignity are preserved (Code of Conduct, 1989:4). The Code recommends that sufficient information must be provided on the 'economic environment' as well. In this area the information in Tear Fund's advertising is generally inadequate. Tear Fund needs to extend its background information to encompass the global economy rather than confining itself to the particular details of a specific community only.

Of the 105 pictures examined in chapter five's content analysis nearly all portrayals of Third World people were respectful and compassionate. Images such as those shown in the 1989 'Let My People Go!' campaign (Figure 8.9) demonstrate Tear Fund's willingness to avoid the more traditional and exploitative images of the poor that have become part of the patronizing charity-ad genre. This ad also illustrates a successful alternative format for advertising, using effective and yet totally non-exploitative drawings rather than photos. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Tear Fund's child sponsorship ads, in which the images have not advanced beyond the 'innocent victim/salve your soul' paradigm prevalent in the 1970s.

Figure 8.9
"Let My People Go!"

Let my people go!

Through the choking smoke and searing heat of the brick kilns of Pakistan comes the heart-breaking cry of over 125,000 men, women and children trapped in the cruel chains of modern day slavery.

They are the Hebrew brick-makers of the 1990s. Whole families treading clay pits, humping heavy loads and firing thousands of bricks, day after day, to produce their

quota for the kiln owners.

The chains that bind them are debt and disease. The power to set them free and lead them to the promised land of dignity and self-determination is in our hands.

Come on! Shatter their chains with Tear Fund this Christmas and, like Moses before you, become their hope of freedom

TEAR FUND 
CHRISTIAN CONCERN IN A WORLD OF NEED
P.O. Box 8315, Auckland



In terms of the evangelical dimension, Tear Fund candidly incorporates its belief system into its advertising. In this sense it is much more frank and open about its ideology than WV. In fairness, it should be noted that Tear Fund does not advertise in the mainstream media but works

Summary

For the most part Tear Fund's advertisements are respectful of subjects and adhere to most of the recommendations contained within their own constitution and the Code of Conduct. In terms of information given in Tear Fund's ads most are quite informative but need to focus on the global dimension of poverty as well as internal factors. Tear Fund's child sponsorship ads are not as good as its general development ads. Many of the criticisms directed at other child sponsorship NGOs already critiqued also apply to Tear Fund as they use the same techniques. The main weaknesses of these ads are the decontextualized manner in which children are presented, (matrix ads need to be avoided), and the total lack of analysis within these ads. On the more positive side there are examples of responsible advertising by Tear Fund, such as the above-mentioned "Let My People Go!" example and "Meet the Rat-busters". The imagery in both these examples are non-exploitative. Tear Fund should also be commended for its openness in its advertising material with regard to the evangelical dimension of its work.

CHRISTIAN WORLD SERVICE - ETHICS AND ADVERTISING

CWS is a Christian-based development NGO that works to promote justice and equity in the Third World and at home through the distribution of development aid and education via the church network. According to the preamble in the "Report of Christian World Service" (1992), "Christian World Service is part of the Conference of Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand. It provides a way for the churches of the Conference together to show their determination to secure justice for all peoples for all the world".

Although CWS is a Christian-based organization its current Director, Barbara Stephens, rated "evangelism" as "not important" in question 4 of the questionnaire on ethics and advertising. The theology of CWS as outlined in the above-mentioned report states that one of the objectives

terminology which suggests a less rigorous desire to disseminate a particular religious ideology.

Of the images examined in chapter five's content analysis CWS had the smallest sample of 62. This was mainly due to the fact that much of this NGO's advertising did not fit this study's criteria. Many images were not photos but diagrams and drawings and hence were excluded.

CWS and Child Sponsorship

CWS is opposed to child sponsorship as a form of assistance for a number of reasons. It believes that child sponsorship:

"promotes one child above other family members; it is an advertising and money raising gimmick which is more to do with the response of individuals here than with the situation of the community of which the child is a part; it is open to abuse as in the case in which families which accept child sponsorship receive preferential treatment" (Barbara Stephens, Questionnaire Response).

In a letter to the editor of CWS's "Transformer" magazine, Phil Trotter remarks that while the child sponsorship programmes can be open to abuse, the commonly associated problems of sponsorship should be viewed "as pitfalls to avoid rather than necessary consequences of child sponsorship" (*Transformer*, No 12, June 1992:10). His point is that CWS "prejudges" all sponsorship programmes and that many of the problems can be eliminated under "responsible leadership". It is the view of this researcher that each sponsorship programme needs to be evaluated separately and that although some of the criticisms directed towards such programmes are valid it is unfair to dismiss all programmes as 'being as bad as each other' out of hand.

One reservation Barbara Stephen's expressed with regard to child sponsorship programmes was that they were counter-productive in terms of:

"the understanding that respondents are given about the real

On this point I wholeheartedly agree with the Director of CWS. Of the five development NGOs studied here, only CWS believes that there are better ways of using donated funds than sponsorship programmes. The promotional material of the other four agencies in the area of sponsorship demonstrates that these advertisements do indeed fail to educate the public or promote any deeper understanding of any of the underlying issues. They all tend to simplify the matter is an issue of "need" alone and consequently reduce the "solution" to that of meeting need through sponsorship. The public is left with no greater understanding of why people are living below the poverty line. These advertisements reinforce the perception that Third World people are incapable of helping themselves.

CWS and Advertising

The central message conveyed in the advertising of CWS is:

"that with support people trapped in poverty, or undergoing oppression, can themselves (cooperatively) change their situation". (Barbara Stephens, Questionnaire Response).

Barbara Stephens notes that this 'message' has evolved "out of the fifty years of involvement in the ecumenical movement and as an aid organization". The main change has occurred in the last twenty years, as CWS has learnt and incorporated ideas of structural and cultural analysis. It has also emerged in an awareness of the home context regarding Te Tino Rangitiratanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

A brief examination of some the advertisements of the 1950s and 1960s reveals the extent to which CWS has developed theologically. A selection of early ads is shown in Figure 8.10. Note the message of gratitude for "what we have" in the 1957 Christmas Appeal and the rather patronizing image of a young girl with her arms outstretched holding an empty bowl superimposed over a map of Asia. Apart from a plea to help less fortunate fellow Christians in Asia and a reminder of our own good fortune, there is no causal analysis. In another ad from this era, political instability is used as a motivation to use the 'remembrance bowl' - at

1960s the theme of sharing is continued but the cliches of empty rice bowls and children's pleading faces still permeate the promotional material.

Figure 8.10
Selection of CWS Ads

Place a **Remembrance Bowl** on your Christmas Dinner Table this year so that each member of the family can, in thankfulness—

REMEMBER THE CHRISTIANS OF EAST ASIA



HELP OUR FELLOW CHRISTIANS IN ASIA TO HELP THE NEEDY IN CHRIST'S NAME

THE OPPORTUNITY IS IMMEDIATE

**OUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS
IN ASIA**



CHRISTMAS BOWL, 1957

The National Council of Churches invites you to place a Christmas Bowl in your Church or your home this year. A Christmas Bowl is any bowl into which the members of the congregation or the family place their special gifts for those in need, in thankfulness for all they have received. The gifts this year—from all the Churches in the N.C.C.—are for projects listed on the back of this leaflet.

All gifts should be forwarded to:
The General Secretary, P.O. Box 291,
Christchurch

share
through inter-church aid



N.C.C. CHRISTMAS APPEAL 1966

**HALF
THE WORLD
IN
NEED**



Inter-church Aid asks you to share with them through the Christmas Bowl Appeal of the National Council of Churches

CWS's Director from 1977-1983, Brian Turner, expressed concern over the issue of responsible advertising. As Turner put it,

"I hope we can lead many local churches beyond an over preoccupation with gimmicky conscience-easing aid to seeing development aid as the formation of mature and durable relationships in which we in New Zealand need to receive probably more than we need to give" (cited in Lovell-Smith 1986:161).

In 1984 Turner again raised the issue of appropriate advertising techniques. According to Lovell-Smith (ibid):

"Brian Turner commented that a crucial issue facing New Zealand overseas aid and development agencies was whether they raised assistance in ways suited to many New Zealanders, or in ways that were more acceptable to those receiving the help. Overseas communities were sometimes embarrassed by the emotive methods New Zealand aid agencies used to describe overseas situations".

CWS and the New Zealand Connection

It was during the early eighties that CWS came to more fully realise the interdependence between the domestic and the world situation. During these years, Turner promoted a paper which dealt with the following four issues - the causes of poverty, the solution to poverty, who should decide the aim of aid and development and who should be in control of what happens? This paper and the resultant discussions culminated in a tabloid called "Which way ahead?" This paper contained a description of what the NGO saw as the two approaches to development. This distinction provides the point of philosophical delineation between CWS and the other agencies under investigation.

"Model A' was described as seeing the source of the problem outside New Zealand, and the solution to the problem as the provision of outside aid in the form of cash, materials, and experts. The aim of development was seen as 'them' becoming more like 'us', with the needs of outside donors determining local development more than the needs of local participants. The new emphasis (or Model B) included the appreciation that overseas poverty and powerlessness are partly related to the way we aid and trade and conduct our foreign policy. The solution is to be found in support for local efforts to discover and tackle

problems in ways real to the local situation, with the aim of development being self-determination based on equality of opportunity, access to resources and less dependence on external aid" (Lovell-Smith, 1986:196).

Under Brian Turner's term as Director, the model B approach to development was integrated into CWS's theology and is reflected in the NGO's current advertising material. CWS's recognition and adoption of "Model B" differentiates its philosophy from that of other agencies, which still cling to the outdated "Model A" outlook.

Conflicts between CWS and other agencies were often rooted in fundamentally different approaches to development. There were some disagreements between the reformed CWS and agencies such as Tear Fund and WV, who clearly advocated the more traditional "Model A" paradigm. Although many of the conflicts were over the timing of appeals, at a deeper level it was the "differences in accountability, differences in aid philosophy and differences in methods of working" which were the real issues of contention (ibid:202).

CWS, Theology and Advertising

According to a 1992 draft document, "Partnership and Letting-go: A Theological Rationale For The Work of Christian World Service", there are two global factors which shape CWS's position. Firstly, CWS recognizes "that international aid is not the solution to the unequal distribution of the world's resources which leaves four-fifths of the world's population to struggle for life with one fifth of all available resources" (1992:3). Secondly, with reference to the aid industry and advertising CWS maintains:

"the aid industry has increasingly looked to the practices of the market economy to determine its methods of fund-raising. Competitiveness and coercive image-making are at the heart of such methods. We believe the Christian World Service cannot uncritically accept the prevailing market values as the basis for its work. Nor will we present images in our fundraising efforts which exploit and demean people who are struggling against poverty and oppression. Our theological perspective and our ecumenical context require us to use fundraising methods appropriate to the struggles of people around the world who are

seeking to transform the present global economic inequalities" (CWS Rationale, 1992:4).

CWS should be commended for this stance which recognizes at a practical level the NGO's responsibility to carefully review images used. The above statement raises the issue of what exactly are 'appropriate' images. Although CWS does not provide any specific guidelines, Barbara Stephens maintains that any images should meet the following criteria:

"it should promote communities rather than individuals; images should promote positive views of people, although this has to take account of their situations of poverty and/or oppression; people should speak for themselves, rather than us speak about them wherever possible". (Questionnaire Response).

CWS and Images of Suffering

CWS does on occasion use images of starving people in its promotional material. Out of the 62 images examined in chapter five, only three images were of malnourished people, none of whom were on the verge of death and all of which were found in the NGO's literature rather than in ads themselves. CWS explains the circumstances in which it uses such images:

"..to portray the reality of the situation. However, the fact behind the image, and the rights of the persons in that situation to determine their own futures is always asserted, along with what they (or the people in their community or country) are doing to bring about change" (Stephens, Questionnaire Response).

Barbara Stephens also makes another important point- that the use of images of starving people is "rarely justified" and should "never be used as a fund-raising tool, but an educational one".

On this point CWS varies from other agencies who believe that the "ends justify the means" and that the ethical considerations are secondary to meeting the need. The urgency of a situation should not be used as an excuse to ignore the rights of the subjects, their right to privacy and self-respect.

It is difficult to imagine that the organizations which use horrific images in instances of famines, droughts, civil wars and the like will ever abandon this tried-and-tested, lucrative method of fund-raising, but these images can be used to educate as well as solicit funds. The objectives should be seen as intertwined rather than separate. The public has a right to derive more from these images than just feelings of shock, horror and revulsion. It is interesting to note that CWS was the only organization within the sample which agreed that there were "any equally effective alternatives to advertisements which use dramatic images of suffering when instigating emergency appeals" (Question 15). CWS maintains that the following alternatives are feasible:

"The capacity that people working for change in their own situation have, their courage and long-standing commitment, their humour, and compassion, and basic humanity, are the stories that need to be told. Linking what they are doing to what we see needs doing in our own place, and seeing them as co-workers who have something to teach us" (Stephens, Questionnaire Response).

This answer is vastly different from that given by Susan Warren, education writer for WV, who maintains that there are no equally effective alternatives to ads which show starving babies/children because:

"People need to see what the situation is before they will understand the need to help - however we need to also use images which show help is possible eg food getting through, seeds and hoes being handed out, etc" (Warren, Questionnaire Response).

These two responses illustrate the vastly different aid philosophies of WV and CWS. Whereas CWS shows a concern for the presentation of Third World people as hard-working, constructive, real people struggling to survive, WV is still worried about catering to the needs of the audience rather than the subjects, convincing them that there is a need and providing reassurance that "their money is getting through".

The commitment to allowing the 'voice of the subject' to be heard is visible throughout CWS's advertising material, especially its publications "Worldwatch" and "Transformer", which are regularly interspersed with

articles, letters, poems and the like written by Third World people about their own struggles. CWS is to be commended for its efforts and its recognition that genuine development necessitates a 'two-way' communication process. The openness of CWS to take "the viewpoint of the South" into consideration has meant that it has fulfilled the guideline in the European Code of Conduct on this issue.

Summary

CWS is example of an NGO that has faced the challenge of incorporating a global analysis for poverty into its philosophy. It has radically altered its imagery and ad message in conjunction with this theological change. CWS has clearly illustrated a capacity for self-reflection and change. It has not compromised its values in its advertising material in order to maximize funding and successfully managed to produce advertisements that are both respectful and informative.

CONCLUSION

The objective of chapter eight was to assess the promotional material of the five NGOs in light of their own organizational recommendations on appropriate advertising techniques, and in light of the commendations with the European Code of Conduct. In general the criticisms have been rooted in the philosophy of the respective agencies rather than in their advertising practices per se. This is because the substance of these ads is a reflection of this worldview. Unfortunately, for four of the NGOs major changes are necessary in the representations of Third World people. In general the worst advertisements were those belonging to child sponsorship organizations such as WV and CCF. These ads were not only devoid of any real information, but were manipulative in the extreme. Redeeming features could be seen in a number of ads by Tear Fund and WV, in instances when they moved away from more conventional ad formats. CCF, whose ads reflected the most elementary understanding of the problem of global poverty faces the biggest challenge, a challenge which it shares with SCF whose ads were not much more advanced. There was a significant improvement in general ad presentation and theology to be discerned from the exemplary work of CWS. This NGO sets an example to all development oriented NGOs that have a choice between exploitative

or non-exploitative methods of advertising. In the next and final chapter the overall aims and methods used in this study are reiterated, followed by a brief summary of the observations made and conclusions drawn at each stage of the research.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

This chapter has four objectives. Firstly, to reiterate the aims of this research. Secondly, to briefly summarize the methods used to meet these objectives and thirdly to summarize the conclusions drawn. Lastly, a checklist of how not to advertise is provided and a number of ads which illustrate alternative techniques to the more exploitative Third World images common in development NGO ads are explored. It is hoped that this last section will provide some constructive advice and new ideas in an area where very little research has been done.

Aims

The overall aim of this study was to answer the following questions:

- 1 What elements constitute the content of the advertising material of the five largest development oriented NGOs in New Zealand?
- 2 What was the frequency of appearance of each of the above elements?
- 3 What are the most popular ad formats used by these NGOs?
- 4 What do the most popular ad formats mean? That is, how do the signs which make up these formats generate meaning?
- 5 And lastly, are the advertising techniques used by each NGO consistent with the ethical guidelines (in whatever relevant form) to which they adhere?

In order to answer these questions a number of actions were taken. A diverse range of advertising material was collected over an eighteen month period for the five largest developmental NGOs in New Zealand (WV, SCF, CCF, Tear Fund, and CWS). This material was analysed using several different investigation methods. These included content

and semiotic methodologies and a questionnaire survey to NGO staff. 655 images were examined according to three preset criteria - people, backgrounds and activities. The purpose of the content method was to find answers to the first two questions listed above. Namely, identifying exactly **what** elements constituted the content of each NGO's advertising and the **frequency** of appearance of each element. The content analysis also enabled the identification of the most prevalent advertisement formats - information that was used to guide the selection of the case study ads.

A semiotic method was used to address question four, namely, the issue of how meaning is generated. Three case study ads were analysed in detail to demonstrate the ways in which signs are organized according to charity ad codes.

The ethics of each NGO's advertising was addressed in chapter eight, using various organizational guidelines and incorporating the opinions NGO staff expressed in their responses to a questionnaire on Ethics and Charity Advertising.

These three different investigation techniques were used in order to produce a well-balanced evaluation of the advertising material of each NGO. A number of conclusions were drawn at various stages of the study and a summary of findings is presented below.

Findings

Chapter two described the context in which the NGOs operate including a detailed account of the contribution of both voluntary and official aid nationally and internationally. Although the purpose of this chapter was to describe the environment in which the five sample NGOs worked, a number of important points were established. A statistical review of New Zealand's aid contributions revealed that although official aid levels compared poorly to most other OECD countries, voluntary aid performance was slightly better. Also, although voluntary aid contributions are small (in New Zealand and overseas) compared with overall aid flows, they are important because they tend to go to the most needy countries most neglected by official aid. An increase in the proportion of voluntary aid to total aid could be discerned,

suggesting that voluntary aid from NGOs will have an increasingly important role to play in the future. A brief review of studies on New Zealanders' attitudes towards aid and recipients of aid revealed a high degree of ignorance and racial bias and underlined the need for both further education and responsible NGO advertising practices to avoid reinforcing offensive attitudes.

Chapter three explored the role and impact of NGOs as producers of images. The role of the media as a source of images of the Third World was discussed. A review of studies on how the Third World is portrayed in the media, especially the news media, evidenced a disproportional amount of negative and depressing coverage. A review of literature from several seemingly unrelated areas (disability advertising, tourist industry images and images of blacks in advertising) revealed stark similarities with the pitfalls of charity images. These narratives functioned to underline the impact that media can have on moulding the perceptions of the public towards the Third World and the influence that the medium of television can have on shaping people's attitudes towards an ethnic group. Hevey's critique of disability charity ads exposed strong parallels between techniques used to victimize the subjects of both disability and Third World charity ads. It also provided some practical strategies to overcome the disempowering effect that conventional charity ad photography can have. Some of Hevey's suggestions are included in the final section of this chapter.

Chapter four introduced the five sample NGOs. A rationale for the selection of these NGOs was given, followed by a brief outline of their historical origins and subsequent maturation. Robert Chambers' dichotomy was used to identify the degree to which each NGO had altered its contemporary philosophy in light of the move away from the traditional welfare approach in development theory to a more radical examination of the global political and economic power structures which cause major wealth disparities. Using the definitions of Chambers, WV, SCF, CCF and Tear Fund were classified as advocates of a physical ecologist approach, whereas CWS was classified as a NGO with a political economist philosophy.

Chapter five covered the content analysis of over 600 images derived from the advertising material of the five NGOs. The results of this

analysis for the three categories (people, backgrounds, and activities) were discussed in detail and summarized in table format. It was found that a single Third World child staring impassively into a camera, with an indistinct background, was the most popular ad format overall. This was the predominant image in the promotional material of four out of five NGOs, and the second most popular image for the remaining NGO. Noteworthy was the finding that images of lone children were just as popular for agencies without a child-focus as those with a child-focus. Also popular were images of Third World adults shown working in agricultural contexts. Both these ad formats were used in the selection of case studies 1 and 3 in chapter seven. The results of images of Third World people with First World helpers were also of interest because of the implicit condescension in many of these images. The number of images that in this category for four out of five of the NGOs far exceeded the number of images which showed Third World people with Third World helpers. CWS was highly unusual, with its nil score in the category of Third World people being helped by a First Worlder. This result suggests that all the NGOs except CWS need to be more aware of the problems associated with this particular image. The perception of Third World people as helpless and dependent on the First World will be perpetuated unless such damaging images are either avoided or countered by those showing Third World people in a positive and constructive light.

Blurred settings predominated in backgrounds of NGO promotional material, followed by agricultural settings. The significance of blurred settings is that they remove the context from the people depicted. This is dangerous, for it is not only the physical background which is deleted but also the social, economic and political context. No person exists in isolation. The people depicted in charity ads should be shown in environments that reflect their lifestyles and cultures. The high result in the activity section of people staring either passively or with a happy expression into a camera reflects the preoccupation of NGOs with portrait photographs. Most images in this category were derived from child sponsorship ads. It would be more constructive and realistic for NGOs to show Third World people undertaking a diverse range of activities. Images of people posing for photographs tell us nothing about the people themselves. Alternative images may also help to dispel the myth that all Third World people share the same life experiences by virtue of living in underdeveloped countries. This discussion reveals that

the content analysis is a useful tool for categorizing data and exposing trends.

The objective of chapter six was to provide an explanation of a range of concepts fundamental to understanding semiotic theory. This was necessary so that the tenets of this theory could be applied to the case studies in chapter seven. Concepts such as Saussure's sign relations, Peirce's sign model, codes, paradigms and ideology were discussed to provide the conceptual groundwork.

Chapter seven was divided into three sections. Three ads were selected on the basis of information from chapter five as typical examples of the most common ad strategies used. These three case study ads were broken down into constituent parts and the relations between the signs discussed. The objective of this procedure was to demonstrate some of the ways in which the composition of signs are used to create meaning. Case study one centred on a Tear Fund ad, entitled "I thirst", which contained the three characteristics of a commonly used ad format. That is, it depicted a Third World adult working in an agricultural setting. This ad was analysed primarily in terms of the religious connotations produced by the particular arrangement of signs, and in the context of the headlines and text. Meaning was created through the distinct parallels between the suffering of the woman depicted and the suffering of Jesus, as illustrated by the repetitious background icon. The second case study focussed on an ad containing an image of a starving child. The WV ad, entitled "This is Disaster", was selected because it typifies an emergency appeal ad. An analysis of an ad of this type was deemed necessary because of the impact such imagery has and the ethics involved. Meaning was generated in this example primarily through the image of the emaciated, lone child, the direct headline, and the various other signs contained with the ad as a whole. Although a very simple presentation, the message is very powerful because of the use of a disturbing image. The ethics surrounding the use of images of suffering were discussed in some detail, the conclusion being that such images are ultimately disrespectful because they violate the privacy of the subject.

Case study three focussed on a child sponsorship ad by CCF entitled "The Cost of Living has Dropped". It was selected because it contained the image of a lone child on a plain background, looking listless with

eyes downcast. Lone child images of this sort are the predominant charity ad format. Meaning was created with the visual superimposition of the child's image over a \$1 coin. The link between these two signs was reiterated in the text several times. The central conclusion to be drawn from this particular case study was that it is dangerous to base one's advertising campaign on the ability of First World people to "buy" the life of Third World children, and even worse to equate money with love.

Several other issues were dealt with in chapter seven, including a discussion of the connotations associated with the use of black and white rather than colour, and a discussion of why the symbol of the child is so powerful. Two variant themes were included - that of images of First World women in the role of global mothers to the Third World children and images of First World adults feeding sickly Third World children. The inherent dangers of images of First World people in the role of substitute parents was highlighted at the end of chapter seven.

In chapter eight the advertising practices of each of the five NGOs were evaluated separately. The ethics of a variety of advertising topics relevant to each NGO were covered, including the problems inherent to traditional child sponsorship ads, problems with incorporating evangelism into advertising material, the ethics of starving child imagery and the influence that each NGO's world-view has on how it presents the problem of poverty in its advertising material.

In brief, the main problems with WV's advertising centred on the confusion that exists between its community-focussed sponsorship programme and its individual child focus demonstrated in child sponsorship ads. If child sponsorship funds are going to the community this should be made clear and should be illustrated in the images as well as the texts of these ads. WV's ads also need to make reference to the historical and political context of the people portrayed in its images. This is especially the case for child sponsorship ads. Third and First world interdependence needs to be recognized by this NGO, and the evangelical aspect of WV's philosophy needs to be made more obvious in its promotional material. There were instances where WV's ads were closer to meeting the recommendations in the Code of Conduct - such as the

"This is Nazma" example, but even here insufficient contextual information is provided.

The advertisements of SCF and CCF were found to reflect an overly simplistic understanding and approach to development. Never-the-less in the case of SCF there were examples of better advertising. An important finding concerned the image SCF used in its 'Save Somalia' Campaign. Emergency Appeals usually contain the most offensive images with the frequent use of images of starving children. The image used by SCF in this campaign was not horrific and the campaign was financially successful, thus demonstrating that disturbing images are not needed in order to raise funds. Unfortunately the mindset to many NGOs negates even the possibility that funds could be raised without using such intimate and personally evasive images. Until this myth is dispelled, there is little chance we will see any change in the pathetic images of suffering that pervade a television screens, newspapers and magazines in times of disaster.

The advertisements of CCF were consistently below the standards recommended in the Code of Conduct. Most of this NGO's images were of Third World children available for sponsorship. These ads contained little more than the usual trite cliches and stereotypical images of wistful looking children. A serious consequence of CCF's naive approach is the message of dependency and need that underscores all its promotional material.

It was found that Tear Fund was very candid about the evangelical dimension of its work in its advertising material. For the most part Tear Fund's ads did meet the recommendations within the Code and their own organizational guidelines on appropriate advertising practices. Although this NGO's ads tended to be more informative than those of CCF or WV, there is still a need to Tear Fund to broaden its analyses to encompass the global interconnections between rich and poor nations. The advertising material of CWS was found to be a reflection of philosophy that was considerably more advanced than those of the other four NGOs. Its advertising met the standards outlined within the Code and illustrated the ability of an NGO to advertise effectively without compromising its organizational integrity. CWS is to be commended, as is Tear Fund, for its recognition of the importance of ad images. Only

these two agencies had any specific guidelines on appropriate advertising techniques.

General Ethical Considerations

In this thesis a number of conclusions have been drawn with regard to the ethics of the charity advertising techniques of the five largest NGOs. These conclusions are not unique to these charities and can be applied to developmental NGOs in general.

Firstly, charity ads that rely solely on a physical ecologist explanation of poverty offer a simple resource transfer as a solution. These ads are **unethical** because **they do not tell the whole truth**. No matter how much 'aid', in all its various forms, is sent to the Third World the structures of inequity will remain. A transfer of resources is a **short-term** solution only. To suggest, as do agencies such as CCF, that the solution to poverty is your \$30 a month is neither realistic nor honest. To focus on individual children may enable child-centred agencies to conveniently side-step the wider picture, but in the long-term if any genuine change is to occur it will be changes in the structures of economic and political power that bring about resource equity, not sponsorship dollars. It is not that the work of the agencies that focus on material needs in the Third World is wrong, or that their advertising is deliberately misleading. Rather, it is the assumption that AID is the SOLUTION to poverty that is erroneous. In the past four decades billions of aid dollars to the underdeveloped world have done little to alleviate growing poverty.

Secondly, those development NGOs whose philosophies fit the physical ecologist explanation of poverty have based their understanding of poverty on a dangerous myth, a myth which they perpetuate through the simplistic analysis contained within their ads. These ads invariably show Third World people as passive, helpless victims of fate. But these ads ignore the fact "that Western agents created the basis for underdevelopment in the first place through colonialism and that they continue to profit from that same underdevelopment today" (Simpson 1985:21). The myth on which these ads pivot is the belief that there are no links between the current standard of living in the First World and the level of impoverishment in the Third World. As a result of the lack

of historical context in most Third World charity ads, the concept of dual responsibility for the state of the world, both rich and poor, has been ignored.

Another problem common to Third World charity ads is their tendency to focus exclusively of what 'we' can do for 'them', which fosters a sense of superiority, whilst what Third World people are doing for themselves goes unmentioned. The initiatives of Third World people are also underplayed or ignored by the news media, a point which was reinforced in the Images of Africa Report discussed in chapter three.

Alternative Techniques of Charity Advertising

The final part of this chapter focusses on offering some constructive alternatives to demeaning charity ad formats. A number of ads have been selected to illustrate different and more responsible ways of advertising. But before these are considered, a checklist is given below that summarizes some of the techniques to avoid in development charity advertisements.

- 1) Avoid camera angles which force people to look upwards because such angles disempower the subject and simultaneously position the viewer in a position of strength.
- 2) Respect the personal space of the subject. Avoid close-ups that are so close that the person's head is cropped.
- 3) Where possible use colour (which denotes power) rather than black and white - which tends to be oppressive and news-like.
- 4) Show people doing something constructive rather than staring apathetically into the camera. This will help to make the depiction a more realistic portrayal of their lives.
- 5) Favour photos of family and community groups over photos of individual children. The message of isolation and vulnerability in lone child photos is often misleading as most children are part of family and community groups. It is also important to include adults,

especially men, in charity photos as they are also members of the population, are of equal value, and are traditionally under-represented.

- 6) Use direct-eye photos only when there are connotations of strength (rather than weakness) in gaze.
- 7) Avoid images of starving people. They have a right to privacy and there are other ways of raising funds. Some of the most effective ads contain words only, others use drawings and diagrams rather than photos.
- 8) Do not delete the background. Every person has a social, economic and political context.
- 9) Always give the subject's name and provide more than superficial personal details. Include some historical analysis in the text to explain why the particular situation has occurred. A vague reference to drought and civil war is not enough.
- 10) Avoid stereotypical depictions that rely on demeaning racial myths.
- 11) Avoid images which focus on women and child as vulnerable and weak. These images reinforce the stereotype of women as needy and dependent. If the women and children in a particular situation are vulnerable and weak chances are all members of that society will be in need.
- 12) Respect the intelligence of the public. They have a right to know the underlying reasons for poverty and deserve the opportunity to make an informed decision.

Figure 9.1 below is an example of how not to advertise. Virtually every feature of this ad is unethical, especially the image of the huge black eyes cast upwards towards the viewer. The visual message is one of begging. The black face of the child is used to symbolize the face of Africa - a message which is reinforced by the positioning of the white headline on the child forehead. The text follows a typical physical ecologist explanation of poverty. That is, the causes are ecological - no rain,

therefore crop failure and lack of food. Other structural and historical factors that have contributed to the food crises are not mentioned.

Figure 9.1
"Africa Starves"

For Ethiopians, the rains and the crops have failed again. 7 million are starving and 6 000 are dying daily. There is virtually no grain in the country. What there is runs out soon. And the stark truth is that Ethiopia needs 60 000 tons a month. Less means death or half-life for 86% of the needy.

Now. Right now, World Vision has 4 active Famine Relief projects in this desperate country - at Kembata, Wolayita, Kobo and Lasta. We can get your help direct to 50,000 starving and ill people, by air and by road.

*£10 Will bring supplementary feeding to 3 more little children *£25 helps us rush a jeepload of food to a hungry village *£100 just fuels our Twin Otter plane for one mercy drop

Here is my cheque made out to World Vision for £

Name

Address

EDM3

To World Vision, 8 Abington St., Northampton NN1 2AJ

Reg. Charity No. 285906

WORLD VISION
Practical Christian Caring

Source: Simpson 1985:22

The following images (Figures 9.2 - 9.4) illustrate the difference between strong direct eye-contact photographs and upturned gazes which imply subservience. The woman's expression in Figure 9.2 commands respect, as does the gaze and body language of the woman breast-feeding a child on her hip in Figure 9.3. The image in Figure 9.4 is more ambiguous, although as the caption states the photographer believed that this image was acceptable because of the strong direct gaze of the woman. It is still a border-line case because of the severely malnourished state of the infant.

Figure 9.2
Example of a Direct Eye-Contact



Source: National Geographic, 1993:108

Figure 9.3
Woman with Child



Angolans crossing the border to Zaire, 1975.

Source: "Image of Refugees" by Sebastiao Salgado, in UNDP July 1992

Figure 9.4
Mother and Starving Child



Mozambique - Mother and child (above)

I don't want the people in my photos to appear as victims but often I have been in situations where that is the case - seeing children maimed or starving because they are part of a political equation. Although this child has severe diarrhoea I feel the gaze of the mother is so strong and direct that it engages the viewer and demands more than pity.

Source: New Internationalist, July 1988:14. Comments by British photojournalist Jenny Matthews.

Figures 9.5 and 9.6 are examples of ads that break with convention and offer more information and more sensitive imagery than ads such as that shown in Fig. 9.1. The "Chainsaws and Cheque Books" example avoids exploitative imagery and yet succeeds in putting a strong and clear message across through the clever use of diagrams. In Figure 9.6 the imagery shows children in real-life situations and the text takes an unusual step (for charity ads) and explains some of the reasons why the children find themselves in the positions they do. This ad demonstrates respect for those portrayed by presenting them in context, and is informative.

Figure 9.5
"Chainsaws and Cheque Books"

CHAINSAWS and CHEQUE BOOKS

THE LINK BETWEEN DEBT AND DESTRUCTION

Across the Third World, countries are forced to tear down forests, over-exploit land and resources in a desperate effort to repay the millions of pounds they owe to banks like Lloyds, Midland, National Westminster and Barclays. Debt payments are made at the expense of the security of millions of Third World people and the environment on which they, and ultimately we, depend.

At the beginning of the 1980's, poor countries received a net surplus of \$40 billion per year from rich countries.

By the late 1980s, they were paying many billions of dollars more to service their debts than they received. In 1989 the four British High Street banks were owed over \$23 billion by Third World countries. By the end of that year, over \$14 billion had been set aside with the tax-payers' assistance as provisions against bad debts. Despite this security, the banks continue to collect repayments. Much of this was lent to finance destructive development projects in rainforests, like dams, roads and mining concessions.

IF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC RECOVERY ARE TO BECOME REALITIES IN THE THIRD WORLD, THE DEBT MUST BE STAMPED OUT.

THE DEBT PLEDGE

"As an ordinary citizen concerned for the well-being of the globe, environment and the lives of a to inhabitants, I fully support the Stamp Out the Debt Campaign. As a responsible bank customer, I am prepared to take further action if positive progress is not made by my bank to meet the campaign demands. This may include removing my bank account and placing it with a bank or building society with environmentally and socially responsible policies on Third World Debt.

We need your help. Take the Debt Pledge and help to support the campaign by stamping all your cheques (and everyone else's) with the message the banks need to hear: Stamp Out the Debt! Not the Rainforests! The Banks are Lloyds/Nat West/Midland/Barclays (delete one)

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____

Send to: Tropical Rainforests Campaign, Friends of the Earth, 14-18, Underwood Street, London N1 7QJ

To be included in our list of bank withdrawal points across the UK. (We will not pass your details to any other organisation.)

Friends of the Earth

Source: New Statesman and Society 28 June 1991:17

Figure 9.6
"Change My World"

change my world..

Let's have a go!

It is shocking what is happening to children around the world

Many children, forced to eke out their existence in poverty, are trapped into prostitution, like "Hospitality Girl" Rhoda, in the American base at Clark in the Philippines. She is 13. The vast sums paid to the Philippine Government by the United States to keep its bases in the country have gone nothing for the majority of its citizens - except to make them host to the servicemen's "fests" and recreational activities.

Elsewhere in the world children are often "marketed" in a different way. Like Yoda from Uganda, he was 12 years old when the photo was taken. For a year he'd been in the National Resistance Army, which finally brought President Museveni to power.

What happens to children like him when the fighting is over? Rare are the structures to rehabilitate them into the community, provide an education or jobs. Many of them end up swelling the already huge number of children on the streets.

The Christmas Appeal supports partners in the Philippines, Thailand and elsewhere who work to prevent children being forced into prostitution and slave labour in Sri Lanka, South Africa, the Middle East and New Caledonia; other movements work to end war, apartheid and all forms of discrimination.

You too can help change their world

Support the Christmas Appeal

Christmas World Service, Conference of Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand

Please give through your church or direct to P.O. Box 27 652 Christchurch

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____

(PREFERRED) Please tick here if you prefer to receive \$5.00 maximum for tax purposes.

Source: Crosslink December 1991:11

SUMMARY

Charity advertisements play an important role in shaping the perceptions of the First World towards Third World people. NGOs as one of the main producers of these images have a responsibility not only to use images ethically, that is, in a sensitive and respectful manner, but also to present all images in their historical, political and economic contexts. It is therefore not only a question of ethical advertising techniques, but of NGO philosophy. Ultimately the challenge lies in the need for development NGOs, such as those examined here, to recognize the complicity of the First World in the impoverishment of the Third and project this understanding in their promotional material.

APPENDIX 1.1 Questionnaire on Ethics and Advertising 1993

RESPONDENT'S NAME: _____

NAME OF ORGANIZATION: _____

POSITION CURRENTLY HELD: _____

I would like to ask you a number of questions on several topics.
Firstly, with regard to child sponsorship:

- 1) Does your agency currently run a child-sponsorship programme?
yes [] no []

If yes,

- i) What is the primary objective of this programme?

- ii) How long has your agency been running this programme?

SINCE: _____

- iii) Does your agency sponsor any children in New Zealand?

yes [] no []

If yes, how many children are sponsored in New Zealand?

When did your agency start sponsoring children
in New Zealand?

- iv) Have there been any noticeable changes in your agency's
approach to child sponsorship?

yes [] no []

If yes, briefly outline these changes and the reasons
behind them:

Changes:

Reasons:

FOR THOSE AGENCIES WITH NO CHILD SPONSORSHIP PROGRAMME:

Please outline the reasons (if any) why your agency has chosen not to adopt this type of assistance.

2) What is your personal opinion of the value of child sponsorship programmes?

Now I would like to ask you some questions with regard to evangelism:

3) To what extent is 'evangelism' an important part of your agency's philosophy?

[]	[]	[]	[]
not important	of little importance	important	very important

(for those agencies that selected either of the first two options please skip to question 7)

4) How does your agency define 'evangelism'?

- 5) How is evangelism incorporated into your daily activities with the poor in less developed countries?

- 6) Do you personally believe that your advertising material accurately reflects your Christian ethic?

yes [] no []

If no, why not?

The next several questions are related to your agency's advertising:

- 7) What is the central message being conveyed through your advertising?

- 8) Has this message changed in any noticeable way since the establishment of your organization in New Zealand?

yes [] no []

If yes, please explain:

- 9) Over the years your organization will have launched numerous advertising campaigns. What type(s) of campaign(s) have been the ^{most} successful (in terms of raising revenue);

i) in cases of emergencies

ii) in cases of development work

10) Why do you think these campaigns were so successful?

11) Does your agency have any specific guidelines with regard to what images you should and should not use in your advertising?

yes [] no []

If yes, please explain briefly what these guidelines are (or enclose relevant documents)

If no, is there any unwritten understanding or consensus among agency staff about what is appropriate imagery for advertising material and what is not?

yes [] no []

if yes, can you elaborate?

12) Does your agency use images of severely undernourished women and children (or men) in any of its current advertising material?

yes [] no []

If yes,
In what circumstances does your organization use such imagery?

If no,
Are there any reasons why your organization avoids such
imagery?

- 13) In your personal opinion, is the portrayal of "starving
people" in charity advertisements justified? Do you
have any reservations about the use of such images?
-
-
-

- 14) Do you believe that there are any equally effective alternatives
to ads which use dramatic images of suffering when instigating
emergency appeals?

yes [] no []

If yes, please explain:

In this last section I have listed a number of statements.
I would like you to indicate (with a tick in the appropriate
brackets) whether you strongly agree (SA), agree (A), disagree
(D), or strongly disagree (SD) with each statement. There will
be an opportunity to justify your answers (if you wish to do
so) on the following page. These are your own personal opinions
and need not reflect the official stance of your organization.

	SA	A	D	SD
It is difficult to avoid stereotypical images of Third World people in advertisements because this medium necessitates a simple message that ordinary people can relate to.	[]	[]	[]	[]

15) Continued:

- | | SA | A | D | SD |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 3) Desperate circumstances (such as famines) justifies the use of dramatic images (such as pictures of starving women and children) in ads for development NGOs. | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| C) The use of emotive and distressing imagery in charity ads is exploitative and should be avoided in all circumstances. | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| D) An integral part of effective development is to address the causes of deprivation and poverty not just to treat the obvious symptoms. | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| E) The use of pot-bellied images of emaciated people detracts from key development issues because it focusses on the immediacy of the situation at the expense of addressing underlying causes of poverty. | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| F) The work of NGOs in developing countries must be political if it is to challenge the present unequal distribution of resources. | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| G) There are better ways of using donations than child sponsorship programmes. | [] | [] | [] | [] |

COMMENTS: _____

Thankyou for your co-operation. Please return the completed questionnaire in the return envelope provided.

APPENDIX 5:1 List of Promotional Materials (used in content analysis) for the five NGOs: WV, SCF, CCF, Tear Fund and CWS

WORLD VISION

LIST OF PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL (USED IN CONTENT ANALYSIS)

Advertisements (total photos/images = 26)

- 1 Why does clean water make Kundai happy? (8)
- 2 This is Nazma (2)
- 3 Sponsor a child and help a family build a better world (1)
- 4 Would you take her from her mother's arms?
- 5 Aids kills a child's future (4)
- 6 Sponsor a child and help a family (2)*
- 7 Make your donation to the Somalia Appeal here (1)
- 8 Somalia will the children live? (1)
- 9 Sponsor a child and help stop a journey no child wants to make (3)
- 10 Make a bequest (1)
- 11 And all it takes is one dollar a day (2)*

* matrix composition

Pamphlets (total photos = 27)

- 1 Feed a child partnership (5)
- 2 Project partnership (5)
- 3 Child sponsorship (5)
- 4 Introducing World Vision (10)
- 5 Miss-A-Meal (2)

Posters

In Somalia life expectancy is now being counted in days (1)

Publications (total photos = 167)

- 1 World Vision Report to the People 1992 (9)
- 2 Official Famine Magazine 1993 (18)
- 3 Change Agent - Area Development Programme 1992 (17)
- 4 Change Agent - Waikato/Honduras 1992 (10)
- 5 Change Agent August 1992 (9)
- 6 World Vision Feed a Child Report 1992 (9)
- 7 World Vision Feed a Child News 1992 (24)
- 8 World Vision Magazine February 1992 (18)
- 9 World Vision Magazine Spring 1992 (19)
- 10 World Vision Magazine Autumn 1993 (32)
- 11 Update December 1992 (2)

SUMMARY

Ads	26
Pamphlets	27
Posters	1
Publications	167

total	221

APPENDIX 5:1 continued:

SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND

LIST OF PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL (CONTENT ANALYSIS)

Advertisements (total photos = 6)

- 1 SCF Where theres a will theres a way (1)
- 2 You have the choice Jayalakshmi and Oussama do not (2)
- 3 The next phone call you make could save a child's life (1)
- 4 Turn your back on Tashi and its you who dies a little (1)
- 5 You can give Asha the priceless gift of learning (1)

Pamphlets (total photos = 48)

- 1 For only 65c a day you can give Kumari the education needed to save her family (2)
- 2 Helping the children in need (6)
- 3 Where there's a will there's a way (7)
- 4 SCF Putting children first since 1919 (11)
- 5 Immunization the battle we can win (5)
- 6 Save the children overseas (17)

Posters (total photos = 18)

- 1 Children Have Rights (14)
- 2 Operation Knit (1)
- 3 Winning Against Disability (1)
- 4 Look to their Future (1)
- 5 SCF Icon (1)

Publications (total photos = 90)

- 1 WORLD'S CHILDREN December 1992 (16)
- 2 WORLD'S CHILDREN March 1992 (14)
- 3 WORLD'S CHILDREN June 1992 (15)
- 4 WORLD'S CHILDREN Aril 1993 (20)
- 5 Annual Report 1991-92 (7)
- 6 Annual Report 1992-93 (18)

SUMMARY

Ads	6
pamphlets	48
posters	18
publications	90

total	162

Note:

The number of ads is low for SCF because most of their advertising focusses around their annual appeal, which is presented in a format unsuitable for analysis, that is, in drawing form.

APPENDIX 5:1 continued:

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND

LIST OF PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL (CONTENT ANALYSIS)

Advertisements (total photos = 14)

- 1 You can give a starving child the things we take for granted (2)
- 2 (Same ad different photo) (2)
- 3 Just a few of the great savings you can make for a dollar (4)
- 4 The cost of living has just dropped (2)
- 5 What if one of these children were yours?(2)*
- 6 Your love and support will guarantee healthcare and education for a needy child like Elaine (1)
- 7 You may be there last chance - Please don't make these children wait any longer ... help us find them a sponsor (1)*

* matrix compositions

Pamphlets (total photos = 47)

- 1 How your \$30 per month will work a miracle in the life of a needy child (15)
- 2 1990-91 Information booklet (31)
- 3 Welcome into the family (1) (drawings excluded)

Publications (total photos = 44)

- 1 NZ CHILDWORLD January-March 1992 (6)
- 2 NZ CHILDWORLD October 1992 (6)
- 3 NZ CHILDWORLD April 1993 (7)
- 4 NZ CHILDWORLD Autumn 1991 (19)
- 5 CCF Annual Report 1991-92 (6) (collage on cover counted as 1 photo only)

NB: note that the 1991 issue of CHILDWORLD was included to boost figures although slightly out of the timeframe. It is also important to note that much american material is used by CCFNZ but is not included in the sample.

SUMMARY

Ads	14
Pamphlets	47
Posters	
Publications	44

total	105

APPENDIX 5:1 continued:

TEAR FUND

LIST OF PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL (CONTENT ANALYSIS)

advertisements (total photos = 4)

- 1 The Somalia crisis (1)
- 2 The price of water (1)
- 3 Love makes a difference (2)*

* matrix composition

Posters (total photos = 3)

- 1 You need a real friend (1)
- 2 I thirst (1)
- 3 Meet the rat buster (1)

Pamphlets (total photos = 47)

- 1 A great way to say I care (5)
- 2 Guy Wishart for Tear Fund (2)
- 3 Derek Lind for Tear Fund (2)
- 4 A hope in hell (6)
- 5 Youthcare (2)
- 6 You need a real friend (2)
- 7 I thirst (2)
- 8 Let my people go (1) (excluded drawing)
- 9 Meet the rat buster
- 10 Life in all its fullness (11)
- 11 Tear Fund information brochure (12)

Publications (total photos = 51)

- 1 TEARTALK special edition 1992 (8)*
- 2 TEARTALK Autumn 1992 (9)
- 3 TEARTALK Summer 1992 (14)
- 4 TEARTALK Autumn 1993 (15)
- 5 Childcare special 1993 (5)

* This edition included a matrix composition which was counted as one photo only.

SUMMARY

Ads	4
Pamphlets	47
Posters	3
Publications	51

total	105

APPENDIX 5.1 continued:

CHRISTIAN WORLD SERVICE

LIST OF PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL (CONTENT ANALYSIS)

Advertisements (total photos 18)

- 1 Change our world: 1992 Christmas Appeal (4)
- 2 Change our world (1)
- 3 Change our world (2)
- 4 Change my world (2)
- 5 Its shocking whats happening to the children around the world (5)
- 6 Support the 1991 Christmas Appeal (1)*
- 7 Change my world - help them to change their world (5)
- 8 Make room Iesha, a courageous woman (1)

Some of the material in this sample is from earlier campaigns out of the official timeframe but were included to boost numbers.

Pamphlets (total photos = 13)

- 1 Africa an underview (3)
- 2 The second liberation (6)
- 3 Africa into the Red (4)

Publications (total photos = 10)

- 1 WORLDWATCH No 32 June 1992 (3)
- 2 WORLDWATCH No 32 Leadership Kit (1)
- 3 WORLDWATCH No 34 November 1992 (1)
- 4 WORLDWATCH No 35 Leadership Kit (1)
- 5 TRANSFORMER June 1992 No 12 (1)
- 6 TRANSFORMER June 1993 No 16 (2)
- 7 TRANSFORMER November 1992 No 14 (1)

Posters (total photos = 21)

Please note that because of limited material of a repetitive/thematic nature posters dating back to 1988 campaigns have been included.

- 1 Hurihia to tatou ao (2)
- 2 Change our world (2)
- 3 Change our world: we don't need you pity we do need your help 1992 (green) (2)
- 4 Change our world your help 1992 (blue) (2)
- 5 Change my world mu world 1991 (pink) (1)
- 6 Liliu e Lalolagi haku 1991 (pink) (1)
- 7 liliu a hoku mamani 1991(pink) (1)
- 8 Suia lo'u olaga 1991 (pink) (1)
- 9 Change my world 1991 (pink) (1)
- 10 Change my world 1991 (pink) (1) different image than 9
- 11 Change my world 1991 (pink)(1) different image than 9 and 10
- 12 Change my world 1991 (pink) (1)
- 13 Tau huri taku Ao 1991 (pink)(1)
- 14 You can make a difference Churches Aid for Africa Appeal (1)
- 15 To le Fa' amoemoe Atiina'e 1989 (blue) (1)
- 16 Make room 1990 (1)
- 17 Lets take sides 1988 (1)

SUMMARY

Ads	18
Pamphlets	13
Posters	21
Publications	10

total	62

APPENDIX 7.1 Selection of Starving Child Ads with Absent Backgrounds which Decontextualize Subjects

Urgent East African Appeal

What's it got to do with us?



Everything.

If you believe that we should care about the suffering of others, then do everything to do with us. And, those goodness, there are thousands who have responded to the needs of the drought stricken and the refugees of East Africa.

But this is one of the biggest and most desperate disasters of the century. And more, much more help - such as food, medical teams, transport and other vital supplies - is needed.

At the very moment, millions are helplessly watching their children starve to death. Surely, the problems in Africa, particularly Eastern Africa, are especially acute and our help will be needed for a long time yet. This disaster is everything to do with us because these people have nothing - and we have so much. Please help us to help stop the suffering. Don't delay even for a moment. Do it now. And thank you, for everything.

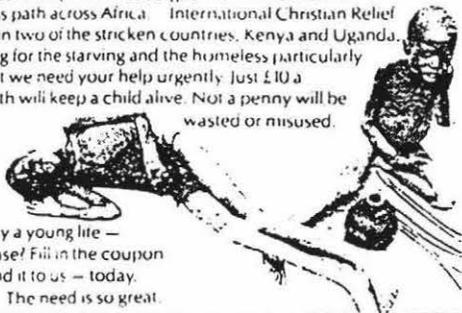
I enclose £ _____ as my contribution to the East African Emergency Appeal.

Name _____
Address _____
Postcode _____

Oxfam, Room 3333, 274 Banbury Rd, Oxford OX2 7DL

FAMINE KNOWS NO BORDERS

There cannot be anyone who has not been deeply affected by the sheer horror of the famine in Ethiopia. But that was just the tip of the iceberg as the famine took its relentless path across Africa. International Christian Relief have teams in two of the stricken countries, Kenya and Uganda, caring for the starving and the homeless particularly children. But we need your help urgently. Just £10 a month will keep a child alive. Not a penny will be wasted or misused.



Will you buy a young life - please? Fill in the coupon and send it to us - today. The need is so great.

Yes, I would like to sponsor a needy child in Kenya Uganda Please tick your choice. I would like to send my sponsorship money yearly £12.00 quarterly £3.00 monthly £1.00. Enclosed is my first donation of £ _____

I cannot be a sponsor at this time - but would like to know where most needed. Here is my donation of £ _____

Please tick if you would like a receipt

Name _____
Address _____
Postcode _____ RT/8-85

Payments should be made payable to:
INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN RELIEF
PO Box 861 St. John's Hill, Sevenoaks, Kent EN11 1NP
Tel: Sevenoaks 0732 450250

'Your crash diet is a lot more than my ordinary diet.'



If you were on a starvation diet in this country, you would probably die a year or more before you were a day. For a short time.

If you were on an even more severe diet, you would die in a few days. And you would die on a starvation diet of contracting a wide range of infectious wasting diseases. The point is that you would not survive. Not just an occasional disaster but a famine. But a famine strikes in many of our poorest countries.

Oxfam's aim is to help these children to survive. They are so thin that they are literally dying of starvation. If you give Oxfam £10 a month, you can help to buy the food that will keep a child alive for a year.

SOME BELTS CAN'T AFFORD TO GO ANY TIGHTER.

Feed all the children in the world who are going to die. Buy Oxfam's crash diet of food and porridge. Buy the new Oxfam £10 a month.

No more than a few hours every day our super-thin children are literally dying of starvation. If you give Oxfam £10 a month, you can help to buy the food that will keep a child alive for a year.

Just £10 of your income could help the vital work we do. Would it be nice to see that one of your children this year is saving more than his money? **FEED ALL THE FAMILY.**

The form is simply an indication to your bank to pay regularly whatever sum you choose to Oxfam's work. You can of course cancel it at any time by contacting your bank.

To: The Manager Date _____ 19____
Bank Name _____
Bank Address _____

Please pay Oxfam £ _____ every month, year starting on _____ (date) and further advice. Name (first/last name please) _____
Address _____
Postcode _____

Signature _____ P.O. CRO 2002200

When completed this form should be sent back to P.O. Box 333, Oxford, OX2 7DL. Thank you for your contribution.



While you're eating between meals, he's dying between meals.



It is a picture like this that we should never again be forced to see. But the plight of starving children demands that we must do something. For the world, children are dying for want of food. We need money. For money, we need to work. We are looking to you to help us save a child from death as surely as if you were with the Save the Children teams. I will feed one of our children for a week.

Give what you can. Your money can never buy anything more precious than a child's life.

Please accept my donation of _____

Name _____
Address _____
Postcode _____

Save the Children 

The Save the Children Trust, 117, Victoria Road, London SW17 0JH

You're not the only one with weight problems.

It's not just you. It's the 100 million children in the world who are suffering from malnutrition. They are so thin that they are literally dying of starvation. If you give Save the Children £10 a month, you can help to buy the food that will keep a child alive for a year.

Just £10 of your income could help the vital work we do. Would it be nice to see that one of your children this year is saving more than his money? **FEED ALL THE FAMILY.**

The form is simply an indication to your bank to pay regularly whatever sum you choose to Save the Children's work. You can of course cancel it at any time by contacting your bank.

To: The Manager Date _____ 19____
Bank Name _____
Bank Address _____

Please pay Save the Children £ _____ every month, year starting on _____ (date) and further advice. Name (first/last name please) _____
Address _____
Postcode _____

Signature _____ P.O. CRO 2002200

When completed this form should be sent back to P.O. Box 333, Oxford, OX2 7DL. Thank you for your contribution.



APPENDIX 7.2 Selection of WV Ads which Appeal to the Parental Instinct to Provide



Don't let a child die from hunger!

After you read the advertisement, 15 children in the Third World will die from hunger and hunger-related diseases.

That's a horrifying thought, isn't it? You can help prevent this from happening. Become a World Vision child sponsor. Mail the coupon or phone 008 636 1111 right now.

Then you'll give a child every day of his life the clean water, good food, and health care he needs to survive.

Yes, I'll rescue a suffering child

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

PHONE: _____

WORLD VISION CHILD SPONSORSHIP
C/O 803 95th St Melbourne, 3201

Would YOU let a baby suffer?



I have to look before I eat. I'm hungry in every part of the Third World. Millions of babies are starving to death. And every day a million more babies are born. It's a vicious cycle. You can help stop it.

For just \$29 a month, you can help a baby like Mamushung get the clean water and good food he needs to survive.

It costs \$29 a month, less than a dollar a day. That's all it takes to give a baby like Mamushung a proper start on life.

Please complete the coupon now or phone 008 636 1111 to begin your sponsorship.

You can help stop a baby like Mamushung dying.

YES, I'll sponsor a baby

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

PHONE: _____

WORLD VISION CHILD SPONSORSHIP
C/O 803 95th St Melbourne, 3201



"If you really want to help a suffering child, do what I've done..."

The worst drought this century devastated Africa. When I see how the children suffer in places like Nigeria, I think about my own child and how I feel if I couldn't feed him.

I decided I just had to do something to help millions of victims and suffering in the Third World. So I became a World Vision child sponsor.

This sponsorship is helping a child as well as the child's family and community. It provides the basics of life and hope for a better future. For \$29 a month, I can help with the clean water, good food, and health care he needs to survive. I can help him become a third World child sponsor. Just mail the coupon or phone 008 636 1111. FREE CALL.

And please do a new **Make a needy child a part of your life.**

YES, I'll help a suffering child

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

PHONE: _____

WORLD VISION CHILD SPONSORSHIP
C/O 803 95th St Melbourne, 3201

Change a child's future for 95¢ a day

Jepchumba's future seemed hopeless. She was often sick because there was little food to eat and only dirty water to drink. Her life was a 24-hour walk away at the nearest medical center.

Then came the change. World Vision found her a sponsor. That means immediate help and a better future.

95¢ a day is all it is taking to provide her with nutritious food and education. It also helps fund a medical clinic and clean water supply in her community.

You can make that life-changing difference for another child like Jepchumba, by becoming a World Vision child sponsor.

The cost? Only \$29 a month, 95¢ a day. Tax deductible. So mail the coupon or phone 008 636 1111. FREE CALL.

Then you'll change the future for a child like Jepchumba. For just 95¢ a day.



Yes, I want to change a child's future

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

PHONE: _____

WORLD VISION CHILD SPONSORSHIP
C/O 803 95th St Melbourne, 3201

Stop hunger killing kids like Milkias!

Milkias is one of the 100 million children who are starving to death every day in the Third World. Thousands more will die from lack of food and clean water. You can help stop it.

For just \$29 a month, you can help a child like Milkias get the clean water and good food he needs to survive.

It costs \$29 a month, less than a dollar a day. That's all it takes to give a child like Milkias a proper start on life.

Please complete the coupon now or phone 008 636 1111. FREE CALL.



Yes, I'll help a suffering child

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

PHONE: _____

WORLD VISION CHILD SPONSORSHIP
C/O 803 95th St Melbourne, 3201

Make a child like Nondo part of your life

Nondo is one of the 100 million children who are starving to death every day in the Third World. Thousands more will die from lack of food and clean water. You can help stop it.

For just \$29 a month, you can help a child like Nondo get the clean water and good food he needs to survive.

It costs \$29 a month, less than a dollar a day. That's all it takes to give a child like Nondo a proper start on life.

Please complete the coupon now or phone 008 636 1111. FREE CALL.



YES, I'll help a suffering child

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

PHONE: _____

WORLD VISION CHILD SPONSORSHIP
C/O 803 95th St Melbourne, 3201

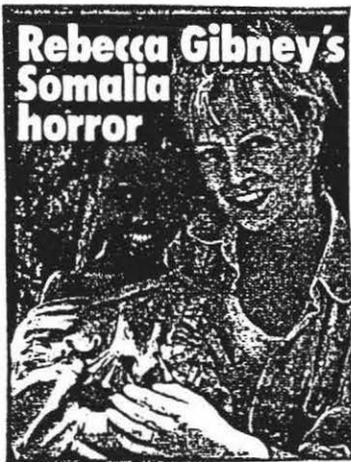
APPENDIX 7.3 Selection of Images of First World Women in the Role of Global Mothers

'Di can save the world'



APPENDIX 7.3 continued

*She's set to take Audrey Hepburn's
role as mother to the world's children*



Sources: New Idea, 26 December, 1992; New Idea, 13 March, 1993, New Idea, 31 July, 1993, Woman's Day, December 8, 1992.

APPENDIX 8.1 Why Does Clean Water Make Kundai Happy?

*"Sometimes we are thirsty.
Sometimes we get very
hungry too. We cannot grow
enough food because the
ground is too dry.
Please help us."*



If they could help themselves, they would.

Photo 1 Example of an Image with a Demeaning Caption



In the words of Jilly Davies,
Henderson, Auckland:

*"It breaks our hearts to think of
the poverty and starvation in
many other parts of the world. So,
even though we live simply, we
also do things like growing our
own vegetables so that we can
help others help themselves. We
chose to become World Vision
sponsors because they make really
good use of the modest amount we
can afford to give. While we feel
good about contributing to self-
help projects such as the project
in Kundai's village, we also
believe that, by extending the
hand of friendship to other
countries through World Vision,
we are doing something positive
towards world peace. And that is
worth it to all of us."*

Photo 2 Example of Image which Displays an Inconsistency between How First World and Third World People are Treated.

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