



UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA PORTUGUESA

SAVE THE CHILDREN'S SHOCK ADVERTISING: HOW DOES IT
AFFECT THE AUDIENCE'S FEELINGS AND PERCEPTIONS?

Dissertation submitted to Universidade Católica Portuguesa
to obtain a Master's Degree in Communication, Marketing
and Advertising

By

Chiara Suriani

Faculty of Human Sciences

Under the supervision of Catarina Valdigem

September 2022



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ABSTRACT

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Because non-profit agencies mostly rely on financial support from donors, they implemented creative ways to gain audience's attention and thus donations. Shock advertising, as in the use of graphic and explicit images is a technique that has been used for a long time in the non-profit field. However, over time, the use of images such as starving and dying children, has started to draw criticism and has become a relevant theme in the public debate around representation.

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyse in depth the current advertising of Save the Children, an international leading non-profit organisation, and measure the impact of such advertising in terms of audience's perceptions, attitudes and feelings. In order to conduct this study, a theoretical framing on post-colonial studies has been illustrated and a mixed methods approach has been implemented, specifically both a Critical Discourse Analysis and a survey has been employed. The findings are consistent in saying that recent advertising from Save the Children is able to promote a narrative based on the "Us versus Them" approach and that such approach when it comes to advertising is not favourable in terms of audience's perceptions, specifically for what concerns general attitudes, feelings and perceptions but also for what concerns the willingness to donate and to engage with the organisation.

Como as organizações sem fins lucrativos dependem principalmente do apoio financeiro de doadores, têm implementado maneiras criativas de atrair a atenção do público e, portanto, doações. A publicidade de choque, nomeadamente o uso de imagens gráficas e explícitas, é uma técnica que vem sendo utilizada há muito tempo no mundo das organizações sem fins lucrativos. No entanto, com o passar do tempo, o uso de imagens com crianças famintas e moribundas passou a receber críticas e tornou-se um tema relevante no debate público em torno da representação.

O objetivo desta dissertação é analisar em profundidade a publicidade atual da Save the Children, uma proeminente organização sem fins lucrativos de âmbito internacional, e medir o impacto dessa publicidade em termos das percepções, atitudes e sentimentos do público. Para realizar este estudo, estabeleceu-se um enquadramento teórico sobre os estudos pós-coloniais e implementou-se uma abordagem de métodos mistos, nomeadamente uma análise crítica do discurso e uma pesquisa. Os resultados mostram sistematicamente que a publicidade recente da Save the Children é capaz de promover uma narrativa baseada na abordagem “Nós versus Eles”, o que, quando se trata de publicidade, não é favorável em termos da percepção do público, especificamente no que respeita às atitudes, sentimentos e percepções gerais, mas também no que concerne à vontade de doar e de se envolver na organização.

KEY WORDS: non-profit advertising; representation; post-colonialism; shock advertising.

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1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Shock Advertising can be considered as a traditional promotional tool when it comes to non-profit organisations (NGOs). (Dogra, 2012) Since the “shock tactics” in advertising are founded on the violation of some kinds of social norms, NGOs and their projects constitute a perfect way to implement these tactics. (Dahl et al., 2003) In fact, the advertised project and activities carried out by organisations such as Save the Children displays situations and living conditions which heavily violates the idea of “normal and daily life” of western viewers (Rideout, 2011). Or, as put by Rideaut, “it is this merger of two seemingly incompatible worlds that creates the ‘shocking’ effect.” (ibid:29) Visual representations of dying, starving children with a swollen belly, people terribly damaged by diseases, dirty and ripped clothes, extremely rural territories, crying and sadness as major conveyed emotions are just a few examples of these communication patterns. This dynamic has made this kind of tactic overly common, especially in the first decade of 2000. (ibid)

Famous examples of the advertising approach are, among many others, the Band Aid 30 “Do They Know It’s Christmas?” music video, published in 2014. In the first seconds of the video, various scenes ascribable to these techniques are observable, such as a very skinny woman, suffering from Ebola, in her underwear lying on a dirty mattress. Another traditional example is provided by a television ad broadcasted in 2020 by Médecins Sans Frontières. The organisation decided to broadcast a fundraising campaign in Canada that featured images of crying black children being medicated by MSF staff while the sound track “Everybody Hurts” was playing in the background.

In the last years, the debate around the and consequences of this approach hit the public agenda, which is now more attentive to themes such as representation and stereotyping (Allred & Amos, 2018). Above all, a central point in the debate is represented by the idea that this kind of advertising techniques are capable of cementifying the “us versus them” narrative and thus detrimental phenomena such as othering and the shaping of public perceptions toward the Global South. As put by Cameron and colleagues, representations “play important roles in shaping the ways that

ordinary people in the global North understand and respond to global poverty and other global injustices.” (Cameron et al., 2021:3)

Some changes are observable both in the advertising and public statements by NGOs, however this phenomenon is still quite recurrent and easy to find.

This dissertation aims to contribute to scholarship by articulating the fields of the third sector and postcolonial critique. The main research question could be synthesised as “How does the shocking element in Save the Children’s advertising affect the audience's feelings and perceptions?”. The importance of this research lies in the fact that shock advertising in the nonprofit field has always been a recurrent communication approach, although its form, boundaries and substance have evolved and changed in the last years, together with the public debate on the rightness of its use. Since the vast majority of published literature concerning the relationship between nonprofit organisations advertising and the use of graphic elements, analysed under the lenses of postcolonial theory concentrated in the first decade of the 2000s. For these reasons, I believe this research work holds a relevant importance, since it attempts to analyse this topic in current times, therefore taking into account the several differences in terms of the type of advertising materials used and audience’s perceptions of them.

1.2 MOTIVATION AND PURPOSE

I had the opportunity to work in the non-profit field, particularly in a foundation focused on consultancy for philanthropic activities. As this foundation worked simultaneously on different projects, I had the opportunity to observe the great diversity in marketing approaches implemented by different clients. If some of them preferred a more “informational method”, others were much more focused on grabbing the audience’s attention, by using overly graphic and shocking images and “catch phrases”. Therefore, I started to become more and more interested in this kind of approach. In this dissertation I aim at understanding more in depth its nature and results in terms of the audience's opinions and feelings.

I chose to focus in particular on the case of Save the Children for three main reasons. The first one is linked to the background of the organisation, Save the Children in fact constitutes one of the most established and ancient non-profit organisations who

operate on an international level. Considering that, during the “non-profit boom” in the period between 1991 and 2000, Save the Children had already gained a solid position in the field, having been founded in 1919. Furthermore, the figure of the “poor, hungry and sad child” represented a central and recurrent figure in the traditional communication approach when it comes to non-profit organisation’s fundraising campaigns (Wells, 2013), however, in contrast to other visual archetypes which has gradually faded out, the icon of the unlucky child that must be saved from poverty still remain nowadays a strong visual appeal for many aid agencies, including Save the Children. The organisation, in this sense, can be considered as a leading organisation, since the core projects carried out by the organisation focus on, as predictable, children and newborns and a major part of their advertising revolves around the representation of children and babies. Finally, in the last few years Save the Children has joined the public debate about NGOs, shock advertising, “poverty porn” and so on. The organisation, over the years, has also shifted its ideological attitude toward these topics. Suffice to know that in 2013, in response to some heavy criticism concerning a Save the Children’s television spot, former Save the Children UK spokeswoman, Caroline Anning, argued that the spot (which pictured children across different stages of emaciation) was not condemnable on any level, since it represented a truthful reality. However, in June of 2020, Save the Children released a press statement in solidarity of the Black Lives Matter movement, during the period of intense protests in the United States, stating that they had the intentions to create new storytelling and advertising patterns, which will not be based on stereotyped narrative, “othering” and absence of dignity for the represented subjects. These issues are not new to both public debate and communication research (Chouliaraki, 2006), however, the majority of the resources in literature are not so recent and focus instead on the first decade of 2000. Therefore, a more recent study which would focus on current advertising would be valuable.

It would be useful and interesting to concentrate on an organisation which holds a leading and relevant role in the nonprofit world and which presents an interesting and complex profile when it comes to advertising.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESIS

This research aims at better understanding how shocking images are still present in the communication approaches implemented by Save the Children and at better comprehending how the audience responds to these advertising patterns, in terms of general attitudes and feelings but also for what concerns donation intentions and engagement intentions with the organisation.

In order to achieve this goal, the main research question I attempt to answer in this dissertation is the following: how does the shocking element in Save the Children's advertising affect the audience's feelings and perceptions?

More specifically, the purpose of this dissertation consists in analysing the current Save the Children's advertising to delineate how in many of the advertising contents this "old narrative" is still captured and understand how this current communication approach is affecting the audience's perceptions and feelings. In point of fact, the hypothesis this dissertation wanted to test are:

HP1: "The shocking ad will lead to a more negative response in terms of message credibility, attitudes and feelings than the non-shocking ad will."

HP2: "The shocking ad will encourage a lower intention of user engagement than the non-shocking ad will."

HP3: "The shocking ad will encourage a lower intention of donation to the organisation than the non-shocking ad will."

HP4: Save the Children's advertising promotes a "Us versus Them" dichotomy.

1.4 DISSERTATION OVERVIEW

For what concerns the dissertation outline, in the first introductory chapter, a general outline of the background, aim and motivation and structure of the dissertation is provided. The second chapter is dedicated to the literature review, which is divided into three sections. The first one will delineate the broad frame of post-colonial theory, I in fact believe the concepts of colonialism, neocolonialism and orientalism among many others are essential in order to help the reader comprehend why certain displays of the Global South can be considered as images which still held a colonial background behind them and thus reinforce the "Us versus Them" dichotomy, which represent a fundamental notion of this dissertation. The second section concentrates instead on the

topics of representation, stereotyping and othering, the purpose of this chapter is to delineate how these concepts can relate and be present in visual representation, more in depth, the power present behind the misrepresentation of the Other from a theoretical perspective. The final section addresses advertising and misrepresentation in advertising when it comes to non-profit organisations, this chapter investigate the specific relationship between representation and the nonprofit world, the aim of this chapter is to present the macro-tendencies related to this topic, in order to assess potential and various similarities when analysing Save the Children's current advertising approach.

The third chapter illustrates the methodology implemented in the data collection and the subsequent analysis. The fourth chapter is dedicated to the first method implemented, which is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this chapter, the materials which were selected are first presented, while in the second section the actual analysis is illustrated. The fifth chapter is then dedicated to the second research tool used, which is survey. The statistical analyses performed are presented, together with the major findings and the relative discussion. Finally, the last chapter provides a summary of the most relevant results, together with the limitations of the dissertation and some suggestions for future studies.

2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

In this first chapter I will address the conceptualization of the postcolonial field.

Firstly, in section 1.1, the definitions and the different perspectives around the concepts of colonialism, imperialism and postcolonialism are discussed. Secondly, in section 1.2, the notions of neocolonialism, development and dependency are explored. Moreover, in section 1.3, I will illustrate Edward Said's assessment of Western representation of the 'Other' through his path-breaking work "Orientalism". Finally, in section 1.4, I will examine the rhetoric of the global divide between the North and South, together with the notions of Eurocentrism and decolonial thinking. It should be noted that the theories, ideas and understandings of postcolonialism and its related topics represent the fundamentals for the theoretical and methodological approach of this dissertation.

2.1 THE FIELD OF POST-COLONIAL STUDIES AND ITS RELATED NOTIONS

2.1.1. COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND POSTCOLONIALISM

Colonialism and imperialism can be broadly defined as practices of domination and "subjugation of one people to another" (Young, 2016:15), through the conquest and control of a certain territory, mainly on a political and economic level (ibid). However, both colonialism and imperialism present a high degree of heterogeneity, on both a theoretical and practical level (ibid). According to the Marxist tradition and philosophy, colonialism can also be seen as a form of capitalism and thus as a form of exploitation, characterised by a particular emphasis on economic domination and a dimension of cultural-change (Marx, 1867). Conforming to this view, overproduction of goods, which is a core trait of the capitalist system, represents the reason behind global market expansion, since new (colonised) markets are necessary to absorb the excess of products, together with the need of additional resources (ibid).

From this point, the concepts of colonialism and imperialism have evolved, scholars' views concerning this topic are still quite heterogeneous (Young, 2016). In this regard, it should be noted how the concepts of colonialism and imperialism can be perceived as very similar and, thus, are oftentimes erroneously treated and considered as

synonyms (ibid). Historically, the gap between these two concepts had faded (ibid). Colonialism, in fact, has gradually started being perceived as a practical tool, useful to implement the ideologies which constitute the fundamentals of imperialism (ibid). In this respect, Robert Young, a postcolonial theorist and a major contributor in the field of postcolonial studies, exemplifies how, on one hand, colonialism was treated as a marginal auction that took place for primarily economic reasons (Young, 2016); while, on the other hand, imperialism “operated from the centre as a policy of state, driven by the grandiose projects of power” (ibid:17). Furthermore, Horvath, starting from the assumption that colonialism concerns relations between groups and not individuals, distinguishes between two different types of possible domination, which are intergroup and intragroup domination (Horvath, 1972). On one hand, intergroup domination is linked to cultural heterogeneity, in the sense that the colonial process takes place between groups that can be considered as culturally distant. On the other hand, intragroup domination refers to a culturally homogeneous societal system in which the domination process happens (ibid). For instance, concerning British colonial history, the domination of Wales or Scotland represents an example for the second group but is not considered by the author as an actual form of colonialism (ibid). Therefore, it is possible to deduce that Horvath’s definition of colonialism refers to group domination and the distance among these groups on a socio-cultural level (ibid).

According to Said, imperialism constitutes, at a basic level, the activity of “thinking about, settling on, controlling land that you do not possess, that is distant, that is lived on and owned by others.” (Said, 1994:7). Colonialism is instead described as “almost always a consequence of imperialism, [insofar as it] is the implanting of settlements on distant territory.” (ibid:8). In this respect, it becomes clear how colonialism presents a more economic drive while imperialism is driven by an ideological push (Young, 2016).

Young delineates the major differences that emerge between colonialism and imperialism. In particular, a structure can be defined “colonial” if it “was developed for settlement by individual communities or for commercial purposes by a trading company” (Young, 2016:17), on the other hand imperialism occurs when that

structure is characterised by bureaucratic control exercised by a central government and the reasons behind the action are not only economic but also of ideological nature. (ibid) Alternatively, Horvath focuses on a different aspect for what concerns the differences between colonialism and imperialism. In particular the author believes that an essential distinction must be delineated in terms of settlers' quantity and permanency (Horvath, 1972). Specifically, the "presence or absence of significant numbers of permanent settlers in the colony from the colonising power" (ibid:47) is at the heart of the differences between these concepts. The author presents "Latin America, North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa" (ibid:47) as examples of colonialism operated by European countries, since they "all involved the migration of permanent settlers from the European country to the colonies" (ibid). Oppositely, the main part of African and Asian continents are described as "imperialized" by Horvath because although they were dominated, they were not settled (ibid). Therefore, according to this view, colonialism can be defined as a form of intergroup domination characterised by a relevant number of settlers which are, on a permanent basis, migrated from the colonising country to the colonised territory (ibid). Imperialism, instead, constitutes a form of intergroup domination where this migration process does involve a far lower number of permanent settlers or even none (ibid).

Historically, typical examples for colonialism are represented by the settlements of Brazil, North America, Australia, New Zealand and Algeria which were mainly "controlled by a large population of permanent European residents". (Reddy et al., 2006:1) While the "American domination of the Philippines and Puerto Rico" (ibid) constitutes suitable examples for imperial structures.

However, while imperialism "constituted a global political system" (Young, 2016:17) and it is therefore possible to analyse it conceptually (ibid), it is still difficult to draw a single, universal and specific theory concerning colonialism, mainly because of the great diversity of colonial projects and experiences, both on a historical and a geographical level (Young, 2016). This issue was also remarked by Horvath, who argued that, when it comes to colonialism, scholars do not possess a generally approved theory nor a universally recognized definition concerning this topic (Horvath, 1972).

This difficulty remains even while focusing on a certain historical period or the development of a particular territory, as elucidated by Young (Young, 2016). However, the main question which postcolonialism theory investigates is “whether at a discursive, ideological level, colonialism also constituted a system of sorts that can be discussed, assessed and criticised – or could be resisted – according to general theoretical and discursive principles.” (Young, 2016:17), regardless of the great diversity that characterised the history of colonialism. However, in this respect, it is possible to outline a tendency to homogenization among colonialism, imperialism and the diverse forms they took in the post-colonialism field (ibid). In particular, Young exemplifies this tendency describing the works of Edward W. Said, which constitutes a fundamental contribution in this field (ibid). This latter author, in fact, was able to show what the common implementation of colonialist values and their impact on colonised territories and people involved, on both a conceptual and discursive level, but, in doing so, Said did not strongly differentiate between the different structural and geographical configurations of domination (Young, 2016). Regarding homogenization, it should also be noted that the perceived homogeneity or heterogeneity of colonialism is heavily depending on “your own subject position” (ibid:18), in the sense that there is a relevant difference between the points of view of the colonised and the colonising subject (ibid).

Similarly to the precedently illustrated concepts of colonialism and imperialism, post-colonialism does not present a universally accepted definition (Young, 2016). In fact, the definition of “post-colonialism” is characterised by a diverse and contested usage in the literature. (ibid) In broad terms, the term refers to the activity of dealing “with the effects of colonisation on cultures and societies.” (Griffiths et al., 2007:168). Similarly, other scholars have employed the expression to indicate the “political and theoretical struggles of societies that experienced the transition from political dependence to sovereignty.” (Fanon et al., 2006:2). The first uses of the term can be traced back to 1959 (Mishra & Hodge, 2008), post-colonial theory became a matter of intense debate in the 1990’s and has been acknowledged as a fundamental tool in contemporary development studies (Young, 2016). According to Young, the post-colonial can be defined as “a dialectical concept that marks the broad historical facts of decolonization, but also the realities of nations and peoples emerging into a new

context of economic and sometimes political domination” (Young, 2016:57) and it represents the “product of resistance to colonialism and imperialism” (ibid:15). Young presents two different definitions of postcolonialism (ibid). In particular, the postcolonial can be seen as something coming after colonialism according to the first one, which is “domination by direct rule” (ibid:44). The second definition instead describes postcolonialism as a “general system of a power relation of economic and political domination.” (ibid:44). Furthermore, McEwan argues that post-colonialism “is fundamentally concerned with the relationship between power and knowledge, of how past relationships of power persist into the present, and of how past inequities remain fundamental to understanding contemporary global relations” (McEwan, 2018:315) As illustrated by Mishra and Hodge, the use of the term “post-colonialism” is capable of foregrounding “a politics of opposition and struggles, and problematizes the key relationship between centre and periphery.” (Mishra & Hodge, 2008:399). Other scholars, when defining post-colonialism, have argued that it is the processes by which communities and territories which “benefited from, formed through or were subjected by colonialism come to terms with that fact and its aftermath.” (Goeder & Jacobs, 2002: 210).

However, its conceptualization remains arduous, mainly because although the expression clearly indicated something that is “post” and thus “subsequent” of colonialism (Mishra & Hodge, 2008), colonialism should not be treated as something that entirely belongs to the past (Kauanui, 2016). It would be therefore overly optimistic to consider the current moment as utterly post-colonial (Robinson, 2003). In this regard, Young argues most of the issues which arise during the debate concerning the definition of the term, could be solving by considering post-colonialism as “coming after colonialism and imperialism, in their original meaning of direct rule domination, but still positioned within imperialism in its later sense of the global system of hegemonic economic power.” (Young, 2016:57)

Political emancipation forms an integral part of post-colonial theory (ibid). A focal point concerning post-colonialism is indeed the fact that it is critical towards colonial structures, by contesting the status quo of colonialism and imperialism’s hegemonic history but it is also firmly devoted towards political activism for social justice, contributing to developing a brand new political identity (ibid), grounded on

political values such as “autonomy, real independence and self determination.” (ibid:59). A similar approach is also followed by non-western feminist such as “Third World Feminism” (ibid), which is based on the “rejection of false universalism presupposed by white feminism and an emphasis on Third World women’s complex and intersecting oppressions and multiple forms of resistance.” (Herr, 2014:2). Feminism represents, in fact, a crucial point in post-colonial discourse (Griffiths et al., 2007). First of all, patriarchal and imperial structures present comparable forms of domination towards groups of individuals perceived and considered as subordinates and, moreover, both feminism and post-colonialism critic and withstand these oppressive systems (ibid).

2.1.2 NEOCOLONIALISM, DEVELOPMENT AND DEPENDENCY

Direct forms of domination put in place by European imperial powers became unsustainable after 1945, mainly because of the elevated costs associated with imperial actions, together with the active resistance put in place by colonised groups and the external pressures from other countries, such as the United States, despite being motivated by economic reasons (Young, 2016). In this scenario, the new system which was implemented was “in many ways a more subtle, indirect version of the old”. (ibid:44). The current system cannot be defined as post-imperialism according to the second definition of the term, which refers, as previously elucidated, to a system based on power relations linked to domination from a political and economic perspective (ibid).

The term “neocolonialism” was firstly used in 1961, on the occasion of Ghana’s independence, which was the first former African colony to achieve it (Young, 2016). As reported by Young, neocolonialism describes the condition in which political independence was progressively regained by former colonised states, even though they still “remained subject to the effective control of the major world powers, which constituted the same group as the former imperial powers.” (Young, 2016:45). According to Hoogvelt, neocolonialism is the result of “profound historical pressures and struggles” (Hoogvelt, 1997:29). The author argues that this long process of wealth and progress accumulation in European countries has “brought forth its own

contradictions, pressures for change and adaptation which needed to be made if the continuity of global accumulation was to be safeguarded.” (ibid:29). Thus, the economic hegemony has solely shifted its configuration to a relation of practical dependence but formal autonomy, between the same subjects (Young, 2016). This relation is no longer based on military and physical effort but it is rather implemented through “cultural, ideological, economic and political” (ibid:45) means.

Young distinguishes economic neocolonialism from cultural neocolonialism (Young, 2016). The author refers to the first one as a product of “contemporary power structures” (ibid:48) while the second one is linked to “historical inheritance” (ibid:48). Kwame Nkrumah in his book “Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism”, analyzes neocolonialism through a Leninist theoretical framework, focusing therefore much more on the economic aspects rather than cultural elements (Nkrumah, 1965). The author asserts that neocolonialism represents a protraction of traditional colonial structure by another means, which is nonetheless capable of maintaining the African continent’s structural inequality and economic backwardness, through a system of economic and labour exploitation (ibid). Specifically, Nkrumah states that neocolonialism is an “attempt to export the social conflicts of capitalist countries.” (ibid:5). In this respect, Young underlines how the formal autonomy conquered by former colonies is countered by the fact that “international control is maintained by economic means, particularly access to capital and technology, together with the policing of world financial organisations”, (Young, 2016:46) such as the International Monetary Fund.

When it comes to neocolonialism, the role of development and dependency theory should be taken into consideration (ibid). The concept of development has played a central role in the main part of Western economic theories generated after 1945 (ibid). In this context, Young defines the concept of “development” as a term used to indicate the “assumed necessity of incorporating the rest of the world into the realm of modernity, that is, the western economic system, in which capitalism produces progressive economic growth.” (ibid:49). Development theory still starts its conceptualization from the static perspective of colonies as a source of resources that should be employed in western countries, but aims instead at revolutionising them “through a modernization” (ibid:49), on both an economic and cultural level. This

process is basically operated through the “diffusion of Western values, capital and technology.” (Namkoong, 1999:122). It should be also noted that this perspective takes for granted the general “desirability of development” (Young, 2016:49) and the implementation of strict and external models (ibid). The statement announced by Harry Truman, during his speech in 1949 as the new elected president of the United States, is quite emblematic of this new philosophy. In particular, he asserted that “the old imperialism - exploitation for foreign profit - has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development.” (Truman, 1964:115). However, the main issue with development was not the infrastructural system of non industrialised countries but rather the “tendency for any surplus to be taken as profit by international corporations rather than reinvested in the local economy for growth.” (Young, 2016:50).

In this respect, dependency theory should be elucidated. Dependency theory arose in the late 1960s as an alternative approach to development theory (ibid). The central point of the theory is the fact that development theory did not recognize the important role of underdevelopment of former colonies in the process of industrial growth of western societies (Young, 2016). Specifically, this economic growth has been achieved through the dismantling and undermining of local economies, together with disadvantaged economic conditions towards countries in the development process. In other words, “although they were formally independent, they remained economically dependent” (ibid:50). According to this view, the condition of “underdeveloped” nations is considered as a “result of the [deliberate] process of capitalist accumulation.” (ibid:51).

In this regard, even though there is not one unique dependency theory (Namkoong, 1999), it is possible to delineate a common ground, shared views and values (ibid). First of all, this theory suggests that the phenomenon of underdevelopment should not be considered as independent and unrelated from western development, but rather as a “symbiotic process” (ibid:50) between local development and foreign influences. In this respect, Dos Santos defines the concept of dependency as a “situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected.” (Dos Santos, 1970:231). In Young’s words, “underdevelopment was the complementary product of western development” (Young, 2016:51). Furthermore, the concept of

“centre-periphery structure” (Namkoong, 1999:126) is relevant; this expression indicates the divide which exists between the “centre” of the world, constituted by industrialised societies and its “periphery”, the non-industrialized countries (ibid). In accordance with this perspective, underdevelopment is not considered as a temporary phenomenon but instead as a steady condition (ibid). Finally, a third concept is represented by the clear inequality that defines the relation between these two parts of the world, as previously mentioned (ibid). According to Namkoong, underdevelopment is linked to “unequal terms of trade which is disadvantageous to peripheral countries on the world market” (ibid:126). Finally, Nkrumah illustrates some negative aspects of dependency theory (Nkrumah, 1965). In fact, the narrative which revolves around neocolonialism risks to contribute to the reinforcement of negative stereotypes and western suppositions regarding the African continent (ibid). In particular, it can suggest a high degree of passivity and helplessness together with the portrayal of the Global South, as argued by Young, as an “homogeneous eternal victim.” (Young, 2016:48). This phenomenon can also diminish the actions put in place by independence movements and all the achievements that they have accomplished (Nkrumah, 1965).

2.1.3 ORIENTALISM AND COLONIAL DISCOURSE

The term was popularised by Edward Said, who wrote “Orientalism” in 1978. His path-breaking work became fundamental in the creation of postcolonial studies as an academic field (Young, 2016) and had a huge impact on other disciplines from media studies to anthropology (Burney, 2012). The aim of the book was to analyse the conceptual production of the Orient or rather the process by which the “Orient” was built on European thought and perceptions (Said, 1978). The intrinsic power relations this phenomenon involves also represent a central and fundamental point in Said’s work. (ibid) According to the author, the East is based on the “ontological and epistemological distinction between the Orient and the Occident.” (ibid:1). Young underlined how Said’s work introduces the notion of colonialism as exercised not only *via militar* assets but also as a “discourse of domination” (Young, 2016:383). Said’s book, moreover, paved the way for academics and researchers, who were then able to re-analyze, and deconstruct literature, images and historical records in order to

comprehend “how they reflected and reinforced the imperialist project.” (Griffiths et al., 2007:5)

It should be noted that the author refers to the “East” or the “Orient” while talking about the territories of the Middle East, North Africa and Asia; the terms “West” or “Occident”, instead, are used in order to indicate the European great powers and then, along with the rise of neo-colonialism, the United States (ibid). In particular, Said asserts that Orientalism can be “discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient, dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it.” (Said, 1978:3)

However, the core argument of Orientalism does not lay on a truthful discourse concerning the Orient but more on the critical analysis of the relation of power and domination between the West and the East, which constitutes the foundation of the *construction* of the Orient (Said, 1978). The author considers the invention of the Orient as a form of authority (ibid). The Orient and its construction, in fact, is not “natural” nor “factual” but is instead an idea or a “phenomenon constructed by generations of intellectuals, artists, commentators, writers, politicians, and, more importantly, constructed by the naturalising of a wide range of Orientalist assumptions and stereotypes.” (Griffiths et al., 2007:153) Orientalist discourse, therefore, involved a structured set of concepts, images and discursive practices that are employed to create, interpret, and assign a certain value about the so-called Others, identified as the non-Europeans individuals (Said, 1978). In this sense, the Orient becomes a result of Western constructs and not of actual facts (ibid). The ways the Orient is portrayed in media contents, travel writing, literature, art, cinematographic productions and so on, have been shaping the imaginary linked to Oriental societies, depicting them as intrinsically alike, interchangeable, immutable, inherently inferior and overall unable to represent and define itself (ibid). In Said’s words, these constructs constitute “the lenses through which the Orient is experienced, and they shape the language, perception and form of the encounter between East and West” (ibid: 58). This ensemble of fixed constructs defined “the behaviour of Orientals; they supplied Orientals with a mentality, a genealogy, an atmosphere” (ibid:42) and above all “they allowed Europeans to deal with and even to see Orientals as a phenomenon possessing regular characteristics.” (ibid:42). In other words, as exemplified by the author, “knowledge of the Orient,

because generated out of strength, in a sense creates the Orient, the Oriental, and his world.” (ibid:40). Through this discourse, the Orient becomes the “ultimate Other in history, literature, art, music and popular music.” (Burney, 2012:23). The existence of the Other is essential when delineating what should be considered as the normal standard and what instead diverges from the norm, as in the binary opposition between the Orient and the Occident (Griffiths et al., 2007).

Furthermore, Said emphasises the complex relation between power and knowledge, differently from previous works which mainly investigated the political and economic aspects of colonial systems (Griffiths et al., 2007). In particular, he underlines the imbalance of power which exists between the Orient and the Occident, in clear favour of the latter (Said, 1978). The author asserts that the power that emerges from this disparity is strictly associated with the construction of knowledge concerning the Orient (ibid). As illustrated by Said “knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control.” (ibid:36). The constructed knowledge about the “Orientals” is “generated out of strength” (ibid:40) and therefore capable of inventing the Orient together with the individuals that live in it and thus their whole world. (ibid) In this way, an entire imaginary is developed, where the East is depicted as “irrational, depraved, [...], childlike, different” (ibid:40) while the West is described as “rational, virtuous, mature and normal.” (ibid:40).

In this regard, it should be noted that Said applied Michel Foucault’s concepts and techniques in his work, in particular for what concerns discourse analysis, here used as a theoretical foundation to “conceptualise this power/knowledge structure” (Young, 2016:387). Specifically, “the Archaeology of Knowledge” and “Discipline and Punish” represent the main sources and theoretical fundamentals of Said’s work (ibid). Foucault’s conceptualization of discourse went beyond the commonly accepted idea of discourse as a “linguistic concept” (El Aidi & Yechouti, 2017:1060). According to this view, it rather represents a “a particular way of seeing and thinking about a given topic.” (ibid:1060), which is created through a “set of statements” (ibid:1060). Specifically, Foucault argued that “we shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation; [...] it is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined.” (Foucault,

1972:117). In this sense, the colonial discourse is generated through a system of statements which focus on colonising powers, colonised territories and groups and the relation that is formed among those elements (Young, 2016). In accordance with this theorization, Said argues that Orientalism discourse forces precise rules, notions, images and conditions concerning knowledge on the Orient to be accepted and considered as both truthful and eloquent (El Aidi & Yechouti, 2017). In this respect, the author also asserts that Orientalism is a “a new habit of thought, a set of rules to dominate truth, to make truth as an issue secondary to the successful ordering and wielding of huge masses of actual present knowledge.” (Said, 1978:291). Moreover, Said argues that, if Orientalism is not considered as a discourse and analysed accordingly, it is not possible to actually comprehend the “enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient” (ibid:3).

2.1.4 GLOBAL NORTH/SOUTH DIVIDE AND DECOLONIAL THINKING

The expression “Third World” was first coined in 1952 by Alfred Sauvy, a French economist and sociologist, to indicate the countries which were not associated with neither the Soviet Union nor the United States, after the conflict period between the two, also known as the Cold War (Griffiths et al., 2007). On the other hand, the term “First World” was already commonly used back then to identify the Western superpowers (ibid). The expression “Third World” rapidly became associated with images of extreme poverty, wars, mortal diseases, lack of hygiene, food and clean water (ibid). It was also commonly used as a synonym to indicate “any underdeveloped society or social condition anywhere.” (Griffiths et al., 2007:212). The “Global North-South divide” constitutes a widely used expression which indicates the consistent patterns of inequality which exist between “developed” and “developing” countries (Horner, 2020). According to Boaventura de Sousa Santos, “colonialism has disabled the global North from learning in non-colonial terms, that is, in terms that allow for the existence of histories other than the universal history of the West” (Santos, 2014:19). In particular, this phenomenon is particularly connected to Eurocentric critical theory and tradition (ibid). As the author elucidates, the latter follows the postulated which “reduces the understanding of the world to the Western understanding of the world”

(ibid:21), therefore any other non-Western-centric perspective is easily either disregarded or trivialised (ibid). In this respect, Santos introduces the coined notion of “epistemicide”, describing it as the “murder of knowledge” (ibid:92) or, more precisely, as a harmful absence of “equity between different ways of knowing and different kinds of knowledge” (ibid:237). Moreover, Epistemicide is capable of diminishing the impact of emancipatory practices, which constitutes fundamental actions needed to subvert social injustice (ibid). In other words, as the author asserts, “ultimately, social injustice is based on cognitive injustice.” (ibid:189).

For what concerns decolonial thinking, Quijano built the foundations of this concept through his work “Coloniality and modernity/rationality” (Quijano, 2007). The focal point that the author wants to convey is that a critical perspective towards eurocentrism not just represents a necessity but it also requires urgent actions (ibid). In this respect, it should be noted that the authors define Eurocentrism as “a mental construction that expresses the basic experience of colonial domination and pervades the more important dimensions of global power.” (Quijano, 2000:533). More broadly, Walter Mignolo describes it as “hegemonic structure of knowledge and beliefs” (Mignolo, 2011:45). On the other hand, Quijano asserts that Eurocentrism critique is “doubtful if the criticism consists of a simple negation of all its categories; [...]; of the pure negation of the idea and the perspective of totality in cognition.” (Quijano, 2007:177). Consequently, it becomes necessary to deconstruct the “coloniality of world power” (ibid). In particular, the author talks about an “epistemological decolonization” (ibid), which refers to the creations of new paths for communication across different social and cultural categories, together with the reciprocal exchange of “experiences and meanings” (ibid). The freeing process from coloniality to decoloniality that intercultural communications have to go through also implies “the freedom of all peoples to choose such relations”, (ibid:178) both on a personal and collective level (ibid). The authors also underlines how important it is not to consider the perceptions of a certain race as a universal reality (ibid). In fact, Quijano emphasises how every portrayal, image, vision and “production of knowledge” associated with a precise culture is wrongly “associated with a perspective of totality” (ibid:177). According to the author, the key in the process of decolonization is therefore represented by the liberation of the “production of knowledge, reflection, and communication from the pitfalls of European

rationality/modernity” (ibid). In a similar way, Walter Mignolo debates the notion of “epistemic disobedience” (Mignolo, 2010). The author defines the concept as the dissociation from the “illusion of the zero point epistemology.” (ibid:160), this idea is closely connected with the activity of “de-linking” (ibid:161) from the thoughts, ideals and outlooks that the West have towards the concepts of humanity, modernity and financial prosperity (ibid). Epistemic disobedience starts from the common consequences of colonial structures which have been globally experienced and endured by colonised groups (Mignolo, 2011). In this respect, the author talks about colonisation regarding different dimensions, in particular the ones concerning the production of knowledge which refers to “languages, categories of thoughts, belief systems, etc” (ibid:45). According to the author, “de-linking” is then indispensable because only through this process is it possible to be freed from the “coloniality of power from within Western categories of thought.” (ibid:45).

Furthermore, the more contemporary concept of “global development” is contributing to “moving beyond the North–South international development framing” (Horner, 2020:423). This notion starts from a critical view toward the long-standing association between the concepts of Global South and the need for development and the binary opposition between the North and the South of the world (ibid). This concept primarily differs from the precedently illustrated one of development because of the perspective shift in terms of the strict division between rich countries and poor countries (ibid). Global development is based on the fact that the main part of the “causes of development cannot be segmented along North–South or national boundaries” (ibid:424) and this thus requires a “new framing for development” and knowledge (ibid).

Over this first theoretical chapter, I have outlined the major elements which are involved in the postcolonial field. Starting from the definitions of colonialism, imperialism and postcolonialism, I have articulated the main arguments and ideas concerning elements such as Orientalism, development and dependency together with the rhetoric of the Global North versus the Global South divide and the urgent theme of decolonial thinking. This chapter attempts to present the theoretical tool necessary to both understand the role of the power relationships underlying the post-colonial world

and delineate the role of the “Other” in contraposition with the “Us” group. In the next chapter, I will focus on media representation, including stereotypes, othering and the roles of gender and photography, framed through a postcolonial perspective.

2.2 REPRESENTATION, ALTERITY AND SUFFERING

In this chapter I will elaborate the broad theme of representation. First of all, in section 1.1, I will discuss the theoretical framing of this theme through Hall and Barthes’s theories concerning representation and the meanings behind the represented images. Secondly, in section 1.2, the notions of identity, othering and stereotypes when it comes to visual representation are discussed. Finally, in section 1.3, I will focus on orientalist photography and how this phenomenon was particularly gendered. I will thus illustrate how women's representation and images were used as an orientalist tool, mainly through the works of Sontag and Graham-Brown.

Through this chapter, I will delineate how representation is more than just a fictional reflection of reality, since it allows us to create new versions of the world, perceptions and ways of observing the others. The power behind phenomena such as othering and stereotyping are a central part in this research work, given the fact that oftentimes these topics are observable in non-profit organisation’s advertising.

2.2.1 FRAMING REPRESENTATION: THE PRODUCTION OF MEANINGS AND MYTHS

The traditional theories concerning representation focus on how media reflect reality, from social categories and public figures to global events and localities (Hall, 1997). Stuart Hall in his work “Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practises” focuses on the representation of meanings, exploring concepts such as the origin of the meaning of a certain word, image or idea and the identification of the *true* meaning of an object through language (ibid). In this respect, the author illustrates three general theories concerning representation, which are called the reflective, intentional and constructionist (or constructivist) approaches (ibid:10). According to the reflective view, the meaning is considered as intrinsic and thus already present in the object, idea

or subject (ibid). In this scenario, the role of language is to merely perform “like a mirror, to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world” (ibid:10). It should be noted that the author underlines how there are some “obvious truths” (ibid:10) linked to reflective approach, in the sense that visual portrayals present some clear connections to the object they are representing (ibid). However, these relations are not enough to frame an object's meaning or, as putted by Hall, “a two-dimensional visual image of a rose is a sign – it should not be confused with the real plant with thorns and blooms growing in the garden.” (ibid:10). In this case, representation is therefore considered as a pure reflection of reality and its meaning (ibid). Through the reflective approach, it is also possible to measure the degree of accuracy or distortion of these representations by making a comparison between them and reality (ibid). Secondly, the intentional representation theory implies that the meaning of the object is directly imposed by the one who creates the object (ibid). The author considers this approach fallacious because of the social nature of language (ibid). More specifically, Hall argues that language represents a social system and, since its main goal is to communicate with others, language must follow shared rules and conventions (ibid). In view of the fact that “we cannot be the sole or unique source of meanings in language” (ibid:11), it goes without saying that the meaning of an object cannot be a “private game” (ibid:11). Stuart Hall rejects these two previously illustrated perspectives completely. The author describes representation as the “link between concepts and language”, (ibid:17) in the sense that it constitutes the “production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language” (ibid:17). These notions can be synthesised into the third theory: the constructivist (or constructionist) approach. This theory acknowledges the social essence of language, refuses to consider the meaning of an object as intrinsic and steady and understands that neither the creators of the object nor the users are capable of anchoring meaning to language (ibid). Hall differentiates between the material word and the symbolic practice (ibid). The existence of subjects and objects are ascribable to the material word while the process through which “representation, meaning and language operate” (ibid:11) refers to the latter. The presence of the material word is undeniable, the symbolic and conceptual systems together with the individuals who use them are the ones able to express and transmit meanings (ibid). Therefore, according to Hall's theory, representation should not be considered as reflection of reality's meanings,

characterised by varying degrees of distortion or accuracy (ibid). The author argues that there is no “fixed” or “real” meaning against which it would be possible to measure distortion (ibid). In this regard, he illustrates how “things don’t mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs.” (ibid:11). Specifically, Hall considers representation as “constitutive”, in the sense that media representations are not reflection of facts that already have fixed meanings, on the contrary, they create and shape meanings to these facts. Consequently, representation can generate a wide range of different meanings (Hall, 1997). Similarly to Hall, Reina Lewis’s in her book “Gendering Orientalism”, which analyses the production of the imperialist visual representations of women, asserts that “representations do not have intrinsic meanings in themselves. Rather, meaning is constructed in the interaction between the reader/viewer and the text (simultaneously constructing meanings and identities for both the viewer and the text)” (Lewis, 1996:3-4). Therefore, the author argues, when analysing visual representation “the role of art and literary criticism is central” (ibid:4). In addition to this, he illustrates how “representation is a complex business and, especially when dealing with difference, it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and it mobilises fears and anxieties in the viewer, at deeper levels that we can explain in a simple, common-sense way” (Hall, 1997:226).

In this respect, the thought of French theorist Roland Barthes should be considered. As well as Hall’s theory, Barthes argues that no image or visual representation brings an inherent, unique and fixed meaning inside (Barthes, 1977). In his essay “Rhetoric of the Image”, the author focuses on an advertising image and investigates the layered structure of the messages and meanings which the ad conveys (ibid). The image which Barthes analyses is a *Panzani* advert, a French brand specialised on pasta and culinary products (ibid). The advertisement image presents a red background and features three packets of pasta, with other food (tomatoes, mushrooms, etc) and a half-opened bag containing these products. The author distinguishes three different categories of meanings that are evoked by the image (ibid). Firstly, Barthes discusses the linguistic message which is identified with the ad text (ibid). In this respect, the author asserts that this linguistic message is both denotational and connotational (ibid). The support of the language is mainly linked to the caption and the products labels. These elements refer to the *denoted* message; while the sign or

brand “Panzani” brings up the *connoted* message, which is in this case the “Italianicity”, because of the association of the word with Italian language. The author notes how the major part of all images are, regardless of the context, combined with some kind of textual message (ibid). This seems to execute two different purposes: *anchorage* and *relay* (ibid). The former one refers to the fact that images tend to be subjected to several interpretations and meanings, anchorage takes place when the textual message is used to put emphasis on just one meaning. On the other hand, relay occurs when the text brings more meaning to the sole image, the final meaning is then conveyed by the combination of these two elements (ibid). Secondly, the symbolic message is addressed, which refers to the non-linguistic portion of the advertising. In particular, this message, or connoted image, is constructed by four signs which “form a coherent whole” (ibid:153). Barthes define these sign as the following: the fact that the bag containing the products is half-open evokes the action of coming back from the market; tomatoes and peppers are linked with Italian culture and essence; the set of portrayed objects conveys the “idea of a total culinary service” (ibid:153) and finally the overall configuration of the ad recalls an idea of “nature morte” (the so-called “still life”), a pictorial style which mainly focuses on food and flowers (ibid). Finally, the author underlines a third message: the literal message. The author notes how the image is composed of a number of real and “identifiable objects” (ibid:154). This message is non-coded, in the sense that the portrayed object represents its own (e.g. the image of the onion represents the onion as well as the image of the mushroom represents the mushroom). What defines this message is the connections between those objects. In this respect, Barthes highlights how even if the scene would be rearranged, this change would not transform the entire meaning of the image. In other words, as stated by Barthes, the “sign of this message [...] is not coded, and we are brought up against the paradox [...] of a message without a code” (ibid:154).

In this respect, it should be noted how the notion of semiotics should be understood as the “science of signs” (Berger, 2013:22), where a sign is defined as “being anything that can be used to stand for something else” (ibid:22). Semiotics represents a relevant tool when it comes to language and representation, since it “provides an abstract language covering a diversity of special sign-usages” (Andersen, 2000:1). A semiological analysis can be understood as the study of the meanings that

are present in our daily life's systems of communication (ibid). Semiotics, then, are present whenever an element can be considered a sign, for instance coffee can convey alertness and energy (ibid). It should be noted how the sign is formed by two distinct elements, which are the signified and the signifier. In broad terms, the former indicates what is meant by the subject who is using the sign, while the latter refers to the concrete thing that signifies. The combination of these two form the sign (Barthes, 2009). The expression "myth" is used by the author in "Mythologies" to define the cultural power which is held by these elements, also capable of influencing and shaping perceptions and opinion towards a given topic over historical time (ibid).

According to Berger, Barthes's *Mythologies* is "a seminal text in applied semiotic analysis" (Berger, 2013:22) which represents "one of the most important and most influential books of applied semiotic analysis" (ibid:23). More specifically, Barthes in his book "Mythologies" explores the world of culturally popular objects through a semiotic perspective (Barthes, 2009). As Barthes explains in the beginning of his work, the book is grounded to two different theoretical frameworks (ibid). Firstly, on a more ideological level, there is a critical perspective towards the language that characterises and shapes mass-culture (ibid). On the other hand, the book delineates a "first attempt to analyse semiologically the mechanics of this language" (ibid:10). Barthes focuses his semiotic analysis on products which are defined by a certain cultural and popular value within French culture and community (ibid). These products are quite heterogeneous and not directly correlated or connected among them, they range from toys and wine to "ornamental cookery" (ibid:78). Barthes's objective consists in discovering and highlighting the symbolic value of these products and how they relate to their claim to be characterised by universality and naturality (ibid).

In order to better exemplify the concept of "myth as a semiological system" (ibid:110), one of Barthes' most emblematic analyses will be discussed. In particular, the author focuses on the cover of a French newspaper called "Paris-Match", dated around 1960 (ibid). The photo portrays a young black man who is wearing an army uniform, the soldier is represented "saluting, with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolour" (ibid:115). According to the author, these elements constitute the *meaning* of the portrayal. However, this representation serves the purpose of conveying a different *myth*, such as a positive highlight of French imperialism (ibid). More

specifically, the myth also revolves around the absence of any form of discrimination among French (even those who are victim of the imperialistic practices such as the pictured subject), with the normalization of power dynamics that the image conveys, linked to a sense of loyalty at all cost that French citizens should feel in order to serve the army (ibid).

Although, it should be noted that further research concerning Barthes and his works have underlined how the Paris-Match's cover photo analysis presents some discrepancies between the description illustrated by Barthes and the actual characteristics of the soldier picture (Bann, 2009). In this respect, historian Stephen Bann argues that although Barthes has effectively misread some of the elements of the cover photo (ibid). However, this element does not limit Barthes's capacity of explaining and exploring the system of myths. In particular, for the myth to perform, the author does not need to "consider the historical parentheses for the purpose of his demonstration" (Moudileno, 2016:62). In other words "If the soldier's emblematic status continues to function, it is as a sign at both levels." (ibid:62).

Specifically, the author states that:

"The original issue of Paris Match displays no flag, and the "black soldier" of whom he speaks is indeed little more than a cadet, appearing in a military spectacle called "Les Nuits de l'Armée." This apparent misreading matters little, nonetheless, as Barthes' point is precisely that myth catches on like wildfire in a contemporary urban arena where a magazine picked up at the hairdresser's will communicate its second-order meaning in a flash, with no opportunity for further checking." (Bann, 2009:156)

It goes without saying that myths, especially when linked to photography, can present a heavy distorted sense of reality (ibid). In this regard, a similar sense of distortion can also be linked to stereotypes. This dynamic is especially relevant when stereotypical representation influences identity and leads to phenomena such as othering. These topics will be further addressed in the next section.

2.2.2 STEREOTYPING, IDENTITY AND OTHERING IN REPRESENTATION

According to Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman, a stereotype is a "fixed mental image of a group that is frequently applied to all its members" (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 1987:186). Dibyesh Anand (2007) argues that stereotypes constitute a "simplification

not because it is a false representation of a given reality but because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that denies the play of difference.” (Anand, 2007:26).

The notion of stereotype was first introduced by Walter Lippman in his seminal work on Public Opinion (Lippmann, 1922). In particular, the author argues that the origin of stereotypes is attributable to the impossibility of having a direct contact with the matter of fact, both in terms of personal experiences and public issues (ibid). According to Lippman, individuals develop and use stereotypes in order to satisfy the human need for information and knowledge (ibid). In this sense, interpretative mental schemes based on stereotypes represent a tool used to help the individual navigate through the complexity of people and social categories (ibid). In other words, stereotypes constitute a cognitive basis through which the individual interprets and classifies reality (ibid). From Lippman’s point of view, the use of stereotypes represents, as remarked by Kidd, a “neutral system of classification” (Kidd, 2016:26). However, the harmful nature of stereotypes should not be overlooked. Lippman underlines how the use of stereotypes heavily impacts on the comprehension of reality and makes it harder to notice certain social phenomena, which could, if correctly interpreted, make stereotypes ineffective (Lippmann, 1922). Even if the existence of stereotypes can be considered as likely to happen or even inevitable, their imprecise and untruthful nature together with the great harm they are able to cause should be acknowledged and treated accordingly (Kidd, 2016). Cooke-Jackson and Hansen have discussed this matter, stating that:

“Although stereotyping is inevitable, when media producers erroneously attribute characteristics of a minority of a group to the whole subculture, stereotyping becomes problematic. Stereotypes usually fail to reflect the richness of the subculture and ignore the realities from which the images come. This action can result in social injustices for individuals who make up that subculture.” (Cooke-Jackson & Hansen, 2008:186)

Although the recurrence to stereotypes is not a phenomenon created by mass media, it should not be ignored how these held an enormous power when it comes to the consolidation and promotion of stereotypical portrayal (Cooke-Jackson & Hansen, 2008). More specifically, starting from the precedently illustrated Hall’s notion of production of meanings (Hall, 1997), it should be underlined how the opportunity to create those meanings brings a high amount of power, in terms of potential influence on individuals and overall society (ibid).

Hall broadly defines the tendency to represent in a stereotyped manner as the action of reducing a certain subject or object “to a few essentials, fixed in nature by a few, simplified characteristics” (ibid:249). The author argues that this tendency originates from the power imbalance between societal categories (ibid). Specifically, stereotypes (regarding elements such as gender, race, sexual orientation, age and so on) occur when dominant hegemonic groups hold their power against less powerful groups (ibid). In this case, power in terms of representation came about the dominance over the media industry, in the sense that representation of individuals who are outside the dominant group are likely to be portrayed in a stereotypical manner, reflecting the dominant group’s point of view and ideological perspectives (ibid). In a similar way, Dibyesh Anand illustrates how the “asymmetry of productive power” (Anand, 2007:25) is a crucial element when it comes to stereotyped representation (ibid). The author asserts that both visual and textual representation mediums (namely movies, books, tv shows and advertising) were “closely linked to the production of imperial encounters” (ibid:25) when representing the “Others”. Moreover, Anand underlines how everyone (Western and non-western) is exposed to some degree of representation (and thus misrepresentation), however “the impact [of stereotyped representation] differs according to the existing power relations” (ibid:25). Power dynamic should also be considered when focusing on the existence of trivialised types of representation in Eastern society, since “historically, all cultures and civilizations have had their own particular representational practices for perceiving those they considered as Other” (ibid:25). Power imbalance is, in fact, capable of transforming these misrepresentations in production of knowledge or, in other words, transforming, on a large scale, that imaginary into a consolidated and truthful reality (ibid). Moreover, Hall argues that stereotyped portrayals are also associated with the little experience that the individuals who held this power have with people from outside those groups (Hall, 1997). This tendency could be attributable to factors such as “economic isolation or ethnic segregation” (Kidd, 2016:25). These elements are also capable of influencing the recipients of such visual representations; in this case the media portrayal of different social categories is likely to constitute the only form of “connection” between the recipient and these categories (ibid). Finally, Henri Tajfel suggests that “ingroup” members tend to stereotypically represent the subjects that are seen as a member of a

different social group, this phenomenon is also oftentimes associated with the inclination to perceive the identities of “outgroup” members in an overly essentialist manner (Tajfel, 1974). This dynamic is the output of the relation between social identity, stereotypes and intergroup relations, Tajfel argues, and it is linked to three main social functions (ibid). Firstly, it constitutes an excuse for negative actions that could be made against the Others (ibid). Secondly, it helps diminish the complexity of reality, especially when it comes to wide-ranging situations (ibid). Finally it works as a differentiation tool between the Self and the Other, in this case identified as “ingroup” and “outgroup” member (ibid). Therefore, it should be clear how, in relation to representation and stereotypes, identity plays a crucial role, as proved by various scholars who have investigated the broad topic of cultural identity (Friedman, 1994; Hall, 2005; Chen & Zhang, 2010). Jonathan Friedman defines cultural identity as the ensemble of characteristics which are attributed to a certain social category, formed by individuals who tend to behave as “cultural beings” (Friedman, 1994). Guo-Ming Chen focuses instead more on the relationships between individuals by describing the concepts of cultural identity as a “sense of belonging, originated from the interaction and negotiation between the self and the affiliated group, to a community.” (Chen & Zhang, 2010:795). Moreover, when defining identity in the cultural dimension, Hall outlines two different possible perspectives (Hall, 2005). The first one refers to a sense of “collective *one true self* hiding inside [...] the many other *selves*” (ibid:443-444). Within this definition, shared historical and ancestral past, traditional codes and cultural values play a central role (ibid). This notion is considered to be central in the post-colonial field (ibid). It is, in fact, a powerful element when it comes to contemporary and “emergent representation amongst [...] marginalised people” (ibid:444). More than the construction of an identity, the focal point in this scenario is represented by the *re-discovery* of an already existing identity (ibid). In particular, Franz Fanon describes this process of re-discovery as an exploration of the culture and the society of the pre-colonial (Fanon, 1963). Moreover, Hall underlines how this process of identity re-discovery has been a key element in the rise of many social movements, such as feminism and anti-racism (Hall, 2005). Thus, the process of identity re-discovery should not be underestimated, since it allows the creation of a “coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation, which is the history of all enforced diasporas” (ibid:445).

The second perspective on cultural identity refuses instead the concept of “one experience, one identity” (ibid:445). This approach emphasises how although the shared similarities among individuals in a same community should be considered when defining identity, the accent should be put on the critical differences which “constitute what we really are” (ibid.445) or, in other words, our true essence. Therefore, although this point of view recognizes the origin of a certain identity and its importance, it also acknowledges how, given their historical nature, cultural identities are subjected to continuous transformations (ibid). In this sense, identities can be defined as “the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past” (ibid: 445). Through this second perspective, it is possible to better comprehend how the experiences that commonly characterise the black identity were put through the “dominant regimens of representation” (ibid:445) as a consequence of both “cultural power and normalisation” (ibid:445). This concept is relevant since the dominant systems of representation held the power to make people from marginalised categories perceive and experience themselves as the Other (ibid).

For what concerns the contemporary building process of an identity, it should be noted that the notion of identity is nowadays considered and perceived as fluid and much more volatile compared to how it was viewed in the past (Van Schagen, 2015). However certain identities such as “the Western” or “the African” do not benefit from this recent improvement in the same way (ibid). Instead, these identities are characterised by a quite high level of stability, if not essentialized, with little change in terms of external perceptions over time (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). For instance, the “African identity” was linked to the concepts of inferiority and backwardness extended on several layers, such as political, socio-economical and purely racial. The borders of this identity figure have, however, surely changed over the last decades, even though at a slow-moving pace (Watts, 2003). Other notions have been added, such as the inclusion of “underdevelopment”; while others have been, for the most part, eliminated, namely the racial inferiority (ibid). According to Tilly, it is possible to discern four components in the formation of a political identity. In particular, the “boundaries separating *us* from *them* [...], the shared stories about those boundaries [...], the social relations across the boundaries [...] and the social relations within the boundaries” (Tilly, 2003:32). According to Said, the creation of identity “involves establishing opposites and “others”

whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from us” (Said, 1978:332).

The us-them divide constitutes a primary aspect of identity. Rather, identity is what is capable of “distinguishing the self from the other” (Van Schagen, 2015:41). This practice which is often defined as “othering”, constitutes a crucial point of the colonial discourse (Dogra, 2012). The us-them divide plants its root in the belief that Western standards should be considered as a universal benchmark to determine other’s situations (Escobar, 1995). According to Gillespie, the representation of the Other is based on the representation of the Self, in the sense that otherness takes place when the Other is represented according to what the Self is not and does not want to be (Gillespie, 2010). Dogra argues that othering sustains the concept of Western inherent superiority (Dogra, 2012) and that the recurrent representation of stereotypes contributes to the creation and consolidation of the various myths regarding the progressive West and the uncivilised non-West (ibid). According to Staszak, othering should not be linked much to the differences of “the other”, but instead on the “point of view [...] of the person who perceives the Other as such” (Staszak, 2009:1). In the perspective of the author, a central point in this matter is that the rigid division between the Self and the Other leads to the creation of two separate groups, one “embodying the norms, whose identity is valued” (ibid) and a contraposed one, which is “defined by its faults, devalued and susceptible to discrimination” (ibid). Concerning othering, visual representations “take centre stage” (Hall, 1997:226) and are capable of promoting “well recognized, hierarchically ordered dualisms.” (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002:576). Dogra points out how a major characteristic which can be commonly found among is the representation of others that generate binary oppositions between “us” and “them”, “developed and underdeveloped”, “modern and traditional”, “saviour and victim” and, above all, “normal” (as the default of human standard) and “deviant” (the difference from the default) (Dogra, 2012). Historically, othering in representation consisted in the portrayal of “classifications and stereotypes to explain, produce and project knowledge about colonies in specific ways in order to show difference between ‘us’, i.e. European colonisers, and them or Others” (Dogra, 2012:13). In this regard, Hall illustrates how racial representation during slavery rotated around a few main themes such as the inherent primitivism, the lack of culture, the attitude for subordination and the laziness

of black individuals (Hall, 1997). Through this phenomenon, the differences between majority and minority worlds have been essentialized and continuously reinforced to the point they started to be perceived as natural and inherent (Hall, 1997; Clark, 2009). The logic behind this “representational strategy” (Hall, 1997:245) which is called naturalisation is, Hall argues, that if the nature of the differences is perceived as natural, they are then not open for any changes, “they are beyond history, permanent and fixed” (ibid).

2.2.3 ORIENTALIST PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE ROLE OF GENDER

When it comes to stereotypes and othering in representation, photography has played and still continues to play an important role (Sontag, 1977; Clark, 2009; Stefanaki, 2018). In this regard, Clark states that “process of photographic ‘othering’ as an established convention in imaging foreign lands to European audiences” (Clark, 2009:48). Susan Sontag argues that photography detains an immense power in modern society, adding that “to photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge and, therefore, like power.” (Sontag, 1977:2). Graham-Brown asserts that photography, unlike other mass media or artistic mediums, “has a claim to represent reality in a way no artist would claim for a painting.” (Graham-Brown, 1988:40). Photography is, thus, characterised by a special capacity of turning distinct images into evidence of the life, habits and societal structure of the people living in a certain area (ibid). In “Regarding the pain of others”, Sontag (2003) explore the role of photography as a tool for visual representation of war and violence in today’s society, analysing various topics including the purpose of portraying such images, how the spectatorship of the pain of others shapes the views of the non-sufferers and the probability to get gradually accustomed to these visual contents (Sontag, 2003). The author also challenges the idea of inherent objectivity of photography as a medium, claiming that the inevitable presence of the photographer’s subjective point of view will frame the image accordingly. In particular, Sontag underlines the ambivalence nature of photography, which is capable of producing a “faithful copy [...] of an actual moment of reality” (ibid:23) but, at the same time, it represents a personal and partial interpretation of that frame of reality (ibid).

Alternatively, Graham-Brown argues that the capacity of photography to produce reality constitutes its real power, however it also represents an inherent danger (Graham-Brown, 1988). This danger is particularly visible when it comes to “orientalist photography”, which Kabbani describes as the precise intersection between othering and photography (Kabbani, 1986). More specifically, starting from the late nineties, a common practice for photographers involved searching all over the Global South, especially Northern Africa, in order to capture “exotic” elements, (namely religious places, noisy and crowded markets and impoverished areas) and, above all, the individuals who habited those foreign territories (Kabbani, 1986). This *modus operandi* of capturing the “exoting Others” in order to show them to an audience composed by Europeans spectators also constituted a way of validating western understanding of the world and in particular of their perceptions of the East (ibid). Stefanaki argues that photography was utilised both as a “medium to visually record orientalist ideas” (Stefanaki, 2018:10) and as a “surface of an idealized place for the Westerner’s own erotic fantasies.” (ibid:10). In this sense, photography falls, as heavily as any other medium, in a process of distortion and alteration of the living conditions and characteristics of these regions (ibid). Therefore, the representation of the Orient, which emerges from orientalist photography does not constitute a reflection of a certain reality but rather it creates one (Kabbani, 1986). For instance, when a specific setting was not possible to achieve naturally, it was not uncommon to construct one and artificially transform it with dedicated costumes and objects (ibid). Therefore, it is clear how thought these fabricated images, perceptions of reality could be manipulated to match a precedently formed mental imaginary of what the Orient, its life and its society are (ibid).

Sarah Graham-Brown in her work “Images of Women” investigates orientalist photography, focusing on the photographic representations of women from the Middle East and North Africa (especially Egypt and Palestine), starting from 1860 until 1950 (Graham-Brown, 1988). The main objective of the author is to study the relationship between the artificial nature and creation of those images and both the reality they attempt to depict and the persons who decided to create (the photographers) and consume (the observers) them (ibid). In particular, Graham-Brown analyses how these representations were capable of influencing and shaping western perceptions towards

“oriental” women and the whole Orient (ibid). In general, the photographic portrayal of women served to convey certain concepts and symbolism “which have little or no relation to their identity as women or as individuals” (ibid:23). As Graham-Brown states: “proponents of Orientalism, nationalism, “westernisation” and various religious ideologies have all found in women powerful metaphors for their own concerns. Women have often been used, not at their behest, to represent ideas in debates conducted largely by men.” (Graham-Brown, 1988:23). The author argues that photography, especially concerning women’s representation, constitutes an overly influential tool that was capable of “creating and reinforcing [orientalist] mythology” (ibid:74) and “shaping popular conceptions” (ibid:74).

Moreover, it should be noted that the women in the images, Graham-Brown argues, were oftentimes sexually objectified (e.g. photographs portraying “harem” scenes) (Graham-Brown, 1988). In this respect, it is important to underline the unequal relation that emerges between the subject and the photographer in these images (Stefanaki, 2018). The most common ways in which women are pictured are as “either suppressed, forced to be invisible in public spaces by wearing a veil or as a “symbol of sexuality” in exotic harem scenes” (ibid:8). In general, the women captured in the photographs are characterised by passivity and lack of agency and, above all, are represented through the Western “male gaze” of the photographer, as an “omnipresent outsider voyeur” (ibid:8). This dynamic is also ascribable to Laura Mulvey’s theory regarding women objectification and the male gaze (Mulvey, 1989). The feminist film theorist, in her famous essay “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema”, asserts that the “determining male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure. [...] In their traditional exhibitionist role, women are simultaneously looked at and displayed”. (ibid: 808-809) This broad concept of the “image of woman as (passive) raw material for the (active) gaze of man” (ibid:815) can be applied to the major part of artistic media, including photography (Stefanaki, 2018). Mulvey’s theory is focused on the “male gaze” in the cinematographic industry (Mulvey, 1999) but it is also possible to translate this concept into orientalist representation by expanding to the “male orientalist gaze” or “colonial gaze”, which is simultaneously defined by a sense of superiority towards the Others and a lascivious outlook (Alloula, 1986). In this respect, Malek Alloula’s work should be considered (ibid). The author in “The Colonial harem” analyses French

picture postcards, dating back to the period between 1900 and 1930, which pictured Algerian women (ibid). In particular, Alloula underlines how the nature of these portrayals were highly sexualised and linked to a both “exotic” and erotic imaginary (ibid). The author argues that these representation constituted the emblem of the colonial and political French hegemony towards Algerian but they also represented a sign of sexual domination and a powerful tool, capable of propagating Orientalism (erotic) fantasies into western culture (ibid). The Colonial harem delineates how, through this Orientalist gaze, the image of the veiled Algerian woman becomes a cornerstone of colonial ideology (ibid). It should be noted that, following Edward Said’s thought, Alloula analyses Orientalism and its products as a way of consolidating hierarchical power imbalances and not as a mere level of knowledge concerning a different culture or society (ibid). Moreover, it should be noted that this photographic tendency, when heavily focused on sexually and eroticism, mainly falls in what is called “exoticism”. It should be noted that this phenomenon is commonly presented in a presumed “positive” light (Staszak, 2009). In this regard, Staszak asserts that it is “done in a stereotypical, reassuring fashion that serves to confront the Self in its feelings of superiority” (ibid:1).

Furthermore, both Sontag and Graham-Brown have investigated the intersection between orientalist photography and the power imbalance between the Global North and the Global South. In this respect, Sontag asserts that orientalist photography contributes to the consolidation of power relationships between the represented sufferer (the Other) and the compassionate and distant spectator. On one hand, it is fair to argue that such photographs hold the power to draw attention and learn about important global issues, it is however fundamental to ponder the responsibility and the ethical nature that comes with it (Sontag, 2003). In a similar way, Graham-Brown illustrates how orientalist representation of women involves a system of power relations, predominantly between the photographer who produces these “Orientalist fantasies” (Graham-Brown, 1988:4) and the people who are captured in those images (ibid). The author, in agreement with Sontag’s thought, asserts that this way of representing the Other directly promotes an observer/observed dichotomy (ibid). This dynamic, taking into consideration the disproportion in terms of power in favour of the Global North, leads to a hierarchical inclination toward the “Others”, especially when it comes to women

(ibid). Therefore, Graham-Brown argues, each orientalist photography can be considered as the result of a transformational process from a situation characterised by a large power imbalance to a static visual image, which is unable to fully capture the complexity behind it (ibid).

Finally, when debating about the gendered side of Orientalism, the work of Anne McClintock should be discussed. In particular, in her book “Imperial Leather”, the author explores the intersections of the notions of race, class, gender and sexuality when it comes to the British imperial framework during the Victorian era (McClintock, 1995). McClintock analysis of the rise of the phenomenon to the so-called “commodity racism”, whose social nature and ability to reach an overly high number of people, differentiates it from scientific racism (ibid:210). It should be underlined how, at the time, this way of representing and recreating imperial imagery was strictly connected to an idea of domestic space (ibid). This so-called “cult of domesticity” (ibid: 35) represents a central theme of the book. This cult constituted in fact a fundamental value in the socio-cultural identity of British imperialism (ibid). This sacred concept of the home, McClintock explains, revolves around “processes of social metamorphosis and political subjection of which gender is the abiding but not the only dimension.” (ibid:35). In other words, “as domestic space became racialized, colonial space became domesticated” (ibid:36). This relation between the cultural concept of domesticity and imperialism emerges through several visual mediums, namely novels, photography and postcards (ibid). Another fundamental visual tool which played a crucial role in this sense is represented by advertising (ibid). In this respect, McClintock extends her analysis into British advertising in the late nineteenth, particularly for what concerns the promotion of soap and hygiene products. Specifically, the author states that “advertising took the intimate signs of domesticity (children bathing, men shaving, women laced into corsets, [...]) into the public realm, plastering scenes of domesticity on walls, buses, shopfronts and billboards.” (ibid:209). It is important to underline how the images used for advertising purposes commonly recreated “scenes of empire” (ibid:209). A clear colonial symbology can be found in these soap’s ads. For instance, a magazine advertisement for “Pears' Soap” focused on the value of “white man’s cleanliness”, announcing that “Pears' Soap is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances” (ibid:32).

In this sense, mainstream marketing became a powerful tool capable of representing and consolidating colonial imagery and imperial culture in people's everyday life, also by "stamping images of colonial conquest on soap boxes" (ibid:209). Finally, it should also be emphasised how these dynamics do not just belong to the past, as marketing and visual representation in advertising still play a crucial role when it comes to shaping public perceptions, especially when they are directed towards marginalised social categories (Dogra, 2012).

Over this chapter I have firstly framed the broad field of representation through the theories illustrated by Hall and Barthes regarding the production of meanings and the system of myths. I have then addressed the major notions of stereotyping, identity and othering in representation together with an overview of orientalist photography and the intersection between colonial representation and gendering. I outlined how representation and its related phenomenon is capable of creating reconstructions, producing meanings and shaping identities and perceptions toward them. It has thus become clear how these produced reconstructions have the potential to become relevant realities on their own.

In the next chapter, I will analyse how the precedently illustrated concepts and representational dynamics are often translated and adapted into NGOs' shocking communication campaigns. With various degrees of subtlety, in fact, techniques such as the external imposition of strictly formed identities, the visual representation of the us-them divide (i.e. "saviour" vs "victim") and the phenomenon of othering are commonly present and mostly perceived as harmless or even beneficial in shocking charity advertisements. I will also outline the negative consequences of this kind of communication approach and finally the role of brand image and reputation of an NGO in this scenario.

2.3 NGOS AND VISUAL REPRESENTATION IN ADVERTISING

In this chapter I will elaborate on the theme of representing the Other when it comes to NGOs communication campaigns. First, in section 3.1, an overview of what

is meant by “misrepresentation” and “shock advertising” in the non-profit scenario is provided. More specifically, I will outline the visual elements, approaches and techniques that are recurrent when it comes to this kind of advertising and fundraising campaigns, whether on visual and acoustic level. Moreover, I will explore the meanings associated with these representations, by framing them through postcolonial lenses. Secondly, in section 3.2, I will explain why this kind of communication approach constitutes an area of ethical concern and the potential harm it is capable of. Finally, in section 3.3, I will explore the role of brand image, reputation, user engagement level and donations intentions in the nonprofit field and how these elements could suffer from the utilisation of shocking images and trivialised representation as part of the advertising campaign of a non-profit organisation.

2.3.1 REPRESENTATION OF GLOBAL SOUTH IN ADVERTISING

The Global South is characterised by a long history of dehumanising misrepresentation by NGOs operating in its areas (Benthall, 1993). In particular, images and videos used in fundraising and communication campaigns have portrayed a graphic and exploitative imagery of people living in destitute conditions, depicted as vulnerable victims as well as strictly dependent on humanitarian aid (Nathanson, 2013). Even though there have been some changes and improvements as compared to the past decades, this kind of approach is nowadays still largely considered as an adequate tool by a relevant number of non-profit organisations, which continue to utilise this sort of “trivialised representations marked by begging eyes, distended bellies, and starving souls” (Nathanson, 2013:104) as a part of their advertising campaigns. Daniel Bell defines the typical shocking visual contents of aid advertising campaigns and the ethical concerns which these practises involves as following:

“Images that exploit the poor for little more than voyeuristic ends and where people are portrayed as helpless, passive objects. [...] These images portray people as helpless victims, dependent, and unable to take action; they convey a sense that development problems can only be solved by Northern charity. Messages like these can undermine NGOs’ efforts to create a broader understanding of the underlying structures that cause poverty and injustice. They ignore Northern complicity in creating inequality. At the very least these images convey a limited picture of life in Southern countries. At their worst they reinforce racist stereotypes.” (Bell, 2006:23)

When it comes to NGOs' shocking advertising, negative representation is without any doubts deep-rooted and overly persistent (Cohen, 2001). As argued by Cohen, the existence of trivialised representation of the Global South within the development community was already subject of heavy criticism and condemnation in the mid 1970s (ibid). A fundamental role concerning this “crisis of representation” is often attributed to the Western media treatment towards several disastrous events concerning human conditions in the Global South, one of the most well-known is without doubts represented by the devastating Ethiopian famine of 1984 (Dogra, 2012; Manzo, 2006). During that time, an enormous quantity of media content (namely news articles, books, videos, television and radio shows) and numerous large-scale fundraising activities were organised, including huge charity events such as the famous Live Aid and USA for Africa concerts (Vestal, 1985). In this scenario, various important international NGOs (primarily Oxfam) turned themselves into “carriers of materials and cultural knowledge about global poverty” (Dogra, 2012:13). Among many other disastrous events, Ethiopian famine has been portrayed through the use of shocking and overly graphic images of mass starvation and famine victims used as testimonials (ibid). Furthermore, in most of the contents broadcasted in the United States, Ethiopians were mainly portrayed as submissive and agency-less victims while the North Americans were presented as assertive, charitable and responsive to the emergency (Sorenson, 1991). It is significant to note that, according to Sorenson, at the time the gradual steps toward the dramatic peak of Ethiopian condition were already documented, in spite of this “it was only when a crisis had been reached and when truly horrifying scenes of actual starvation were available that the situation was judged newsworthy” (Sorenson, 1991:225). In this regard, a research report produced by Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) investigated the impact of the Live Aid concert. Researchers found out that the stereotypes and obsolete representations negatively influenced the perception of British citizens towards the Global South (VSO, 2006).

Lilie Chouliaraki extensively investigates this phenomenon in her book on the representation and the spectacularization of suffering. The author analyses all the graphic elements that contribute to visually creating othering (Chouliaraki, 2006). In this regard, agency represents an important factor that must be taken into consideration, on two separate levels. Firstly, it is an indicator of the degree of activity of the portrayed

“sufferers” and, secondly, it refers to the ways these subjects enter in contact with the other present actors (ibid:85). As the author states: “these two dimensions of agency come to shape how the spectators themselves are invited to relate to the suffering – that is, if they are supposed to simply watch, feel for or act in a practical way on the ‘other’s misfortune.” (ibid). Moreover, another important element is represented by the space–time of suffering. In particular, it is “responsible for establishing a sense of immediacy for the scene of suffering and regulating the moral distance between spectator and sufferer.” (ibid, 2006:86). For what regards space, the elements that should be analysed are, for instance, the degree of homogeneity or uniqueness of the space. In this regard, the position of the camera (e.g. zooms focusing on children's body or specific body parts), the geographic specification, the linguistic reference and the presence of different spaces (e.g. the headquarter of the organisation in Europe) constitutes crucial elements of space. For what instead concerns the time dimension, it is, for example, important to look at when the portrayed action is taking place (the present, the past or even the future) and focus on how the past is being represented in relation to the present (ibid:87). A more concrete example of visual othering could be illustrated by the “visual medication of the rescue mission” (Chouliaraki, 2006:130). In this case it is possible to observe a clear distinction between the two represented actors, which are, on one hand the “benefactors” (professional crew members but also volunteers or missionaries) and on the other hand the “sufferers”, which are likely to the rescued individuals (ibid).

Furthermore, one of the most common visual elements when it comes to humanitarian organisation’s campaigns is the representation of the African continent as extremely homogeneous (Van Schagen, 2015). Amy Harth refers to this tendency as the “myth of african continuity” (Harth, 2009:14), arguing that it “promotes the idea that Africa is one undifferentiated place” (ibid). This type of representation consolidates the inherent stillness of the African continent on a geographical, cultural, historical and human level (ibid). This myth is strictly linked to the one of the “timeless present” (Harth, 2009:11), which therefore promotes the image of Africa as a timeless place, where it is not possible to observe any actual change nor improvement and, thus, development (ibid). Moreover, the overall image which is usually conveyed, shows factors such as “poverty, conflict, famine, disease, primitive cultures, a backwards

economy and corrupt politics” (Van Schagen, 2015:9) as ineradicable characterises of the entire geographical area. The Global North through this “discursive homogenisation” (Dogra, 2012:16) is capable of erasing “the diversity, complexity and historicity” (ibid) that characterises the Global South. In this regard, it should also be noted that the categories of people displayed or are frequently not presented as a peculiar and individual case which exists in a specific societal system and at a certain historical time. Instead, these categories are pictured as the norm, as a truthful, fair and accurate description of the living conditions of the vast majority of the Global South population (Van Schagen, 2015).

Furthermore, recurrent NGOs fundraising initiatives are based on the so-called “pornography of poverty” (also commonly called “poverty porn”, “poornography” or “pornography of suffering”), which involves different approaches and communication techniques, namely the “Starving baby appeals” and the “Doom and gloom images” (CCIC, 2008:4). The term *poverty porn* began to be more and more used in the early 1980s. More specifically, the author who first popularised the expression was Jorgen Lissner, director of a voluntary aid organisation. In fact, Lissner in a 1981 article wrote that:

“The public display of an African child with a bloated stomach in advertisements is pornographic, because it exposes something in human life that is as delicate and deeply personal as sexuality, that is, 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.” (Lissner, 1981)

In other words, when it comes to this kind of approach, portrayed individuals are “reduced to hollow shells, bloated stomachs, or empty gazes” (Rutherford, 2000:125) or, as exemplified by Bhati, a “carnivals of charity” which “strips the poor of their dignity and essence as humans” (Bhati, 2021:2). In this respect, highly common visual examples of *poornography* are, among many others, half-naked sick individuals, hunger bellies, runny noses, extended hands toward the camera, women with rags on and long lines of people waiting for food distribution and emaciated and crying children crawling through the dirt. Malnutrition, famine and the overall lack of food and clean water represents an extremely habitual topic when it comes to NGOs visual communication (Van der Gaag & Nash, 1987). However, other recurrent themes can be observed. In particular, it is important to notice the predominant negativity that characterises most of the images, in the sense that elements such as lack of progress together with chaos,

primitivism and economic backwardness are quite common (Dogra, 2012). Other negative representations revolve around concepts such as war, riots, violence, brutality, deadly diseases, political corruption and a general, intractable misery (ibid).

Moreover, with a particular focus on children representation, several scholars recognize its disruptive power (Cohen, 2001; Manzo, 2006; Holland, 2008). According to Manzo, the “close-up of a lone child” (Manzo, 2006:10) has become the symbol of a whole continent. In a similar way, Cohen describes the helpless imagery linked to the “starving African child” as a “universal icon of human suffering” (Cohen, 2001:178). In this regard, Holland adds that pictures which portray children are so often utilised also because of their inherent value of dependence, in the sense that childhood is perceived as an “attribute - standing in stark contrast to competent adulthood and in no way challenging adult power.” (Holland, 2008, 36). Furthermore, children are also much more likely to be associated with the concept of “deserving poor” in contraposition to the one of “undeserving poor” (which include other categories of individuals such as immigrants), as illustrated by Redden in her work on global poverty representation (Redden, 2011). As a result, their portrayal will be considered more suitable for what concerns fundraising strategies. This phenomenon can be described as “infantilization of poverty”, which is strictly linked with the one of “feminization of poverty” (Bhati, 2021). This expression refers to the tendency of portraying women and girls much more commonly than men and boys in NGOs visual campaigns (ibid). In fact, besides children and infants, women and girls constitute, without any doubts, another over-represented category (ibid). In particular, the vast majority of these contents represent “images of girls sitting, standing or posing for photos, or women, either sitting or working, as well showing women with grown children.” (Bhati, 2021:3). As Dogra argues, “such images in essence project the women (and children) as a homogeneously powerless group of innocent victims of problems that just happen to be” (Dogra, 2012:40).

As well as visual elements, there are other representation components that must be taken into consideration, such as language and sound. When it comes to shaping external perceptions, language represents an essential element (Hall, 1997). For instance, according to Van Schagen’s discourse analysis of the annual reports of major international aid agencies, the most frequently used word by these organisations is

“poor” or “poverty” (Van Schagen, 2015). Other commonly used words are “community”, “vulnerable” and less recurrently, “marginalised”, “grassroots”, “indigenous” and “civil society” (ibid:80). Another buzzword is “empowerment”, which is frequently associated with the concepts of solutions, change and radical transformation. In this context, empowerment is presented as the opportunity, supplied by aid organisations and their resources, that an impoverished person has to improve his or her living conditions on a socio-economic level and, therefore, his or her degree of independence and self-reliance (ibid).

Moreover, the role of music and sound in NGOs communication strategy is oftentimes underestimated, but it constituted a frequently used tool, in particular when it comes to soundtracks of fundraising videos ads for television or social media platforms, such as YouTube (Cameron et al., 2021). The choice of music and sounds used in promotional contents could have, in fact, a considerable impact since these elements contribute to shaping and framing images and perceptions of Global South living conditions (Lewis et al., 2021). Various researchers investigated the topic, finding out that “music is used to shape emotional responses to NGO appeals and reinforces persistent stereotypes about the global South as sad and frightening and the global North as the source of agency to solve problems of global poverty.” (Cameron et al., 2021:1) and also that music constitutes both a “potentially rich source of information about how ideas about development are manifested and represented, as well as a potentially powerful tool for shaping public perceptions” (Lewis et al., 2021:1397).

In this sense, the musical choice frequently revolves around sadness, fright or pensiveness, in order to trigger a consequential emotional response from ad’s recipients through the choice of both specific songs, the overall music genre but also musical structures elements such as tempo, mode and scale. In this regard, while analysing the thirty most watched NGOs promotional video ads aired in the US, Canada and UK, Cameron and his colleagues found out that the majority of them presented music that suggested sadness or fright to portray the Global South while the individuals representing the Global North (potential donors, organisation’s employee) and the interventions of the organisations were characterised by a soundtrack which evokes happiness (Cameron et al., 2021). Furthermore, other scholars point out how a different methodology concerning visual communications diverges from the precedently

illustrated “sad and helpless” narrative, choosing instead the so-called “deliberate positivism” (Dogra, 2012; Bhati, 202; Chant, 2010). This approach plants its root on a different imagery linked to the Global South and it is, at least to some degree, attributable to the long-standing criticism that “traditional” aid agencies' publicity contents has received over the years (Bhati, 2021). This type of representation, in fact, does not portray passive subjects waiting for external help but active individuals, with a certain degree of self-reliance; in order to “attain greater coherence between the objectives of fundraising and development education and practice” (Dogra, 2012:6). This communicative approach also includes the representation of joyful activities such as smiling, laughing, playing or singing (ibid). For instance, as illustrated by Chant, the role of the “poor helpless woman” has shifted to the one of “rational economic agent” (Chant, 2010:301), a role that empathises the attached individual responsibilities (ibid). In this regard, there was also an important shift in terms of frequently used words and language. Expressions such as “giving to the poor” linked to the concept of “charity” were not used as much; instead “education” and “advocacy” were likely to be associated with the more positive idea of “social justice” (Lidchi, 1999). This change of course was followed by many international humanitarian organisations, which “published focus papers on imagery and adopted codes of practice on representation.” (Dogra, 2012:6). For instance, Oxfam International and War on Want, both British anti-poverty agencies, organised various working groups in order to establish common guidelines for graphic contents; they also held a workshop titled as “visual images of colonised people” in 1984 (Benthall, 1993). Similarly, in 1991, UK based organisation Save the Children financed the publication of guidelines directed at photographers in order to preserve and guarantee the dignity of the subjects in the photos (Bhati, 2021). More recently, the same organisation commissioned and supported another similar project called “the people in the pictures”, which is a research aiming at “understand how contributors and their communities experience and perceive Save the Children’s communications and its image-making process” (Crombie & Warrington, 2017:2). Moreover, focusing on actual advertisement campaigns, there are several examples that could be described as “deliberately positivist” representations. For instance, the 2007 fundraising campaign organised by Oxfam International, called “Oxfam Unwrapped”, had the aim of promoting donations as an alternative to Christmas gifts from friends and family; the

subjects portrayed in the promotional catalogue (mostly women) can be viewed, as argued by Sylvia Chant, not as a powerless “object of development” but as individuals characterised by self-determination, empowering and willingness to participate and hard-work (Chant, 2010). Although, various scholars still consider this representation method often problematic, mostly since “structural inequalities remain the portrayal of people from developed countries versus developing countries.” (Bhati, 2021:3) and they continue to depict global poverty in a way that is considered simplistic and without an appropriate contextualization (ibid).

2.3.2 THE POTENTIAL DANGER OF MISREPRESENTATION IN ADVERTISING

The decision to rely on stereotyped and obsolete imagery while creating a promotional campaign constitutes an “area of ethical concern”. (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002:578). As previously mentioned, stereotyped and degrading representations present a non-negligible inherent danger, given that they are capable of and expand and cement the already existing harmful narrative around global poverty, development and international aid’s role (Cameron et al., 2021). Escobar argues that “certain representations become dominant and shape indelibly the ways in which reality is imagined and acted upon.” (Escobar, 1995:5). In this respect, Dogra similarly asserts that misrepresentation can lead to a perceived sense of knowledge about global poverty, based on a harmful stereotyped narrative (Dogra, 2012). As Linda Alcoff observes in one of her articles about the phenomenology of racial categories and embodiment, “perception represents sedimented contextual knowledge” (Alcoff, 1999:15). Borgerson and Schroeder in their work on the ethical issues concerning global marketing, focused on the potential harm of the misrepresented categories, claim that this sort of visual representations have the power to “damage the reputation of the represented group, and associated group members, and manipulate their being for consumption by others”. (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002:571). Moreover, these perceptions and attitudes which are derived from drastic and systematic visual misrepresentation of the Global South are often weighted as well-established truths (Gordon, 1995). Thompson & Weaver, while focusing on international non-profit organisations, argues that “INGOs, along with the media, are the public’s primary source of information about the majority world”

(Thompson & Weaver, 2014:379). Cameron and colleagues describe how NGOs retain the potential ability to shape recipients' attitudes towards the Global South, especially through the contents chosen for their marketing and fundraising campaigns (Cameron et al., 2021). In other words, "marketing representations have the power to make us believe that we know something of which we have no experience and to influence the experiences we have in the future." (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002:571). For instance, poverty in the Global South and its consequences in terms of living conditions is frequently visually represented involving individuals displayed as passive and with little to no individual agency, as racialized caricatures and the context in which poverty takes place is not made explicit nor explained. This approach presents the potential to undermine both the public perceptions of the issue and the possible development responses to it (Francis & Francis, 2010). Representation of "prefabricated" human categories are recurrently utilised also because they are more easily comprehensible by recipients (ibid). The same visual content can be perceived in various ways by different recipients, the audience is likely to interpret it "within a field broadly determined by cultural meanings and categories." (ibid:578). In this respect, Borgerson describes advertising as a prominent example of a system of representation, which makes full use of stereotypes and common visual elements (Borgerson, 2018). As argued by Robert Goldman, advertisers construct "consumer-goods ads to maximise the likelihood of preferred interpretations. This requires them to over-determine the encoding process as a means of steering viewers in preferred directions" (Goldman, 1992:124).

Moreover, other scholars have pointed out how stereotypical and shocking visual narrative can lead to indifference, unresponsiveness and distancing from social causes for which non-profit organisations campaigns raise funds, such as global poverty. Sontag discusses the current oversaturation of shocking images in media, arguing that this "exploitation of sentiment" (Sontag, 2003:63), linked to sorrow and indignation for instance, often constitutes a profitable path for photographers. The persistence of these images, caused by the constant hunt for the most dramatic image possible, leads to their normalisation and thus to a diminishing shocking effect, as put by Sontag "such images just make us a little less able to feel, to have our conscience pricked" (ibid:81). In this regard, Tsoutsoumpi indicates three main reasons behind this phenomenon. The first element regards the critical view that many recipients present towards the legitimacy of

the campaign, in the sense that aggressive, manipulative and emotional-triggering marketing strategies discourage recipients to deepen in the represented theme (Tsoutsoumpi, 2012). Secondly, this kind of content can lead to doubt about the trustworthiness of a particular aid agency or humanitarian organisations in general (ibid). Finally, as the author illustrates, “the endless number of sufferers, the difficulty of releasing the victims’ situation and the incapacity of these campaigns to offer a more detailed background, appear to make the audience less interested or even immune.” (ibid:25).

Furthermore, various researchers have investigated how representation is capable of giving to recipients a false and misleading sense of knowledge and understanding regarding the represented matter (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2002; Escobar, 1995; Dogra, 2012). In this regard, the concepts of exteriority and re-presence, as elucidated by postcolonial scholar Edward Said, play a crucial role. Said argues that “Orientalism is premised upon exteriority, that is, on the fact that the Orientalist, poet or scholar, makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West” (Said, 1978:21) and that representation is the “principal product” of it (ibid:21); adding that “in any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a re-presence, or a representation” (ibid:21). Therefore, according to Said’s theory, Orientalism presupposes that the Orient necessitates to be represented, both on a political and linguistic level, by the West since it would be incapable of representing itself (Said, 1978). In this concern, narratives which revolve around the Global South and related issues are shaped externally from the actual subjects, in the sense these discourses rely on exteriority to what they represent. Therefore, Western perceptions of the communities in which aid agencies operate are oftentimes not based on what are the actual living conditions and overall situation of the Global South is, in particular of the african continent but; as stated by Chabal, this perspective “has been the product of its own imagination rather than [...] what actually happens on the continent” (Chabal, 1996: 36). If we consider representation as a product of exteriority then what clearly emerges is the absence of the portrayed subjects through the representation process. As elucidated by Foucault in relation to this “essential void” (Foucault, 1970:18) of representation, “the necessary disappearance of that which is its foundation – of the person it resembles and the person

in whose eyes it is only a resemblance.” (ibid:18). The author also argues that for representation it is only possible to be presented in “its pure form” (ibid) when it is liberated by its hindering dynamics.

On a brighter side, as suggested by Rideout, since non-profit organisations are capable of helping propagate alternative portrayals of the Global South, they can “contribute to the production of new discourses within the field of development.” (Rideout, 2011:25). Therefore, as clearly illustrated by Dogra, “messages should not be about ‘othering’ but about ‘joining’, and creating common reflexive spaces that make another knowledge possible” (Dogra, 2012:194).

2.3.3 SHOCKING CHARITY ADVERTISING AND ITS EFFECTS ON BRANDING AND RECIPIENT’S RESPONSE

In a landscape which is becoming increasingly crowded and therefore competitive as the third sector (Huang & Ku, 2016; Albouy, 2017), non-profit organisations have progressively adopted communication strategies and marketing techniques that were firstly applied in the for-profit sector, following a tendency that could be defined as the “commercialisation of the [non-profit] sector” (Stride & Lee, 2007:108). The importance of branding and building a strong and positive reputation (both online and offline) around the organisation has been acknowledged, leading to specific efforts directed to improve these aspects (ibid). In order to better exemplify the role of branding and reputation when it comes to non-profit organisation, the concepts of brand image and reputation should be illustrated. Keller defines the notion of brand image as a “set of associations linked to the brand that consumers hold in memory” (Keller, 1993:2). Other scholars describe this concept as the “knowledge, feelings and beliefs people have about an organisation, and through which they know, describe, remember, and relate to that organisation.” (Huang & Ku, 2016). While the concept of brand reputation, as illustrated by Carpenter and Krause, can be elucidated as the “a set of beliefs about an organisation’s capacities, intentions, history, and mission that are embedded in a network of multiple audiences” (Carpenter & Krause, 2012:26). Nowadays, the role of branding in the third sector is without doubt relevant and hence the potential of branding operations have been acknowledged and hence the building

process of a strong and clear brand and reputation have gotten more and more attention. (Stride & Lee, 2007; Mitchell & Stroup, 2017). For instance, the presence of a positive brand image, in fact, allows the organisation to beneficially influence the brand equity and the consumer behaviour (Keller, 1993). Furthermore, Mirzaei and colleagues assert that given the fact that many for-profit organisations are associating their image to a certain social cause also in order to straighten their relations with stakeholders and building a “competitive advantage”, (Mirzaei et al., 2021:186) non-profit organisations should follow a similar communicative path, since they are already strictly connected with a worthy cause (ibid). In other words, non-profit organisations “have societal purposes encoded in their DNA that can be clearly communicated to attract a wider and younger generation of donors, talent, and contributors which is a main challenge for NPOs.” (ibid:186). Moreover, it should be noted how, although the process of differentiation from other organisations remains the primary goal to achieve, nowadays the material elements of branding (namely the logo and name) do not bear as much importance as in the past (Stride & Lee, 2007). Other aspects of branding are considered to be the most valuable, especially in terms of differentiation, which are the more intangible ones: brand identity and emotional benefits (ibid). The presence of a well-defined and positively perceived brand image has proven to constitute an essential element when it comes to the differentiating process from other non-profit organisations (de Chernatony, 2010). Therefore, branding has become an essential tool also when it comes to non-profit organisations, especially if they operate on an international level (Kylander & Stone, 2011). Rodrigues argues that brand image represents “the most valuable asset of a nonprofit organisation” (Rodrigues et al, 2015:100) and it can be considered as “essential for the survival of most international NGOs.” (ibid:100) Moreover, brand reputation represents a focal element for what concerns the “construction of NGO authority and to patterns of collaboration” (Mitchell & Stroup, 2017:397). Brand image and reputations also both constitute key factors for what concerns the creation and the maintaining of strong relationships with individuals who engage with the organisation, especially donors and potential ones (Kylander & Stone, 2011). Leslie de Chernatony asserts that brands are capable of achieving better output when they present an “homogeneous brand identity, with congruent identity components” (de Chernatony, 2010:15). The concept of brand image differs from the on

reputations, although it is possible to outline a link between these two notions. In fact, a non-profit organisation could be characterised by a positive reputation but, at the same time, its brand image can be perceived in a negative light, for instance as a “low impact, old-fashioned or otherwise inappropriate image.” (Bennett & Gabriel, 2003:277). The power of reputation should also not be underestimated for what concerns public visibility. (Mitchell & Stroup, 2017). Although visibility is also linked to other structural elements such as “size, capacity, and global reach” (ibid:402), good reputational frame is positively associated with the capacity of “influence state practises, the rules of international organisations, the values of the general public, and the tone of media coverage” (ibid:402). Peasley and colleagues argue that the roles of prestige and identification represent critical factors, able to have a relevant impact on the “relationship between a nonprofit organisation and its supporters.” (Peasley et al., 2018), adding that these factors are also capable of influencing “organisational identification” (ibid:266) together with the “behavioural implications of such a relationship.” (ibid:266). Finally, several scholars have investigated how brand image and brand reputation can positively influence consumers’ purchase intentions (Huang & Ku, 2016; Panda & Kapoor, 2016). In a similar way, brand image constitutes a high value factor also for what regards the capacity of collecting donations in the third sector, in fact, as illustrated by Rodrigues and his colleagues, “the more favourable the brand image is, the greater may be the number of donations obtained.” (Rodrigues et al, 2015:98).

Although there are several different view on what shock advertising is and in what it consists (Parry et al., 2013), in relation to the nonprofit sector, it could be defined as a marketing technique which has the goal to “surprise an audience by deliberately violating norms for societal values and personal ideals to capture the attention of a target audience.” (Dahl et al., 2003:269). This definition is quite broad and includes visual representation that ranges from disgusting images (e.g. diseases, blood or death references) to vulgarity and violence (ibid). As previously mentioned, shock advertising represents a common strategy adopted by non-profit organisations (West & Sargeant, 2004; Parry et al., 2013). Various scholars have investigated how shock charity advertising is capable of damaging the brand image of the organisation (Andersson et al., 2004; Cammaerts & Anstead, 2012; Funke & Olofsson, 2019). First

of all, Andersson and colleagues have investigated the relation between shock advertising and brand image (Andersson et al., 2004). In particular, the researchers have found out how visual representations in adverts that are perceived as “too shocking” by recipients are capable of influencing their opinion toward the organisation and, therefore, its brand image, both for-profit or non-profit (ibid). According to Funke and Olofsson, factors such as saturation of shock advertising in recent years has led NGOs to increase the quantity and intensity of shocking elements in order to keep obtaining consumer’s attention (Funke & Olofsson, 2019). This tendency risks generating a negative evaluation towards the brand image if the visual elements shown in the advertising are too extreme (ibid). In a similar way, Klara argues that the controversial nature of shock advertising (and hence its capacity to actually shock the recipients) has been waning; this is primarily due to its recurrent and redundant use in the last decades (Klara, 2012). Moreover, while specifically focusing on Generation Z, van Eeden has analysed how young individuals relate to shock advertising, finding out that the ads that followed this technique were evaluated in an overly negative manner and were also capable of influencing the perceptions the participants have on the relative brand (van Eeden, 2019).

Allred and Amos, while specifically focusing on NGOs fundraising marketing activities, have analysed the use of “disgust imagery in children’s causes” (Allred & Amos, 2018:120) and its impact. In particular, the scholars have studied how this visual imagery is capable of evoking negative feelings and attitudes in the audience toward both the images displayed and organisation behind them (ibid). Although marketing studies have proved that negative appeal can also be used as a potentially beneficial tool (Morales et al., 2011), the employment of fear, disgust and overall shock appeals in social fundraising context (e.g. representation of children being abused or having clearly visible diseases) is mainly associated with negative responses, including “strong and immediate avoidance reaction” (Allred & Amos, 2018:123). The researchers also assert that the ambiguous reasons behind the choice of displaying this kind of graphic images play a relevant role in decreasing their effectiveness among the advert’s audience (ibid). In this respect, West and Sargeant (2004) argue that the showing approach to advertising represents a risky choice for non-profit organisations, given the fact that their financial resources are mainly caused by private donations and public funds (West & Sargeant,

2004). Ein-Gar and Levontin illustrate how, if a communication campaign has the goal of incentivising the completion of a certain behaviour (such as the action of making a donation after being exposed to fundraising advertising), then the use of the so-called shocking appeal could represent a counterproductive choice (Ein-Gar & Levontin, 2013). In particular, a visual representation which evokes negative elements and emotions, in particular disgust, is likely to lead recipients into avoidance, and not action (ibid). This phenomenon is considered to be primarily linked to the feeling of discomfort that characterises the exposure to such representations and images. (ibid) Leshner and colleagues argue that disgust as a reaction to shocking advertising is highly probable to lead to a condition of “aversive motivational system” in recipients, which normally translates into a defensive state and a decrease in terms of allocated cognitive resources (Leshner et al., 2011). In this respect, Allred and Amos define this response to disgust in advertising as a process of “suspension of activity” (Allred & Amos, 2018:123). It should be underlined how this process is likely to negatively impact the primary objective of the campaign, which commonly consist in donation collecting and the promotion of the activities carried out by the NGO (ibid). Similarly, West and Sargeant assert that charitable giving campaigns which promote visual representation associated with disgust are also capable of evoking a sense of angst in the audience, with similar results in terms of effectiveness and outcomes of the promotional campaign (West & Sargeant, 2004). As a consequence of the previously discussed over saturation of shocking images in NGOs campaigns, another increasingly common response is boredom and overall lack of interest (Srivastava, 2021). Moreover, it should be noted how, in a similar way, Cammaerts and Anstead argue that distantiation and unresponsiveness constitute recurrent reactions also when it comes to racial stereotypes-based charity adverts (Cammaerts & Anstead, 2012). More specifically, the researchers have defined the main causes of this phenomenon as “the perceived manipulated intent of the text, the distrust towards aid organisations as the senders of the message and the repetitive and stereotyped nature of the representations of the sufferers.” (ibid:31). Finally, focusing on the fear appeals, Allred and Amos illustrate how “high levels of fear can trigger emotions such as guilt, shame, confusion, disgust, sadness and anger that can hamper the effectiveness of the message” (Allred & Amos, 2018:123). In a similar way, Albouy investigates the role of empathy and negative

emotions evoked by the use of shocking charity advertising (Albouy, 2017). The author focuses on “fear, guilt, sadness and shock” (ibid: 6), which are associated with “self-protection and inward-looking behaviour, which make individuals more likely to remain inactive than to respond to the appeal.” (ibid:6).

In this last theoretical chapter, I have discussed the theme of visual representation (and misrepresentation) in NGOs, outlining the frames of what shock advertising means when it comes to fundraising charity advertising. Moreover, I have illustrated the limits of this approach together with its consequences. I first focused on the represented categories, including how the Global South is perceived by the “viewers”; then I have also explored the potential effect shock advertising can have on important elements for an organisation: brand image, reputation and the response of advert’s recipients.

The previous literature review had the purpose to provide the theoretical basis and analytical tools indispensable in order to carry out this research work. In fact, through the post-colonial lenses shaped in the first chapter, I will be able to discuss the visual contents of Save the Children from a postcolonial perspective. The knowledge regarding the nature of stereotypes and othering together with the comprehension of the macro-trends and techniques in terms of visual representation in the nonprofit world were essential in order to investigate the essence, role and outputs of Save the Children’s current advertising.

A mixed approaches methodology will be adopted with the aim of better analysing these elements, these methods will be explained in the next chapter.

3 - METHODOLOGY

As previously illustrated, the research question this dissertation aims to answer is “how does the shocking element in Save the Children’s advertising affect the audience's feelings and perceptions?”

In order to better understand, on one hand, how Save the Children’s advertising approach may promote a “us versus them” dichotomy and thus the precedently illustrated phenomenon of othering and, on the other hand, how the organisation’s ads are received and evaluated by the viewers, a mix-methods approach has been implemented. In particular, both a Critical Discourse Analysis and a survey have been employed. More specifically, the survey has been employed in order to test the first three hypotheses (which are, HP1: “The shocking ad will lead to a more negative response in terms of message credibility, attitudes and feelings than the non-shocking ad will.”; HP2: “The shocking ad will encourage a lower intention of user engagement than the non-shocking ad will.”; HP3: “The shocking ad will encourage a lower intention of donation to the organisation than the non-shocking ad will.”), while Critical Discourse Analysis has been used for the forth one (HP4: Save the Children’s advertising promotes a “Us versus Them” dichotomy.)

Since mixed methodology “involves the use of both approaches in tandem so that the overall strength of the study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative research” (Creswell, 2014: 4), its employment particularly fits with the aim of this dissertation. In fact, on one hand Critical Discourse Analysis allows me to focus on power relationship, cultural phenomenon and interpretation of the construction of the (more or less implicit) discourse behind a certain kind of advertising. I particularly chose to use CDA as a method since it “aims to help the analyst understand the social problems that are mediated by mainstream ideology and power relationships, all perpetuated by the use of written texts in our daily [...] lives.” (Mogashoa, 2014:106). In this sense, above all methods, CDA specifically focuses on power and in-group imbalance, which are central themes in post.colonial theory, as better illustrated in the first chapter of the literature review. On the other hand a quantitative tool such as the survey is capable of assessing more precisely how the sample responded to Save the

Children's advertising, in terms of perceptions and future donations and engagement intentions.

To better clarify the employment of both methods, I will first start by delineating the role of critical discourse analysis in this dissertation, the sampling strategy implemented to construct the collection of materials used for the analysis and the different techniques involved. Afterwards, I will illustrate the role of the survey, its design, the variables analysed and the participants' profiles.

3.1 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SAVE THE CHILDREN'S ADVERTISING

In order to complete a comprehensive critical discourse analysis (CDA) of Save the Children's advertising, I have decided to follow a hybrid model which combines Teun Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model and Theo Van Leeuwen's model of "representation of social action, social actors and the timings and spatial locations of social practices" (Van Leeuwen, 2008:2).

Van Dijk's model considers discourse analysis on an ideological level, more specifically, in his own words, he argues that "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies" (van Dijk, 1999:17). According to van Dijk, a crucial element is social cognition, which can be defined as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members" (ibid:18). It is important to underline how the author believes that these mental representations "are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms" (ibid: 22). This concept is without doubts a central theme in this dissertation and its application can bring meaningful results. The main goal of this discourse analysis is, in fact, to make this "Us versus Them" dichotomy explicit; a concept that represents a central theme in many van Dijk's works, other than his focus on the representation of minorities and "ethnic" categories (van Dijk, 1988; van Dijk, 1991; van Dijk, 1999). More specifically, I have decided to conduct a linguistic analysis of the textual elements of Save the Children's advertising

by combining different techniques theorised by the author. In particular, the analysis of the syntactic structure and lexical items chosen, macrostructures, which “embody most important information of a discourse, and explain overall coherence of text and talk” (Van Dijk, 1980:102), semantic strategies and implied meanings. For what concerns the visual part of advertising (photographs and videos), I have decided to combine the previously explained text-based approach with visual analysis, using the theories and strategies collected by Van Leeuwen, which also include the dynamic of “us” and “them” division. (Van Leeuwen, 2008:100)

In order to better structure this analysis, I will observe Van Dijk’s discourse analysis structure, articulated as following (van Dijk, 1998:61-63):

- Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political or social background of a conflict and its main participants;
- Analysing groups, power relations and conflicts involved;
- Identifying positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them;
- Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to emphasise polarised group opinions.

Overall, this Critical Discourse Analysis aims at test the following hypothesis:

HP4: Save the Children’s advertising promotes a “Us versus Them” dichotomy.

3.2 CDA SAMPLING STRATEGY

In order to conduct a discourse analysis of Save the Children advertising and communication strategies, I have decided to analyse nine sources: both the UK and the international donations web pages as of 2022, the latest annual report, three recent video adverts, latest twenty Instagram posts, three informational videos and two articles.

The latest reports published by the organisation with a particular focus on the letter of the director were chosen in order to consider a document which is able to give an overview of the goals, projects and activities of Save the Children, in fact, as argued by Roca, “the letters of the director are the most important and meaningful part of the annual reports, since they reflect predominant symbols, identities and representations in the organisation.” (Roca, 2015:433)

Social media was also taken into account given their importance in nowadays digital communication. In order to facilitate the selection of consistent contents to analyse, some criteria were established. In particular, since Save the Children manage several accounts on different social media platforms that are specific country-based (e.g. Save the Children US, Save the Children Spain and so on), I have decided to just focus on Save the Children UK. The reason behind this choice is that Save the Children is a British organisation and the accounts dedicated to the UK should then better represent their approach. Furthermore, the language plays an important factor too since all the contents will already be in English and will not need any translation that could alter the original and intended meaning of the content. Save the Children UK has an account on the following social media as in June 2022: Instagram, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. The first three platforms share the majority of the contents, in the sense that most of the contents that are posted on Instagram are also posted on Facebook and Twitter on the same day, while YouTube is used in order to post longer videos, vlogs or Television ads. For this reason, I have decided to analyse YouTube videos separately from the other platforms. I will then focus on Instagram for what concerns the other kind of content posted, since it is the social platform used by Save the Children which is characterised by a higher posting frequency compared to the other social media.

In order to select a collection of representative contents, I have created a set of parameters that every content must satisfy. More specifically, every post needs to be sufficiently recent (uploaded after January 2022), it should present a combination of visual and textual elements and it should focus on Save the Children work in Africa or the Middle East, this point is important since these two areas

Furthermore, it should not be just a promotional message (e.g. “Every child needs good education” Instagram post), but rather a message directly associated with Save the Children’s work and/or aiming to encourage a certain action in the user (e.g. donate, participate in some particular activity).

Altogether, this heterogeneous collection of 30 units of analysis should be able to provide a representative overview of the advertising approach put in place by Save the Children and their current representation of the communities which their projects and work activities focus on. More specifically, the sources from which the content were selected are: Save the Children’s websites (both International and British), Social

media (Instagram, Youtube), official reports and dossiers, television spots, promotional videos published online on various platforms (Youtube, Vimeo), articles, interviews, newsletter and special editorial visual projects. In order to illustrate the sample in a more clear and linear way, I have decided to present a brief description for each one of all the materials collected in appendix B, these descriptions are not provided here for reasons of length and clarity. In appendix B, I will first present the visual figures (banners, pictures, social media posts and so on), afterwards I will present the videographic contents (TV spots, youtube videos) and finally the contents that are entirely textual (articles) or a mix between visual and textual (Visual projects “Stories”). Figures are indicated with “Fig” (e.g. Fig.1), videos are instead named as “Vid” (e.g. Vid.1), while all the other materials are titled as “Mat” (e.g Mat.1). For what concerns videographic contents, the transcripts are also consultable in Appendix A.

3.3 SURVEY

In order to assess the perceptions, feelings and general evaluation of Save the Children’s advertising by the audience, I have decided to distribute and analyse a survey.

More specifically, the aim of this survey is to observe the audience’s perceptions with regard to two different real ads published by the organisation and then confront the differences, if present, between the first ad, which does not present “shocking” or potentially disturbing elements and the second one, that instead could be perceived as more graphic and shocking. The survey was created via the web based software Qualtrics, which was primarily chosen for its user-friendly interface, the possibility to have a mobile-friendly version of the survey and the analyses tool it offers.

The specific variables used to define the “audience’s perceptions” are the following: message credibility of the ad, the general attitudes of the audience, their feelings, the user engagement intentions and the donation intentions. Message credibility was included since how much a certain ad is considered to be “accurate, authentic, and believable” (van Doorn et al., 2010: 59) is proven to have a relevant importance, in the non-profit field, since “credibility gained through visual representations was found to engender intended participation in the non-profit

organisation.” (Kensicki, 2016:140) Moreover, the measuring of the general attitude of the audience aims at assessing the overall point of view regarding the adverts. This item was included in order to measure the overall insights regarding the ads. Furthermore, the variable “feeling towards the advertising” was also taken into account in order to analyse the different emotional experiences of the participants while observing the adverts. Finally, both donations intentions (the willingness to donate to Save the Children after being exposed to the ad) and user engagement intention (the willingness to engage online with the organisation, e.g. be willing to write a positive online review) were included with the aim of evaluate the role of “shocking elements” in advertising would affect participants' willingness to donate and engage with Save the Children.

For what concerns the stimuli materials, as previously anticipated, two Save the Children’s adverts were selected. The first one displays a non graphic image, while the second one can be perceived as more graphic and “shocking”. For each image different scales were used in order to assess several elements, as we will see in the next section. Images were purposely chosen to be similar for what concerns advertising layout, colours, size of the image, length of text and so on. In this way, in fact, results could be considered more comparable and not biased. More specifically, both the images used in the survey were extracted from Save the Children's official international website, they both are part of a “Donate Now!” web page. The non-shocking advert (Fig.18) displays a close up of a young girl, smiling and wearing a school uniform; other girls are also present in the image, in the background, talking. The photo has probably been taken in a school lobby. The caption associated with the picture is “Education - every child deserves the opportunity to learn.” On the other hand, the picture chosen as the more shocking advert (Fig.19) displays a newborn, visibly malnourished (hollow-cheeked, very skinny). In the picture, someone (who is not visible, only their hands compared in the photo) is feeding the child a cup of milk. The child is also crying, a tear is visible close to one of his eyes. In the picture a text saying “Stop the global hunger crisis.” is also visible. On the left, a “donation table” is placed, with “Please donate to our emergency fund” as the head caption. Finally, several options of possible donations are displayed (15, 35 or 85 pounds). The adver also let the viewer know that “35£ could pay for a goat for a family in Somalia”.

All the items were all analysed through a 5-point likert scale, (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree). In most of the questions, participants were required to rate their level of agreement concerning a sequence of sentences; in these cases the asked question was “In regard to Save the Children, from 1 to 5 (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree), how much do you agree with the following statements?”. In the other cases, the focus was shifted to opinion thereupon the perceived characteristics of the ad, in this instance, participants were instead asked “From 1 to 5 (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree), to what extent do you think the ad has the following characteristics?”

Furthermore, it should also underline how for both the ads, three open-box questions were asked to participants concerning their level of comfortability with the image they were observing. Moreover, the non-shocking picture was shown before, in order to not manipulate participant's answers in the second part of the survey. For each image, the exact questions were asked, in the same order. The variables involved in the survey and its overall structure will be presented more in depth in the next section.

3.4 SURVEY'S DESIGN AND SCALES

The survey was structured as follows. In the first part, a privacy agreement is included, informing the participants that their involvement in this study is voluntary and all the data collected through the survey “will be kept confidential and will be used solely for the study.” Then, various demographic data were collected, namely age (clustered as following, 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55 or >55), gender (male, female, prefer no to say or other), educational qualification (Diploma, Bachelor's degree, Master's degree, Doctorate or other), nationality (in this case participants were required to fill in an open box), nature of employment (employed, self-employed, unemployed, retired or student) and, finally, average monthly income in euro (1000€-2499€, 2500€-4000€ or >4000€).

After this first section, the first non-shocking picture, as described in the precedent section, is presented. Then, the first variable is addressed, which is the credibility of the message promoted. The item “message credibility” was measured through an adapted scale by Appelman and Sundar (2016), which takes into consideration three elements: quality, measures of expertise and measures of fairness.

The final 8 items scale used in the surveys tested the following sub-items: comprehensive, detailed, transparent (quality); will have an impact, professional (measures of expertise); not biased, objective, representative (measures of fairness). This scale was used in order to assess a potential difference in terms of credibility between a graphic and non-graphic image. The answers were collected through a 5-Point Likert Scale, as in “From 1 to 5 (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree), to what extent do you think the ad has the following characteristics?”.

Secondly, the item “general attitude toward the ad” was measured. In this case, an adapted scale which was part of an experimental model specifically created in order to assess “consumer response to charity appeals” (Basil et al., 2008:1). The scale presented 4 items, which were: pleasant, credible, unlikeable and non-credible. Also in this case, a 5-Point Likert Scale was used.

Furthermore, the feelings of the audience toward the advertising was measured. Through this adapted 5 points scale (Albouy, 2017), it has been possible to measure, on a more emotional level, the perceptions of survey’s participants. In particular, the scale is developed around three different feelings, which are fear, guilt and sadness. The participants were asked to state how much they agreed with a list of statements, namely “While watching the ad I felt afraid”, “While watching the ad I felt guilty”, “While watching the ad I felt blameworthy”, “While watching the ad I felt sad”, “While watching the ad I felt disgusted”.

After this first section, the participants were asked “Have you felt uncomfortable while watching the ad?”, with only a yes/no possible answer. Afterwards, two open-box questions were placed, one related to the previous question (“If yes, Could you describe more in depth why you did not feel comfortable?”) and the other was instead requesting to describe the ad in their own words.

In the second section of the survey, user engagement intentions and donation intentions, as anticipated, were addressed. User engagement was measured with the use of exploratory scale based on the concept of “CEB: customer engagement behaviour” by van Doorn et al (2010). Also in this case, participants were required to state their agreement with a list of statements, in this case the scale was composed of three items. In particular, the participants were asked to indicate, after having seen the ad, how much they were “willing to recommend this organisation to my friends and/or family”; “illing

to write a positive online review concerning this organisation (e.g. social media post/story, google review, article)” and “willing to engage with the organisation on social media (e.g. start following the organisation, repost its contents, like its posts)”.

Lastly, donation intentions were measured with the employ of another scale which is part of the experimental model for charity marketing developed by Basil, Ridgway, and Basil (2008). The scale is composed of four statements, which investigate the level of willingness to donate after having seen the ad by survey respondents. The items included in the scale are the following: “I am intending to make a donation to this organisation in the near future”; “I do not have the intention to donate to this organisation.”; “The chance that I will donate to this organisation is very small.” and “I am willing to make important donation-related decisions based on this advertising.”.

3.5 PARTICIPANTS

Survey’s participants were recruited via different channels. The majority of participants were found on various online platforms dedicated to research surveys distribution for academic purposes, such as Cloud Research and Survey Swap. In total, the survey collected 180 responses, however only 144 responses (n=144) were actually analysed, since the remaining participants did not complete the survey entirely.

Other than being above the age of 18, no particular limitation (nor in terms of age, nor for what concerns nationality) has been put in place for participants' recruitment. I have decided to not implement a particular demographic target, in order to catch, if present, potential differences in advertising’ perceptions between different clusters of participants.

I will now delineate the characteristics of the participants, in order to better clarify how the survey’s sample is distributed. For what concerns the participant's age, it was reported that 36.47% of the respondents were in the age range of 18 to 25 years. 23.53% of the respondents were between 26 to 35 years old, while 26.47% of the respondents were between 36 to 45 years old. Finally, 7.65% of the participants were between 46 and 55 years old and the 5.88% were instead represented by participants above the age of 56. Moreover, the majority of the sample is represented by women, in fact, 61.18% of people who completed the questionnaire were women, 37.06% were

male, 1.76% of the sample preferred not to disclose this data while completing the survey. Regarding educational qualification, it was recorded that 16.47% of participants held a high school diploma, 35.29% a Bachelor's degree, 32.35% a Master's degree and 12.94% a Doctorate, while 2.94% of respondents indicated "other" as answer. Moreover, it should be noted how the most frequent nationalities among participants were the following: Italy, Portugal, Spain, UK, France and Germany. Moreover, the majority of respondents were employed (36.47%) and students (33.53%). A relevant part of the sample was self-employed (20%), while a minor part was unemployed (6.47%) and retired (3.53%). Finally, a preponderant quota of the sample also received a monthly income salary between 1000€ and 2499€ (47.06%), 32.35% of the sample received a salary up to 999€, 17.65% between 2500€ and 4000€, and 2.94% of the participants over 4000€.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Survey data were collected on Qualtrics and then exported on SPSS Statistics. In order to test the three hypotheses, two kinds of analyses were carried out. The hypothesis this survey aimed at testing are the following:

HP1: "The shocking ad will lead to a more negative response in terms of message credibility, attitudes and feelings than the non-shocking ad will."

HP2: "The shocking ad will encourage a lower intention of user engagement than the non-shocking ad will."

HP3: "The shocking ad will encourage a lower intention of donation to the organisation than the non-shocking ad will."

For what concerns the first hypothesis, the items of message credibility, attitudes and feelings were analysed independently, as dependent variables. For all the three hypotheses, a regression analysis has been performed in order to test the impact of the shocking stimuli on the participants' inclination towards the advertising. Regression analysis, in fact, is a statistical tool which is capable of measure the relation between a dependent variable and one (or more) independent one, or in other words this analysis "describes how the typical value of the dependent variable changes when any one of the

independent variables increases or decreases, while holding the other independent variables constant.” (Solo, 2012:1) In order to demonstrate that the regression model is valid for the study, Analysis Of Variance (ANOVA) was performed. ANOVA is a statistical test that is useful to “understand how different groups respond, with a null hypothesis for the test that the means of the different groups are equal.” (Qualtrics, 2022:1) Regarding hypothesis two and three, a Paired Samples t Test has also been performed, in order to “compare the means of two measurements taken from the same individual, object, or related units”. (Kent State University, 2022:1)

4 - CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

4.1 HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED

As previously mentioned, other than the more general advertising of Save the Children, I have focused on the famine-based campaigns in Yemen and East Africa, two of the most sponsored projects of the organisation. Both Yemen and East Africa present a complex background in terms of social, historical and political history. Yemen used to be part of the British Empire, in particular between 1937 and 1963 the territory at the time known as “Colony of Aden” was situated in the present area of South Yemen. Currently, Yemen is experiencing a violent conflict, which the United Nations has defined as the “largest humanitarian crisis in the world” (United Nations, 2018:1) and started in 2015, when it also became a prominent project for Save the Children. For what instead concerns East Africa, which area includes nineteen countries, it is appropriate to just focus on the specific countries involved in the campaign, which are Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia. However, oftentimes the country was not specified and the territorial area was just described as “East Africa”. First of all, in the 19th century Somalia became first colonised in 1884 by the British Empire and then also by Italy, a few years later, in 1889 (Kluijver, 2021). Somalia then achieved independence in 1960 (ibid). However, a military coup followed the assassination of the president Shermarke in 1969 and in 1977 civil war started, because of collective discontent of the population under the military regime (ibid). Kenya’s historical background is also based on colonisation, in particular the country has experienced the coercive arrival of different settlers (Carotenuto & Shadle, 2012). At first, Kenya was dominated by the Arab ones, then in 1498 this regime was challenged by Portuguese settlers and during the 19th century, Kenya became part of the large-scale expansion of the British empire (ibid). The state of independent country was achieved in 1960. (ibid) Currently, Kenya thanks to some economic and political adjustment has seen some significant improvements, in fact “from 2015 to 2019, Kenya’s economy achieved broad-based growth averaging 4.7% per year, significantly reducing poverty.” (The World Bank, 2022:1). Ethiopia, on the other hand, was never formally colonised and has “entered the twentieth century as a formally independent country, having defeated an Italian invasion attempt” (Marzagora, 2022:2). Currently, the country is confronting an internal violent conflict, started in

2020 and concentrated in the northern area of the country, the so-called regional state of Tigray. Finally, also Malawi presents a colonial historical background, the country was in fact first colonised in 1891, under the British Protectorate (Pottie et al., 2002).

The focal point here is to take into consideration the fact that the countries implicated in these advertising campaigns present a socio-political background that can be similar in some aspects but differ from each other for many others. Some are characterised by a long history of foreign domination and a tumultuous road for independence, together with a contemporary challenging socio-political condition. Others have a less dreadful historical past, but are experiencing a challenging contemporary situation.

An important aspect that should be considered is the fact that although not every country has an identical past nor the same present, the representation of these different countries, as we will analyse in depth in the following paragraphs, does not differ in relevant ways from each other. This first aspect is primarily linked to the phenomenon of “myth of african continuity” (Harth, 2009:14), which we previously elicited in chapter 3.

4.2 THE CONCEPT OF POWER AMONG GROUPS AND US VERSUS THEM NARRATIVE.

Across the collection of materials selected for this analysis, it arises a strong narrative that put the donors (“us”) and the people represented or described in the materials (“them”) on opposite sides, reinforcing in this way the “us vs them” narrative, that has been previously addressed and explained.

In order to articulate this idea, I will start by addressing the concept of power. Starting from the website donation banners (Fig. 1 and Fig.3), the images focus in fact on the donor's power, “Donate now to save lives” and “Together we power possible.” In the first banner (Fig. 1) the viewer is also informed that he or she could, with a donation of 7£, “supply 40 sachets of food paste to severely malnourished children every month”. It is possible to see how a small gesture (e.g. make a 7£ donation) is associated with a powerful action, such as saving the lives of several children. This *modus operandi* is also present in the so-called “stories approach”, which is a type of advert that focuses on a particular child, family or mother and, through their personal stories, promotes the

organisation. The story of Emmanuel and Delian (Fig. 2) is one of these and is also a valuable example that concerns the concept of power. As many other stories that will be later presented, this one is structured as follows: presentation of the difficulties which the subjects are going through or have overcome, description of the activities put in place by the organisation and demonstration of the current and more positive situation. In this case, the two brothers were “struggling to breathe”, as a result of pneumonia, they were then taken to the hospital and started getting better. The concept of power is visible when the reader understands that “your donation could help more children like these explore who they can be”. Finally, the already introduced slogan is repeated, “Together we power possible. Donate now.” This approach is indeed popular and recurrent also on social media. The picture posted on Instagram dated June 10 focuses on how hunger is affecting children in Somalia. The final catchphrase is the following “If we act now, we can save millions of children’s lives.” The implicit power relationships involved in this kind of communication also occur in other media. The television ad titled as “Yemen: for just \$10, you can help save a child's life” is emblematic of this conception. As said before, the power is put in the hand of the potential or current donor, who becomes capable of saving someone else’s life. Sentences included in the advert such as “every 10 minutes a child dies that could have been saved” and “your help could provide life-saving food” exemplify this concept, on one side there is a group of fragile people in a crisis situation and on the other side there is an audience of potential donors and, thus, according to this narrative, potential saviours of those lives. This approach is also present in the promotional television video “Fatima’s Story”, which starts with a voiceover saying that “When Fatima arrived at the hospital, she was too weak to even stand.” An urgent and serious situation is pictured, then the solution capable of healing it is addressed to the potential hero, capable of rescuing the child in the ad, in other words: the donor. In fact, after picturing Fatima in a much more positive light, the ad continues to say that “with urgent treatment and nutritious food, this is Fatima just a few days later. [...] That’s what your three pounds today could do.” In this regard, Karin Woodley, Chief Executive in another charity organisation, debated with Save the Children this issue last year during a conference regarding fundraising in the nonprofit field. More specifically, Woodley argued how the advertising which is based on how much things the organisation can buy with your

small donation (e.g. “5£ Could supply 30 sachets of food paste to severely malnourished children every month”), represents a dangerous narrative since it implies that systemic issues could be fixed in an easy and fast way by donating a small amount of money (Cooney, 2021).

In this context, it should be considered how this power relationship also involves the organisation itself, in fact if this saviour-victim dichotomy does not directly focus on donors (e.g. “donate now to save lives”), instead puts the accent on how Save the Children is the ultimate saviour. More specifically, it is possible to delineate how if the principal positive subject of the display is not the potential donor, then oftentimes this role is taken by the organisation or its employees. The July monthly newsletter (Fig. 9) of Save the Children concentrates on Mark, a worker for the organisation, and his experience with a “malnourished child”, in particular the relevant text of the email is the following: “I was trained to identify a malnourished child”, Mark says, [...] “I immediately recognise the colours that indicate the severity of malnutrition.” When he met Lawrence, above, the little boy was half the size of a healthy child his age. His 12-year-old brother Leolida was worried. And he was right to be.

Another example is the Instagram post of 15/04/2022 (Fig.7); in the associated caption it is possible to read that “We helped his mum learn about the importance of breastfeeding, hygiene and nutrition which has made a huge difference to Joseph’s health, he’s now gone from underweight to above average.” Moreover, the promotional video “How is UK aid supporting families in Malawi” also focuses on helping the development of a small community situated in Malawi, also in this case after a description of the past situation before the intervention of the organisation, (“In this community most children were unhealthy and malnourished. Because of storage of food, we were failing to give our children enough to eat every day.”), the video explains how Save the Children has implemented different projects which have the aim of improving these living conditions. In this regard, a member of the community explains how “life nowadays is full of activities. And when we were offered training we learned that we can cultivate crops twice a year. Giving food to kids every day has encouraged them not to stay at home. Because they know that if they go to school they are going to get food.” A voiceover of the video also explains to the viewer that “the project showed parents how to provide nutritious food at home, helping them to expand the range of

crops they grow and use new recipes.” Moreover, in another video about the consequences of drought (vid. 8), it is said by a project beneficiary that “We are happy to receive this food, no one else has given us as much.”

As we can notice, the emphasis is often put on the act of save or rescue, in a way that excludes the overall level of complexity of the conditions of a certain community. It should also be underlined how this communicative style brings together two different elements. On one hand, there is the incompetence and/or powerlessness facing extremely problematic situations (e.g. famine, drought, natural calamities) and on the other one there is the active help of the organisation. This recurrent dichotomy is strictly linked to the idea of dependency and continuous need of reliance, which was also illustrated in the first theoretical part of this dissertation. More in depth, we can say that this concept of “helping the others” is at times placed in a dimension of equal partnership, dialogue and integration in the communities in which the organisation implements its projects, however a heavy narrative that contrapose on one hand the saviour (as previously mentioned, the organisation, in a more direct way, or the donors) and on the other one passive individuals, depicted as dependent on help and incapable of manage their own resources and skills, is still very common to find. More specifically, this approach is observable in 8 of the 30 materials considered for this analysis (26%), the majority of them present a first part of the content (as in the first part of a video, article or report) a certain crisis situation associated with the incapability to overcome it in an independent way, while the second segment is generally dedicated to how Save the Children is instead capable to provide the help they need and will not be able to access otherwise. Finally, concerning these issues, Save the Children has joined the conversation more than one time, during the 2021 Third Sector's Fundraising Conference, for instance, Gemma Sherrington, for Save the Children's executive director of Fundraising and Marketing, stated that the organisation has, as many other similar international aid agencies, “othering in its DNA” (Cooney, 2021:1), since there is one group of people that transfer funds to another group of people, in a different country.

Finally, the role of gender together with the role of childhood held a relevant importance when it comes to non-profit organisation advertising. In fact, it is observable how the contents display women and children much more often than men or elderly

people. Women can be represented alone, in a group composed by other women, and often taking care of her child or multiple children. On the other hand, children are commonly pictured also alone or in a group with other children, being fed or medicated, sleeping and sometimes playing. Other recurring characters in these representations are also employees of Save the Children and, above all, “you”, which is the donor or potential donor and the final audience of the advertising content. This last point is going to be better explored in the third section of this analysis.

For what instead concerns materials which involve at least one visual representation, women compare in 75% of the contents, mostly alone with their children or taking care of their home. When instead comes to children, as understandable, Save the Children retains a particular focus on infantile issues and thus pictures children oftentimes in its visual communication, however over-representation should be taken into consideration also in this case, since it representant a relevant factor in precedently illustrated phenomena such as infantilization of poverty. In particular, at least one child features 100% of the contents. Furthermore, men are only present in 14% of the cases, and half of the times in the role of a physician. Finally, Save the Children workers appear in 21% of the contents, this data includes both local workers and corporate workers.

In this regard, the 2020 Save the Children annual report is quite emblematic. The official document, in fact, includes 30 pictures. Adult mens compare in 4 of them (13%), it should also be underlined how one of these photos displays corporate employees of the organisation, while the other three includes Western Save the Children workers. On the other hand, women appear in 43% of the report’s pictures, while children in 73%. Women and children are displayed together in 25% of the cases. This tendency can be explained through the previously illustrated work of Graham-Brown (1988) and Mulvey (1989), as the over-representation of women (with or without their children), is ascribable to women objectification and the male gaze which is present in visual representation characterised by colonial legacies, in this context Graham-Brown also offers an interesting take, expliciting the power imbalance between the photographer behind the so-called “Orientalist fantasies” and the women who are captured in those representations.

4.3 IDENTIFYING POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE OPINIONS ABOUT US VERSUS THEM.

In this scenario, the power relationships between different groups should be analysed taking into consideration the positive or negative light in which represented individuals or groups of people are depicted, especially when it comes to visual contents and representations. In fact, as argued by Dogra (2012) and Staszak (2009) and discussed in the second chapter, visual representation represents a key element when it comes to othering and power imbalance between social categories. More specifically, if the “others” are visually displayed in a constant negative light and solely associated with negative characteristics and elements, such as poverty, hunger, diseases, death and so on, the “them” or “others” group, in this sense, becomes “defined by its faults, devalued and susceptible to discrimination” (Staszak, 2009:1).

Contemporary representations of the Global South touch a variety of subjects. However, a topic of central importance in the collected materials and overall of the content distributed by Save the Children, is without doubt poverty, understood as lack of resources, especially food. In fact, the central and general theme of poverty is translated in an assortment of sub-themes, such as, as anticipated, hunger and malnutrition, lack of clean and available water and education together with the absence of an adequate level of healthcare and hygiene which leads to the presence and spread of different diseases. With a closer look to the materials collection, we can for instance observe that in the “Yemen: for just \$10, you can help save a child's life” video (vid n.1), children’s death caused by malnutrition represents the central topic. This idea is generally expressed by the employ of images of extremely skinny children with black stares and sad facial expressions. Similarly, in the video “the realities of Ramadan in Yemen this year” (vid.1), we can observe how the principal subject of the video is a malnourished newborn and how the context around her focuses entirely on poverty and, in this case, hunger. In the video “Displaced by Drought, a Family in Somalia Struggles to Survive” (vid.8), a similar pattern is observable. Sentences such as “I won’t lie to you, it has been almost a month since we cooked food with vegetables, because we can’t afford it.” or “If there isn’t anything to cook you will go hungry.” delivers a message of clear poverty and severe hunger. Other elements include dirty and/or ripped clothes, dirty skin, visible

diseases and so on. This concept is particularly clear observing the “Donate now!” page on the UK website, (Fig. 2) which shows two subjects (two young boys) wearing visibly ripped and dirty clothes while being surrounded and covered by dirt. The banner also focuses on the children’s breathing disease. Similarly, in a video concerning East Africa (vid.7), it is possible to observe analogous characteristics, including several clothes with holes in it, ripped and dirty as well as children covered in mud and similar representations. These features contribute to consolidating the “bad light” in which many subjects are put in this type of visual content. In total, 12 analysed contents (40%) presented at least one aspect among the one precedently listed.

Another important regard that should be considered is the one concerning the emotional aspect of these representations. The binary dichotomy of extreme sadness - happiness is, in fact, overly common when it comes to Save the Children’s contents. More specifically, emotions such as sadness (in the forms of helplessness or even desperation), anger (mostly in the form of frustration) or worriedness are often used as visual tools, useful in order to depict the perceived gravity of a certain situation, community or transversal issue (e.g. infantile hunger). On the other hand, representations of happiness, joy and peacefulness characterise those situations in which the organisation has put effort in, such as the “after” of a certain project or the healing of a sick child.

More in depth, for what just concerns social media posts and pictures associated with other content (articles, newsletter), out of 14 contents, 6 recurred to an emotional appeal focused on sadness, 2 showed representations of happiness, while 4 were more neutral and did not show a particular and clearly recognizable emotion. However, it should be noted that when the content presents more than one photo, is it more common to find both representations of happiness and sadness at the same time, on the other hand there are no “neutral” pictures in this context. More accurately, this is the case of the so-called “stories”, namely online articles which focus on a particular story, in our case they are titled as “Catching Alices” and “Fatima’s story”. For what instead concerns videos (as in youtube videos, Instagram reels and television advertising), 5 can be classified under the “sadness appeal”, while 4 present both appeal. In the second case, the videos all present the same succession. At first a difficult situation is presented, while toward the end happiness and joy starts to appear as the initially crucial

situation presented starts to heal after the intervention of Save the Children. The duration of the two different appeals vary but it is observable that a larger part of the content focuses on the sad approach.

In this scenario, an insightful example is represented by the picture contained in the July newsletter, which could be described as a crying child being measured in order to assess his level of malnourishment. In fact, a particular element involved in the photo that stands out is the fact that the child has visibly cried, in the sense that he has tears in his face together with a miserable facial expression. This picture in particular expresses clear sadness, which can also be found in many other analysed contents. For instance, the picture the organisation posted on Instagram on 08/07/2022 displays a mother with her child, sleeping in her hands. Also in this case, an aspect of this representation which leaps out is the sadness on her face, manifested by the displaying of the common “symptoms” of crying (bloodshot eyes, runny nose, facial redness and puffiness).

This emotional appeal is however commonly used also in the other sense. As precedently anticipated, in fact, representations of happiness and joyful behaviour and/or situations are often also displayed. It should be underlined how this strategy is especially implemented for what concerns videographic contents, such as Youtube videos, short videos posted on social media or television spots, since it allows to show the spectator a view of a certain situation or issue before the involvement of Save the Children and the detectable improvements after it. For instance, this is the case of “The realities of Ramadan in Yemen this year”, which displays at the end of the video, with a “7 months after” on-screen text, the same children (together with their parents) presented in the first part of the film are not malnourished or in a “life threatening condition” anymore. There is no display of them crying or expressing negative emotions whatsoever, instead they are evidently happy, as their parents, everyone is laughing and much more calmer than before. Another comprehensive example is represented by the latest television advert by Save the Children, titled as “Fatima’s Story”. In fact, although the first representation of Fatima, a 2 years old girl, is quite negative (malnourished, in critical conditions and so on) then her portrayal quickly becomes much more positive. More specifically, the following scenes pictures Fatima busy in different activities, all with a clear positive connotation. As in, first of all, eating, playing with her mother as well as with other children, exploring the nature surrounding the community. Positive

elements in this representation also include smiling, talking with joyfulness, and acting in an active and playful way.

Finally, when it comes to visual elements, the “setting” involved in a certain content should not be ignored. In fact, as remarked by Van Schagen, the choice of a certain location as the setting of a promotional picture or video “demarcates the possible representations of a certain reality” (Van Schagen, 2015:74), adding that, however, “contemporary development images of Africa are almost invariably situated in rural Africa.” (ibid:74) Even though not all Save the Children portray are Africa based, a common element among the vast majority of these visual representations is the fact that are, in fact, placed in a rural, mostly poor setting. The most frequent setting representations are: tented camp, crumbling hospital rooms, classrooms or houses, dirty, dusty environment, ruins and debris and above all rural environment. In this scenario, the concept of “rural” can be translated as “farmers fields, dirt roads, remote little villages, small-scale farms, and inconveniently far away situated elementary schools, clinics and dirty water wells, [...], parched earth, ramshackle huts and polluted water.” (Van Schagen, 2015:74) Among the materials collection involved in this analysis, out of the 27 contents (as in the ones including at least one visual representation) 13 included at least one of the previously illustrated elements, for most of the cases there was a combination of two or more elements together. The most common merge concerns the “rural area” factors and the presence of a tented camp. More specifically, the former appears 7 times while the latter 8 in total. Whereas, hospital rooms in an inhabitable state occur 3 times, schools 5 times and finally ruins and debris 3 times. Finally, a last kind of recurrent setting is the “wild nature” one. More specifically, a smaller part of materials presents, at least partially, communities as surrounded by a natural location, such as forests. This is the case 2 of the analysed images and videos.

Some comprehensive examples of this technique concerning the setting of a certain representation are as follows. For instance, the settings for the “Yemen: for just \$10, you can help save a child's life” video (Vid n.1) can be summarised as follows: a medical setting and a remote setting. The first one is exemplified with the representation of clinics, rooms with many babies inside and a doctor who is working with them), medical professionals working around the hospital, children visibly emaciated being cured and fed. The latter, instead, is illustrated with dirty roads, a small village

constructed with tents, mugged fields, ruins and children playing in a dirt environment. Similarly, one of the website banners from the “Donate Now!” page (Fig.2) shows two children with ripped and dirty clothes, “standing outside their tent”. The Instagram post of 08/07/2022 (Fig.11), features a crying mother with her children sitting outside, in a tent camp. The surrounding environment is quite rural. The picture included in the newsletter of July is also set in a rural area, with a tent on the left in the background. The video “Displaced by Drought, a Family in Somalia Struggles to Survive” (vid.8), is another example of the representation of this type of setting. The first location presented in a dry farm field, then, the viewer is brought into a tent, when a more domestic atmosphere is created, helped by the use of cooking tools and the simple activity of eating. In fact, another kind of location, as anticipated, is the domestic setting, which is also introduced in the video “the realities of Ramadan in Yemen this year”. (vid.2) In this case, in fact, the content takes place inside a house. Since the video focuses on a particular family, the camera follows the two parents and their newborn who suffer from hunger inside it. The house is crumbling, very small, and dark. Once again, the chosen setting clearly expresses the lack of different kinds of resources.

4.2.4 EXAMINING ALL FORMAL STRUCTURE: LEXICAL CHOICE AND SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE, IN A WAY THAT HELPS TO EMPHASISE POLARISED GROUP OPINIONS

Although visual representation retains a relevant importance, the syntactic structure of a certain content together with the particular words chosen to deliver a message should be considered. In fact, the use of particular words held the power to highlight imbalances between groups, characterised with positivity and power in one category while depicting the other one as with negativity as well as passivity and, in other words, consolidate and promote the “us versus them” narrative.

As anticipated, the use of “you” or “we” should be considered. Starting from the 2020 annual report, and in particular from the following citation, extracted from the opening letter of the report by Kevin Watkins, Save the Children’s Chief Executive. In particular, Watkins states that: “Save the Children is often told that its aims are impossible – that there has always been child suffering and there always will be. We

know. It's impossible only if we make it so. It's impossible only if we refuse to attempt it." This sentence starts delineating how it is a common path for the organisation's communicative approach to create a category that resolve the issue ("you" as a donor, "we", as Save the Children or "we" as our organisation with your help, depending on the case) and another group, characterised by total dependency to the first one.

More in depth, if we take a look at the video transcripts we can observe a few examples of this dynamic. For instance, in one video (Vid.1) the audience will hear that "for just ten dollars a month, you can help save a child's life." or that "your gift can provide the life-saving food and urgent health care they need to survive." (Vid.1) Similarly in "Fatima's story video", it is said that "With your help, this is how families all over the world are transforming their land and their lives with different types of seeds and new farming practices, this is what your three pounds a day can do." (Vid.4) or "Because of donations like yours, baby Teresa is now safe at home but thousands of other children are at risk." (Vid.5) A slightly different way in which the "you" approach is implemented is through statements such as "By the time you've watched this video someone is likely to have died of hunger in drought-ravaged East Africa." (Fig.12) The "we" approach is more common when used in sentences such as "Save the Children is on the ground helping save babies and mothers, but we need your help." (Vid.1) or "I fear for how many children's lives we'll be (as Save the Children) losing in Yemen this year." (Vid.1) similar to "we are losing mothers, we are losing babies." (Vid.5) As said before, this kind of statement tends to minimise the level of complexity of a certain issue and draw a rigid line between the "helper" and the assisted one.

Moreover, in this scenario, adjectives play an important role too. In particular, adjectives which indicate a state of vulnerability and/or weakness are in fact oftentimes used in order to describe children, women, a general situation or territory. In the "Babies and Mothers: Teresa" video, the viewer will learn that "for only 10 dollars a month, just 33 cents a day, you can help fragile children survive.", while oftentimes describing children in dangerous conditions sentences such as "he was very weak, couldn't move", similar to "When Fatima arrived at the hospital, she was too weak to even stand." This kind of adjectives are employed as well when describing a certain geographical area, typically the one in which the promoted project is being implemented. In Fig. 5, for instance, Somalia is labelled as "one of the world's most vulnerable places".

Furthermore, another recurrent lexical choice consists in describing the physical state of the represented children with adjectives such as “malnourished”, as in “The realities of conflict have left baby Arwa severely malnourished.” (Vid.2) or as in “Honestly, our life is very difficult. My daughter is malnourished.” (Vid.3) Various synonyms of the word are also frequently used, one above all is “starving” or “starved”. For example as in “This Ramadan one in every two children are starving.” (Vid.2)

Furthermore, lexical choice concerning death or potential death should be taken into consideration. The previously illustrated dichotomy of the “happy face” versus “sad face” can also be implemented with the opposite concepts of life and death. In fact, among the materials collection is common to find references to death or life-treating elements, commonly associated with a specific issue that the organisation aims at resolving. Video lines such as “Around the world, one million babies don’t survive their first day.” (Vid.5) or article’s titles such as “Vital treatment for twins Emmanuel and Delian.” are good examples of this idea.

This kind of lexical choices can be considered as an conceptual expression similar to the one symbolised by the “sad face”, which instead is mostly implemented through a visual representation. In this sense, they both express a severe condition of distress that can be (more or less easily) changed into an “happy face” or, in our non-visual case, “life”. In this scenario, the concept “life” is what emerges from a successful medical treatment or a certain amount of food delivered to a family.

Moreover, I would like to focus on a particular text, namely the transcript of the video, “How is UK aid supporting families in Malawi” (Vid.7), in order to better comprehend the importance of both lexical choice and syntactic structure in this context. The video starts with the following sentence “In this community most children were unhealthy and malnourished. Because of the scarcity of food, we were failing to give our children enough to eat every day.” In the first part, as previously noted, specific adjectives which indicate a state of negativity and distress are used, as in “unhealthy” and “malnourished”. Moreover, in this case, the word “community” designates a concept linked to rurality, which is also deducible by the visual images associated with the text. It should be noted that no specific geographical indications are given other than this community is based in Malawi, in southeastern Africa. In the second part of the sentence, a second already seen concept appears: the one associated

with dependence and incapability; this is particularly explicit by the employ of the verb “failing”. This kind of framing falls into the saviour narrative. In the same video transcript (Vid.7) also other examples of this narrative are present, in “The project also showed parents how to provide nutritious food at home, helping them to expand the range of crops they grow and use new recipes.” and in “Before NEEP (which is the name of the promoted project), I can say that Lela was malnourished, because I didn’t know how to prepare a variety of food for the children.” In these cases it is observable how what prevails among other elements is, on one hand the inadequacy to reach certain aims of the subjects displayed in the video and, on the other hand, the willingness to teach the same subject the necessary realated “know-how”.

5 - SURVEY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, I will illustrate the findings related to the test of each of the first three hypothesis, starting from the following:

HP1: “The shocking ad will lead to a more negative response in terms of message credibility, attitudes and feelings than the non-shocking ad will.”

As anticipated in the methodology chapter, regression analysis has been implemented in order to test the impact of the shocking ad on the customer’s inclination by means of credibility, attitude and feelings toward non-shocking and shocking advertising.

5.1 MESSAGE CREDIBILITY, GENERAL ATTITUDES AND FEELINGS

5.1.1 MESSAGE CREDIBILITY

Model	Variables entered	Variables removed	Method
1	adshock		Enter

Table 1: variables entered and removed

- a. Dependent variable: message credibility
- b. All requested variables entered

In view of the Regression analysis, the first table indicates the variables entered and removed. The analysis showed that no variables have been removed from the study and the independent variable added was “adshock”. Enter method was used in the regression command.

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the estimate
1	.140 ^a	.020	.333	9.57110

Table 2: Model Summary

- a. Predictors: (Constant), shockad

As observable in the table, the value of R square is 14% which means that 14% variance is explained in the model. The adjusted R square on the other hand stated that

33% change is predicted by the independent variable on the dependent variable.

ANOVA^a

Model	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	260.402	1	260.402	2.843	.004
Residual	13008.035	142	91.606		
Total	13268.438	143			

Table 3: ANOVA

- a. Dependent variable: message credibility
- b. Predictors: (Constant), shockad

The ANOVA analysis stated that the mean and F value are close to 1 and the corresponding sig value is less than 0.05. This demonstrated that the regression model is valid for the study.

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	15.499	2.445		6.339	.000
shockad	2.711	1.608	.740	1.686	.004

Table 4: Coefficients of Determination

- a. Dependent variable: message credibility

The previous table indicates the association between the shocking advert and message credibility. The value of beta stated that 74% change is expected on the credibility factor due to the shocking ad. This means that the shocking ad is expected to bring 74% negative inclination towards the organisation. The sig value in the table above was noted to be .004 which indicates that the hypothesis is acceptable, since it demonstrates that there is a significant impact of the shocking ad towards in terms of the promotional message credibility by participants. The hypothesis is accepted in the study

by drawing the conclusion that the shocking ad will lead to a more negative inclination toward the advertising in terms of message credibility.

5.1.2 GENERAL ATTITUDES

The second variable that has been tested is general attitudes.

Variables Entered/Removed^a

Model	Variables Entered	Variables removed	Method
1	shockad		Enter

Table 5: Variables Entered/Removed^a

- a. Dependent variable: Attitude
- b. All requested variables entered

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.028 ^a	.001	.606	2.27709

Table 6: Model Summary

- a. Predictors: (Constant), shockad

The “Model Summary” table indicates that the value of R square is 60% which means that 60% variance is explained in the model. The adjusted R square, on the other hand, stated that 60% change is predicted by the independent variable on the dependent variable.

ANOVA^a

Model	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	.599	1	.599	.115	.001
Residual	746.662	144	5.185		
Total	747.260	145			

Table 7: ANOVA

- a. Dependent variable: attitude
- b. Predictors: (Constant), shockad

The ANOVA analysis stated that the mean and F value are close to 1 and the corresponding sig value is less than 0.05. This demonstrated that the regression model is valid for the study

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	11.322	.576		19.644	.000
shockad	.129	.380	-.628	-3.40	.001

Table 8: Coefficients of Determination

a. Dependent variable: attitudes

The coefficient of determination table stated the association between the ad shock and attitudes. The value of beta (-.628) stated that 68% negative change is expected on the attitude factor towards the advertising. This means that the shocking ad is expected to bring 68% negative inclination towards the organisation. The sig value in the table above was noted to be .001 which states that we accept the alternative hypothesis, since it indicates that there is a significant impact of shocking ads towards the attitudes of advertising's viewers. The hypothesis is accepted in the study by drawing the conclusion that the shocking ad will lead to a more negative inclination toward the organisation in terms of attitude factor. This means that consumer attitude towards the organisation is negative if it promotes shocking ads.

5.1.3 FEELINGS

The third variable which has been tested is "feelings".

Variables Entered/Removed^a

Model	Variables Entered	Variables removed	Method
1	shockad		Enter

Table 9: Variables Entered/Removed

- a. Dependent variable: feelings
- b. All requested variables entered

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.090 ^a	.008	.301	6.55390

Table 10: Model Summary

- b. Predictors: (Constant), shockad

The previous table stated that the value of R square is 30%, this data indicates that 30% variance is explained in the model. The adjusted R square on the other hand stated that 30% change is predicted by the independent variable on the dependent variable.

ANOVA^a

Model	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	49.955	1	49.995	1.164	.000
Residual	6185.320	144	42.954		
Total	6235.315	145			

Table 11: ANOVA

- a. Dependent variable: feelings
- b. Predictors: (Constant), shockad

The ANOVA analysis stated that the mean and F value are close to 1 and the corresponding sig value is less than 0.05. This demonstrated that the regression model is valid for the study.

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		

1	(Constant)	18.760	1.659		11.309	.000
	shockad	-1.181	1.095	-7.90	-1.079	.000

Table 12: Coefficients of Determination

a. Dependent variable: attitudes

In the coefficient of determination table it is observable that the beta value is reported to be -.790. This data delineates the presence of an inverse relation among the shocking ad and consumer feeling. This means that the exposure to shocking ads will negatively impact the viewer's feelings. The sig value in the table above stated that we accept the alternative hypothesis by drawing the statement that the shocking ad will lead to a more negative inclination in terms of feelings.

5.2 USER ENGAGEMENT INTENTIONS

In order to test the second hypothesis (HP2: “The shocking ad will encourage a lower intention of user engagement than the non-shocking ad will.”), a regression analysis has been performed also in this case.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.028 ^a	.508	.563	3.78666

Table 13: Model Summary

a. Predictors: (Constant), shockad

In the previous Model Summary table it is observable that the value of R square is 14% which means that 14% variance is explained in the model; the adjusted R square indicates that 33% change is predicted by the independent variable on the dependent variable.

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			
1	(Constant)	6.631	.969		6.841	.000
	shockad	.209	.639		.575	.327

Table 14: Coefficients

a. Dependent variable: user engagement intentions

For what concerns the impact of the shocking factor in advertising on participants' intentions to engage with Save the Children, the beta value showed that the shocking ad will lead to lower the intentions in terms of engagement in the organisation as compared to the non-shocking advert. The sig value reported that we accept the hypothesis by stating that there is a significant impact of shocking ads on the lower engagement of participants.

Paired Sample Test

The Paired Samples t Test is a parametric test which has the aim to “determine whether there is statistical evidence that the mean difference between paired observations is significantly different from zero.” (Kent State University, 2022:1) This test was used for the comparis of the two groups in which the research focus on.

Paired sample statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Shocking ad	3.97	144	.999	.083
	Non shocking ad	2.15	144	1.324	.110

Table 15: Paired sample statistics

The above table represents the mean and standard deviation of the shocking and non shocking ad. The table denotes that the mean value for shocking ad is noted to be 3.97 while for non-shocking ad, it was reported to be 2.15. For the standard deviation, it was reported to be .999 for shocking ad and 1.324 for non shocking ad. The mean value has been reported to be less deviated from the sample data.

Paired Sample Correlation

		N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair 1	Shocking ad and Non shocking ad	144	.007	.001

Table 16: Paired sample correlation

The paired test correlation delineates hypothesis rejection or acceptance of the study. The measurement criteria are that the P value must be less the significance level (0.05). The above table stated that the sig value is less than P value. Therefore, the data showed that we can accept the null hypothesis, confirming that the non-shocking ad would encourage more participants to engage with Save the Children, in comparison to the shocking ad.

Paired Sample Test

	Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	Mean	Std.	Std. Error	95% CI of the D*					
				Lower	Upper				
Pair 1	Shocking ad and Non shocking ad	1.813	1.664	.139	1.538	2.087	13.071	143	.000

Table 17: Paired sample test

*95% Confidence Interval of the Difference

The above table illustrates the paired sample test, in particular it estimates the mean differences. The positive value indicates that the population mean difference is positive among the two study subjects. Moreover, the confidence interval indicates that the actual population difference between the shocking and non-shocking ad was noted to be between 1.538 and 2.087. The positive values reflect that the shocking ad has a lower mean than the non-shocking ad. The high mean value showed that the non-shocking ads are more valuable in terms of user engagement intentions when compared to the shocking ad.

5.3 DONATION INTENTIONS

For what concerns the third hypothesis (HP3: “The shocking ad will encourage a lower intention of donation to the organisation than the non-shocking ad will.”), regression analysis has been performed to see whether the shocking element in advertising is capable of impacting the donation intentions of the participants as compared to non – shocking ads. The details concerning the performed regression analysis are observable below in table 18.

Variables Entered/Removed^a

Model	Variables Entered	Variables removed	Method
1	shockad		Enter

Table 18: Variables Entered/Removed

- a. Dependent variable: donation intentions
- b. All requested variables entered

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.151 ^a	.023	.616	2.89995

Table 19: Model Summary

- a. Predictors: (Constant), shockad

The model summary table indicates that the value of R square is 61%, this data shows that 62% variance is explained in the model, while the adjusted R square indicates that 61% change is predicted by the independent variable on the dependent variable.

ANOVA^a

Model	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	27.686	1	27.686	3.292	.002
Residual	1185.768	141	8.410		

Total	1213.455	142			
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Table 20: ANOVA

- a. Dependent variable: message credibility
- b. Predictors: (Constant), shockad

The ANOVA analysis stated that the mean and F value are close to 1 and the corresponding sig value is less than 0.05. This demonstrated that the regression model is valid for the study.

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.		
	B	Std. Error	Beta				
1	(Constant)	13.727	.742		18.494	.000	
	shockad	-.888	.489		-.151	-1.814	.002

Table 21: Coefficients of Determination

The coefficient table shows that the beta value is -.151. The value indicates the presence of an inverse relation among the variables. In particular, it shows that 15% negative change will occur on the participant's intentions to donate to Save the Children by the shocking ad. It is observable how the more shocking ads would result in less willingness of participants to donate to the organisation. The sig value indicates that we accept the null hypothesis by stating that there is a significant and negative impact of shocking ads on lower intention of customers to donate to Save the Children.

5.5 DISCUSSION

This research attempted to investigate the impact of shocking charity advertising on the viewer when considering their perceptions of the credibility of the message, their attitudes and feelings, as well as their motivations to donate to Save the Children and engage with the organisation. Furthermore, it attempted to analyse more in depth the current advertising approach of Save the Children, specifically from the point of view of the “us versus them” dichotomy.

The surveys' findings describe the perceptions of the participants in regards to shock advertising are generally more negative than the ones related to the non-shocking one. More specifically, the second ad which has been considered as more biased and less appealing, similarly it was observed that consumers did not find the shocking ad as pleasant, favourable and comprehensive. It was noticed how there is a significant impact of the shocking element in advertising in participant's perceptions towards the ad in terms of message credibility, general attitudes and feeling. Participants were not as comfortable when observing the shocking, they perceived as not as credible and likeable as compared to the non-shocking ad.

Moreover, the findings reported that the shocking ad negatively impacts the potential inclination of participants to become donors. A similar pattern is also observable for what concerns user engagement intentions, in fact the presence of a shocking element in advertising seems to lower the willingness of participants to engage with the organisation.

Answers to open box's questions were also collected and analysed. As previously explained, for both the ads included in the survey, two open questions were asked. In particular, participants were asked "If [you felt uncomfortable while observing the ad], could you describe more in depth why you did not feel comfortable?", afterwards "How would you describe the image?" was also asked. Regarding the non-shocking ads, most participants did feel comfortable enough with the ad. Although some of them expressed discomfort, which mainly revolved around the absence of their involvement with the organisation or the cause the ad was promoting. For instance, some of the answers to the question "Could you describe more in depth why you did not feel comfortable?" were "for not having had greater involvement in organisations like this."; "That this is still an issue, especially considering it's an advanced economy"; "Not feeling in a position to be able to support or help people"; "It made me feel sad that not everyone has access to the same services and that the covid has only worsened this situation". Other responses were more focused on the donations aspect of the advertising, as in "Felt guilty to not donate so much" or "It mentions a problem, but does not really say what Save the Children will do about it with the donations". When participants were then asked to describe the first image, most responses focus on the fact that the girl in the foreground seems happy, as in "A girl happy to learn"; "Smiling

girls being happy about her education”; It shows hope with the child smiling at the perspective of a better future.”; “The image is of a girl smiling, so it radiates happiness. She’s happy to have the opportunity to be able to study.” and “This is a positive image, with smiling young girls. They are wearing a uniform , therefore they are attending school and they are happy there.” Other answers were instead more focused on the emotional aspect of the ad, the following adjectives were the most used in responses: “friendly, trustworthy, nice, pleasant, effective, happy, positive, clear, neutral, innocent, genuine, hopeful, joyful”. Other responses expressed some doubt regarding the composition of the image, as in “contrasting to what the text says” and “[...] it plays into the expectation of what a disadvantaged child might look or come from.”

For what concerns the second image, the one with the shocking element, the responses to the first question were mainly related to the aspect of the child and the overall situation displayed. “The clear sadness and fear in the child's face is not nice to look at.”; “I feel like I am crossing a private line”; “The picture is dehumanising”; “Too graphic”; “This is due to the way the child is portrayed” were some of the responses collected. Some participants also appuntd that the image for them represented an “abuse of vulnerability” and the image would “reinforce the association between being black and being poor.” Moreover, the theme of donations was very present also in this second case, however the participants' tones were more assertive and presented a higher level of discomfort. For instance, some answers were “It looks like a fake ad because it focuses too much on asking for a donation”; “Because I feel like this ad tries to manipulate me”; “I don't like the way they suggested the amount.” and “They are purposely choosing a malnourished baby for the purpose of gathering donations. I feel tricked in donating”. When asked to describe the image, participants mainly focused on the physical state of the child, the theme of food and hunger and their relative emotions, as in “a very skinny and hungry child eating”; “Starving and sad child”; “There is a baby who is so skinny that I think it would be hard for him to survive”; “A somewhat emaciated child being fed milk”, “poor”. “Always shocking”, “A black child is fed by white hands”; “It's heartwarming to see that a little boy is getting the food he needs, but it depicts the stereotypical idea of a black boy that is starving.”, “racist”, “intended to create guilt, but no information regarding the specific intentions of the organisation”.

Critical Discourse Analysis, as seen before, was divided into three sections. In

the first one the concept of power among groups in relation to the Us versus Them narrative emerged, in the sense several elements were highlighted across the advertising materials collected, such as the notion of the donor's power which is articulated inside the so-called the saviour-victim dichotomy, moreover the concept of saving or rescuing the others was underlined, linked to the simplification of complex situations, together with the consolidation of the idea that local individuals are not capable to resolve certain issues or manage their own resources independently. Afterwards, the phenomena of feminisation and infantilization of poverty have been addressed.

Furthermore, the positive and negative characterizations about “Us” and “Them”, in particular for what concerns the central and broad theme of poverty, which is divided into several topics, mainly famine, disease spreads, lack of education and so on. The emotional facet of Save the Children’s advertising, namely the contrast between sadness and happiness in the represented subjects, was also highlighted. Finally, the advertising’s setting and locations displayed the visual patterns used in ads, such as the recurrence presence of rural areas, ruins, as well as medical and domestic settings.

In the third section, lexical structure and the words chosen were analysed, in particular it was reported that different groups are not presented equally when it comes to positivity and power, in the sense for what concerns donors and the organisation the lexical choice was much more focused on positivity, wellness and proactivity. This concept was articulated through the analysis of the use of “you” and “we” (“you” as a donor, “we”, as Save the Children), the use of adjectives, particularly the ones that indicate a state of vulnerability or deficiency and the ones employed to suggest particular emotions.

6 - CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation was to understand the role of Save the Children's shock advertising from the point of view of the "us versus them" theoretical concept, other than to investigate and measure the audience's reactions to such type of advertisement.

As noted in the methodology section, both a Critical Discourse Analysis and a Survey were conducted. The Critical Discourse Analysis was employed in order to analyse the concept of power and its role when it comes to power relationships among the different groups involving such representations, other than identifying the positive and negative features displayed in the "Us" group and the "Them" group, lexical choice and syntactic structure relevant for such aims were also taken into account.

What primarily emerges from the analysis meets the formulated hypothesis according to which such kind of advertising actually promotes and reinforces a binary dichotomy between the categories of people involved in visual representation. On one hand, one group is presented as vulnerable, passive and incapable of resolve any issue, either relatively small or big (e.g. "we do not know how to feed our children"). The same group is also characterised with only two possible sets of emotions: extreme sadness and extreme happiness, and in this scenario a focal theme is the fact that these sets of emotions are linked to the other group's actions and decisions. In this case, if the organisation acts on a certain issue (namely hanger, drought and so on), the displayed subjects are then displayed as happy, otherwise sadness and worriedness are the only possible emotional representation of the groups which have not already experienced Save the Children's help. Moreover, the analysis focused on all the elements which contribute to the overall image of Africa and the Middle East as rural, poor and desperate places. The analysis highlighted how common patterns concerning visual representation in these adverts included extremely skinny bodies, ripped and dirty clothes, dirty skin, noticeable diseases for what concerns the people and mud, ruins, huts as houses, crumbling hospitals and schools for what instead concerns places and the surrounding environment. Finally, the role of the donor (or potential donor) has also been considered. More specifically, it has emerged how in the majority of adverts, the "you" pronoun has been loaded with power, as in slogans similar to "for just \$10, you can help save a child's life". In this way, a clear line is drawn between the victims and

the saviours.

Resuming Edward Said's Orientalism, it can be said that these advertising techniques can be included in what the author calls the "invention of the Orient" (Said, 1978), or more precisely the "invention of the Other". Therefore, this construction participates in the reinforcement of the lenses through which the western donors and potential ones build their perceptions of the Others, the people in the advertising images. In this way, as Dogra (2012) remarks, the creation of these visual representations are linked to the consolidation of the various misconceptions regarding the "Us", the progressive and happy group and the "Other", the uncivilised, miserable and needful group.

For what concerns the quantitative part of the research, data was collected through a survey and regression analysis was performed to analyse the sample. Major findings indicate that the shocking element in advertising is capable of negatively influencing the inclination of the audience in terms of donations and engagement, by lowering their willingness to both donate to and engage with the organisation. Furthermore, the findings indicate that the presence of a shocking element (e.g. a visibly malnourished a child who is also crying) tends to lower the perceived message credibility of the ad, be associated with a quite negative overall evaluation of the ad ("unlikeable", "not credible") and it is also associated with more negative feelings (as in guilt, sadness, afraidness, blameworthiness and disgust).

The use of a shocking element in advertising represents a common technique implemented by non-profit organisations (Parry et al., 2013), however there is still an open debate regarding the impact of shocking advertising on the audience. The findings included in this dissertation are consistent with the more recent relative studies, especially the ones performed taking into account the nonprofit field. Funke and Olofsson (2019), Allred and Amos (2018) and also Klara (2012) discussed how visual representations which are characterised by one or more shocking elements are able to stimulate negative feelings and attitudes in the audience and how the utilisation of emotional appeals linked to shocking imaginary (e.g. images which evoke fear or disgust in the viewers) for fundraising purposes is primarily linked with unfavourable reactions, such as avoidance or inaction, which is not a desirable output when it comes to encourage and collect donations.

6.1 LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Since this dissertation presents a part of qualitative work, the implicit limitations of the qualitative approach are also present. In particular, the Critical Discourse Analysis included in this study is characterised by a “less structured theoretical framework and hypothesis” (Queirós et al., 2017:371), in addition to this point, the materials collection’s size was not very large.

Since this advertising in the non-profit field is going through a gradual transformational process, studies which include various non-profit organisations, ideally with various approaches to advertising and promotional contents. Related to this, a larger sample size both in terms of number of participants and for what concerns the materials involved in CDA would be critical to conduct a larger study on this topic. Moreover, additional statistical tools could be employed to better delineate the relation between the exposure to such kind of advertisement and other elements that have not been included in this research, namely the perceptions of the audience toward the brand image and brand identity of the organisation. Moreover, this dissertation did not focus on specific geographical or demographical targets, which was useful in order to collect a more heterogeneous and thus more representative sample, however focusing on specific age or nationality groups to grasp any patterns or structural differences among different cultural backgrounds could be interesting from an academic point of view.

Finally, since nonprofit organisations’ advertising has gone through several changes in the last couple of decades, especially when it comes to level of “shock” that is considered to be acceptable or normal, I think that a research which would not only focus on current advertising but aims at analysing the evolution of such kind of advertising approach through the years can be considered a valuable topic.

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SITOGRAPHY RELATED TO CDA

PROMOTIONAL VIDEOS AND TELEVISION SPOTS

Vid. 1 “Yemen: for just \$10, you can help save a child's life.”

<https://vimeo.com/595014640>

Vid.2 “The realities of Ramadan in Yemen this year”

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3o33Q7HaR2Q>

Vid. 3 Safa’a’s story” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1jgb7KfCzIM>

Vid. 4 “Fatima’s Story” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cLJeweex_6U

Vid. 5 “Babies and Mothers: Teresa”

<https://www.ispot.tv/ad/bMyJ/save-the-children-babies-and-mothers-teresa>

Vid. 6 “Mother explains how her 7 month old baby is suffering with malnutrition due to drought in Somalia.”

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gkEWxYX7R9A&list=PLkxNlkO6FshrND81aliuwOM3x6Gz-dc2n&index=3>

Vid.7 “How is UK aid supporting families in Malawi”

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CquB1Uv2PCo>

Vid.8 Displaced by Drought, a Family in Somalia Struggles to Survive

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f5mgUpZ-6QE>

SOCIAL MEDIA

Instagram reel of 9/6/2022

https://www.instagram.com/reel/Celo9rxKxfB/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link

Instagram reel of 25/06/2022

https://www.instagram.com/p/CfO440UPjmP/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link

Project “The helpers” <https://www.instagram.com/p/CZKeZexITJO/>

ARTICLES AND EDITORIAL PROJECTS

“Catching Alices.”

https://stories.savethechildren.org.uk/catchingalices/?cid=osm-inpostsocialpost_AWA00

[1004-go_001-7W33879MB&utm_campaign=go_001&utm_medium=organicsocial&utm_source=inpostsocialpost_AWA001004](https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/blogs/2021/fatimas-story)

“Fatima’s story” <https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/blogs/2021/fatimas-story>

“East Africa: hunger emergency”

<https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/blogs/2022/east-africa-hunger-emergency>

Third Sector Magazine’s conference

<https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/save-children-having-very-live-conversation-its-name-fundraising-director-reveals/communications/article/1717623>

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LIST OF FIGURES

Fig.1 - “Donate now!” page - UK website

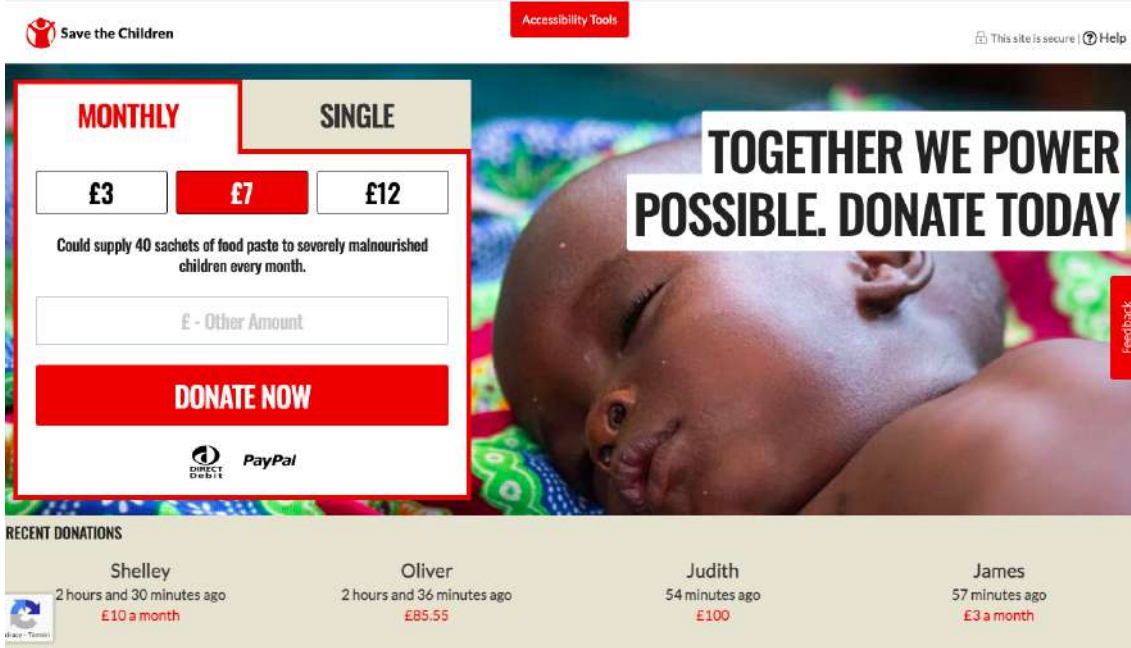


Fig.2 - “Donate now!” page - UK website

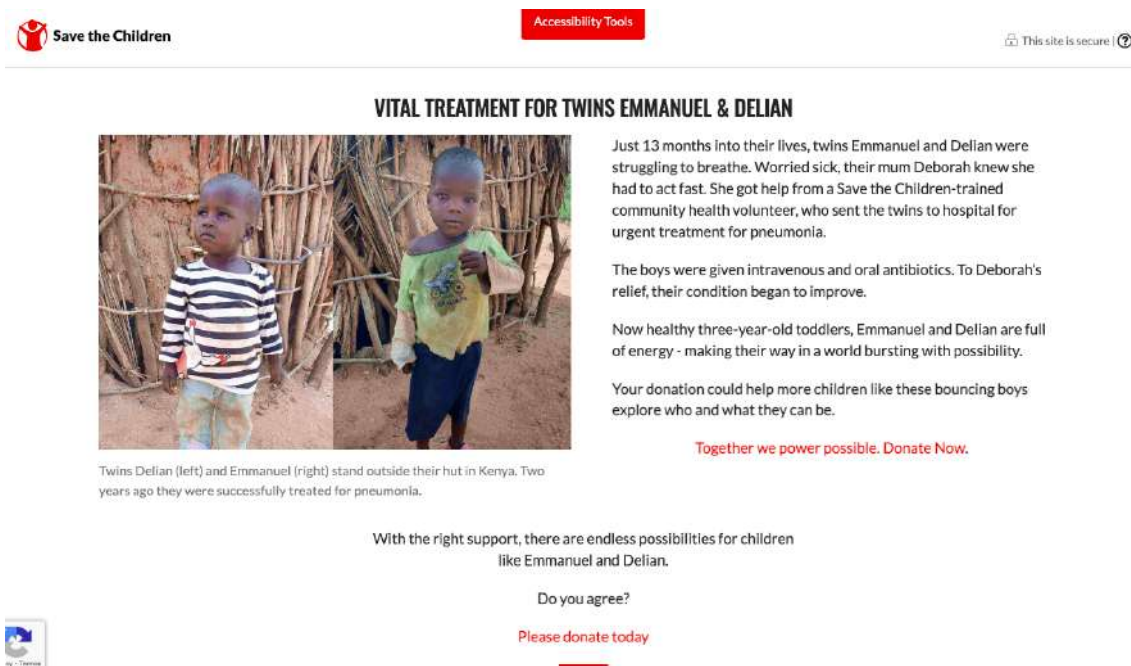


Fig.3 - “Donate now!” page - International website

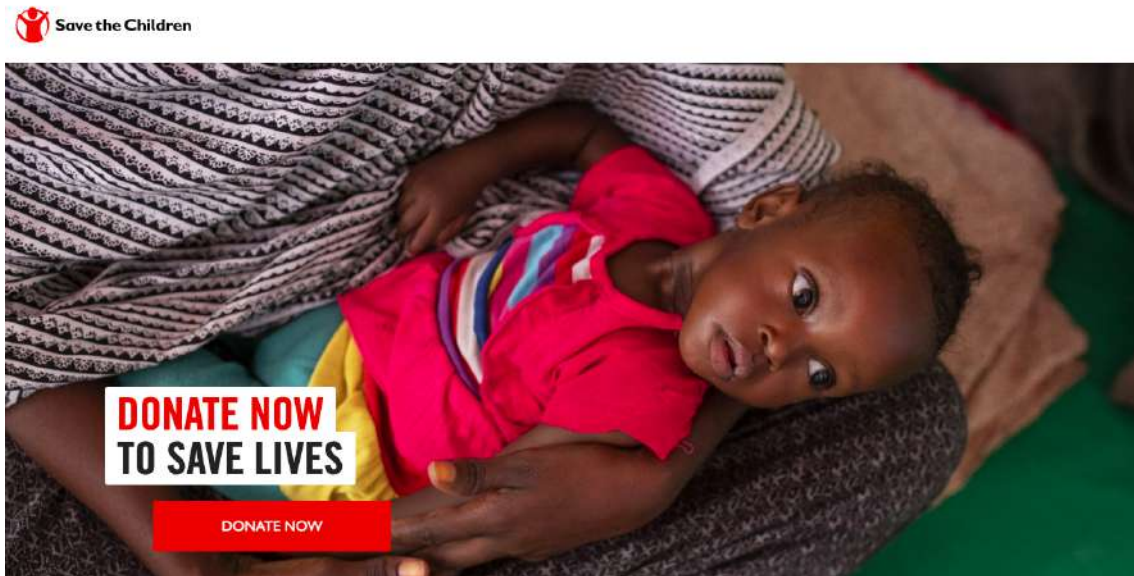


Fig.4 - Instagram post of 28/05/2022



Fig.5 - Instagram post of 28/05/2022



savethechildren • Segui
Somalia

savethechildren Somalia — one of the world's most vulnerable places to the impacts of the climate crisis — is battling its third major drought in a decade.

"This is one of the worst droughts I have ever seen," Aamiina, 50, told us. "We are used to seeing droughts in Somalia, but this one is different. It is getting worse, and we have lost everything."

Aamiina lost all her livestock due to the drought, and the fear for the health of her nine children and four grandchildren drove her to move to a camp in Southern Somalia where they could access food, water, health, and nutrition services.

Like **chaudhary1711** e altri
MAGGIO 28

Aggiungi un commento... Pubblica

Fig.6 - Instagram post of 13/04/2022



savechildrenuk • Segui
Kenya

savechildrenuk Every child should be treated equally. No questions.

Jacinta, 18, has never let the fear of stigma stop her. She lost her legs due to polio when she was very young and is now taking to the world of computers.

Children with disability can miss out on opportunities due to stigma or accessibility, but we have programmes run by staff who have disabilities themselves.

These programmes prove that when disabled people are granted the same rights and given opportunities, they can achieve success in their life and work.

👤 Allan Gichigi / Save the Children

#Disability #Computers #Equality #School #Polio #School #Education #SaveTheChildren

Like **muzafamilyfoundation** e altri
APRILE 13

Aggiungi un commento... Pubblica

Fig.7 - Instagram post of 15/04/2022



Fig.8 - Instagram post of 8/05/2022



Fig.9 - Instagram post of 24/05/2022



Fig.10 - Instagram post of 06/06/2022



Fig.11 - Instagram post of 10/06/2022



savechildrenuk • Segui

savechildrenuk • Muscle wasting, growth stunting, multiple organ failure, loss of brain mass, even death. These are the symptoms of S.A.M.

Severe Acute Malnutrition, aka S.A.M., is spreading across East Africa with six million people suffering extreme hunger.

A perfect storm - caused by the war in Ukraine, climate change and the failure of the world to respond quickly - risks killing hundreds of thousands of people, many of them children.

If we act now, together we can save millions of children's lives.

Donate through our link in bio 📌 @savechildrenuk

#HungerCrisis #HungryForAction #Hunger #Malnutrition #Somalia #Kenya #Ethiopia #SouthSudan #EastAfrica #SaveTheChildren

Elemento modificato - 3 sett.

Piace a **micheal_gil00873** e altri

GIUGNO 10

Aggiungi un commento... Pubblica

Fig.12 - Instagram post of 08/07/2022



savethechildren • Segui

Somalia

savethechildren • "This is one of the worst droughts I've ever seen."

Astur, 38, and her family used to live on a farm in southwest #Somalia. They haven't seen rain in four years.

Without food, water or livestock, the family were forced to leave their home in search of support and a better life.

They walked for two days and two nights before they reached a camp for newly arrived people on the outskirts of the city of Baidoa. They still have very little to eat and survive on one meal of ugali or rice per day.

Piace a **mdar1670** e altri

3 GIORNI FA

Aggiungi un commento... Pubblica

Fig.17 - June Newsletter



"I was trained to identify a malnourished child," Mark says, "I visit a house with a MUAC tape. It features colours to indicate the severity of malnutrition when placed on the baby's arm."

"I immediately recognise the colours that indicate the severity of malnutrition." When he met Lawrence, above, the little boy was half the size of a healthy child his age. His 12-year-old brother Leolida was worried. And he was right to be.

Fig. 18 - Survey ad - non-shocking



Every child deserves the opportunity to learn.

Save the Children works in the United States and around the world to reach those children who are missing out most on learning and education.

[We help children get ready for kindergarten and learn to read by third grade](#) — a major indicator of future success. We're especially focused on reaching vulnerable children in rural America where early learning resources are scarce. Globally, we ensure that no child's learning stops because they are caught up in crisis.

Even before the COVID-19 pandemic struck, 258 million children were out of school, including 130 million girls. And even when children were at school, [many were not learning](#). The world's children deserve better.

DONATE TODAY

Fig. 19 - Survey ad - shocking



APPENDIX B

PRESENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF CDA'S MATERIALS COLLECTION

WEBSITES

Fig.1 “Donate now!” pages on Save the Children UK website

In the UK website, the first page a visitor is redirected to when clicking on the website is the “Donate now!” page of the website. The first photo which is shown represents a black child sleeping on a blanket, with the caption “Together we power possible. Donate today.” (Fig.1) Moreover, a table is displayed with different donation options (monthly or single donation, £3, £7, £12 or other amount). The £7 donation option is already validated and matched with the following sentence: [the donation] “could supply 40 sachets of food paste to severely malnourished children every month.” In addition to these elements, the recent donations that are made are visible under the main pic.

Fig.2 - “Donate now!” page - UK website

In the second section of the same page, another photo is displayed, two children wearing ripped and dirty clothes, standing in front of a hut. An abstract of the linked description says that “just 13 months into their lives, twins Emmanuel and Delian were

struggling to breathe. Worried sick, their mum Deborah knew she had to act fast. She got help from Save the Children [...], who sent the twins to hospital for urgent treatment for pneumonia.”

Fig.3 “Donate now!” pages on Save the Children international website

For what instead concerns the international website, the layout is more simple and presents a photo of a child laying in a woman’s arms, not looking into the camera and with her mouth open. The face of the woman is not visible. The relative caption is “Donate now to save lives”. Moreover, a “Donate now” clickable red square is also present. The webpage then presents a donation options table similar to the one displayed in the Uk website and precedently shown.

VISUAL CONTENTS IN SOCIAL MEDIA

Fig.4 Instagram post of 28/05/2022

The photo displays a veiled woman with a child, they are sitting on the floor in a classroom. The child has a package of food, while the woman is looking at the camera with a tired facial expression.

Fig. 5 Instagram post of 28/05/2022

This photo displays a woman with two children. The woman is in the centre and she seems tired, one of the two children seems scared of the camera while the other one has a more neutral expression. In the background it is possible to see a brown tent. The starting sentence of the caption is “Somalia — one of the world’s most vulnerable places to the impacts of the climate crisis —is battling its third major drought in a decade.”

Fig. 6 Instagram post 13/04/2022

The post is composed of two pics. The first photograph shows a young girl sitting in front of a computer, in what seems to be an IT room. She has two leg prostheses and is smiling. The second pic is a close-up of the prostheses. The caption

states that “Jacinta, 18, has never let the fear of stigma stop her. She lost her legs due to polio when she was very young and is now taking to the world of computers.”

Fig.7 Instagram post of 15/04/2022

This photo displays a woman and her child, who is being carried wrapped in a cloth. We can only see the back of the woman, while the baby is turned and is looking at the camera, with a neutral expression. The caption is the following. “We helped his mum, Memory, learn about the importance of breastfeeding, hygiene and nutrition which has made a huge difference to Joseph's health – he’s now gone from underweight to above average.”

Fig.8 Instagram post of 8/05/2022

This photo displays a child resting in a basin on the floor. The child is not looking in the camera, the associated caption says that “When nine-month-old Kadar came into one of our hospitals in Ethiopia to be weighed, she was underweight and suffering with severe acute malnutrition. We gave her some PlumpyNut, [...], which gives malnourished children like Kadar a second chance.”

Fig.9 Instagram post of 24/05/2022

This post pictures a child being fed with a finger by another person in the background, his eyes are not looking in the camera. The on-screen text says “Help us get hunger in the headlines”.

Fig. 10 Instagram post of 06/06/2022

In this photo we can see an older woman and a young girl. The former is not looking at the camera and expresses sadness, while the girl presents more of an assertive expression. “The drought has brought despair. I don’t know what will become of us. I can’t feed my family. I feel helpless.” is the incipit of the caption.

Fig.11 Instagram post of 10/6/2022

This photo displays a veiled woman and her son in her arms. The woman is looking at the camera while the child is turned. The textual element of the photo says

“What’s happening in East Africa? Hunger is affecting children”. The second slide represents a deserted place, with a man in the background carrying a cart along with a donkey. The in-screen text is “The situation: more than 350.000 children could die in Somalia during the next few months [...]”

Fig. 12 Instagram post of 08/07/2022

The pic displays a mother and a child sleeping in her arms. The woman is looking directly in the camera and has an explicitly sad expression. The background shows a tent and a tree. Part of the caption is “This is one of the worst droughts I've ever seen. Astur, 38, and her family used to live on a farm in southwest Somalia. They haven't seen rain in four years.”

Fig. 13 Instagram post of 9/6/2022

This post introduces the theme of hunger with the sentence “By the time you’ve watched this video someone is likely to have died of hunger in drought-ravaged East Africa.” The reel mainly displays deserted places, various animals (donkeys, goats, insects) and children with sad facial expressions. First an old woman, then a young one and finally a man describe how in East Africa it is difficult to collect food for children and for themselves.

Fig. 14 Instagram post of 14/06/2022

This reel displays a woman feeding a child, in-screen text says: “hinger, famine, death” with a cross over these words, together with “30£ can save a life, please donate now”.

Fig. 15 Instagram post of 25/06/2022

This short video pictures a smiling child, who rapidly fades away as his image becomes blurred, finally the sentence “stop children wasting away” appears at the end of the video. The caption is instead the following: “S.A.M. Ever heard of it? It's silent. Deadly. A child killer. S.A.M. stands for severe acute malnutrition. And right now it's threatening the lives of 1.7 million children in Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia.”

Fig. 16 “The helpers”

This short video is a content created in partnership with other aid agencies (such as ActionAid and Unicef). The video shows different scenes of emergencies and rescues, such as a large group of people being saved while on a dinghy and some houses being destroyed by a tsunami.

Fig. 17 June Newsletter

The Save the Children newsletter dated 2/07/2022 deals with the MUAC band, used in order to measure children’s arms and determine their level of malnourishment. The newsletter of July is dedicated to first explain how this band works and then tell the story of Lawrence, who is a “little boy half the size of a healthy child his age”. The newsletter also contains a photo of the child, which is represented while crying and being measured with the band.

VIDEOGRAPHIC CONTENTS

Vid.1 “Yemen: for just \$10, you can help save a child's life.”

The video is from the 2021 Save the Children campaign which focused on projects and activities based in Yemen, in particular for what concerns food and famine affecting children. The video has a duration of one minute and it consists of a voiceover by Mat Tinkler, managing director of international programs over a series of short videos of mostly groups of children and women living in destitute conditions. These images chronologically displayed children walking in what seems a reception camp, an extremely skinny child with his or her arm being measured, overview of an unknown city being disrupted, a comparison between an adult hand and the hand of a malnourished child, a close up of a crying child with his or her hand leaning toward the camera, an hospital room with several people in it, different close ups of children with sad facial expression, including one displaying a doctor with one of these child in his arm, a child being feeded and one being medicated. Some of the sentences included in the video were, “Yemen is experiencing the worst humanitarian crisis in the world”, “every 10 minutes a child dies that could have been saved”, “food is scarce, families are starving”, “your help could provide life-saving food”.

Vid.2 “The realities of Ramadan in Yemen this year”

Furthermore, I have chosen to analyse this video published in march of 2022 on Youtube. The caption is the following: “the film features Arwa and Noor. They are both malnourished due to the skyrocketing food prices in Yemen which have left families unable to afford basic foods.” Together with a piano dramatic instrumental, the video displays two newborns that are visibly malnourished. The video shows some on-screen text, the first of them is “This Ramadan one in every two children in Yemen are starving.” During the film, the children are measured two times. In the meantime, we can hear and then see their parents then explain how and why they are unable to properly feed the babies and that they need help. Their sadness and worryness is clear. There are also several takes representing the babies crying alone or just laying on the bed. At the end of the film, with the caption “7 months after”, we can see the babies are not malnourished anymore. Furthermore, the children are not crying anymore, nor they present a sad or worried state. The same emotional pattern is also followed by their parents, clearly calmer and happier compared to the first part of the video.

Vid.3 “Safa’a’s story”

The last promotional video concerning the Yemen campaign I have selected is titled as “Safa’a’s story”. This video advert is also from 2022 and features a particular child and her story. The associated caption is ”Safa’a is six months old and is suffering from malnutrition. She is also suffering from a fever, diarrhoea and vomiting. She lives with her mother, father and six siblings in Taiz, Yemen. [...] Samah brought Safa’a to a Save the Children clinic, where Safa’a is being treated for malnutrition and the family has been given some food.” The video displays a child who is visibly ill, the scenes vary from an interview with her mother who confirms the malnourishment of her daughter and her difficulties to various takes of Safa crying in a hospital crib.

Vid.4 “Fatima’s Story”

The 2021 television spot starts with a veiled child talking about her little sister, Fatima. Afterwards, a crying child is displayed while a voiceover says that “when Fatima arrived at the hospital, she was too weak to even stand”. Then, the same child is

displayed as happy and more healthy as the voiceover explains how the organisation was able to recover Fatima in just a few days. Fatima is now playing with another child and not crying anymore. The second part of the video is introduced with the sentence “this is the land where Fatima’s family now live since drought forced them to leave their home”, while a deserted place is being shown. Afterwards, a flourishing land with trees and farm fields, together with children eating and going to school is pictured, as we can hear that “this is what your three pounds per day could do”.

Vid.5 “Babies and Mothers: Teresa”

This two minutes TV spot focuses on newborn mortality, stating in the opening that “For babies born in this hospital in East Africa, the first moments of life are the most fragile. Many don’t make it through their first sixty seconds.” The images firstly show a newborn crying wrapped in a towel, laying in a hospital bed and being medicated by a nurse. Then, the ad displays pregnant women talking about the danger of giving birth at home and how they need help and tools useful to assist newborn with breathing issues, such as a particular child in the video, named Teresa, who has similar problems. The soundtrack can be described as “tense music”. Finally, a voiceover says “please go online now and join Save the Children as a monthly donor”.

Vid. 6 “Mother explains how her 7 month old baby is suffering with malnutrition due to drought in Somalia.”

This video dated June 2022’s title is “Mother explains how her 7 month old baby is suffering with malnutrition due to drought in Somalia” and, as expected, focuses on hunger problems among newborns and babies. The video displays a young mother who explains the difficulties concerning raising a baby when water and food shortages occur. For the most part, we can see the baby in different settings, such as sleeping, being fed and being in a hospital room. Other than on the two, the shooting also includes takes of the landscape and animals (camels in particular).

Vid.7 “How is UK aid supporting families in Malawi”

This video titled as “How is UK aid supporting families in Malawi” starts with a young woman walking in a forest, we can read through subtitles that “In this community

most children unhealthy and malnourished”, as the woman keeps looking for food in the forest the subtitles continue to describe the characteristics of the food shortage in the area and its consequences in women and children. There is then a transition toward “life after Save the children’s intervention”, different women talk about the improvement they saw. Among them there are teachers and an employee of the organisation. Finally, some short videos of children playing, being at school, eating in groups and transporting buckets of water are shown.

Vid.8 “Displaced by Drought, a Family in Somalia Struggles to Survive”

In this video the theme of drought is addressed. The content follows the story of Anab and her ten children. At first, the consequences of drought are exposed (e.g. “animals are dying”) and all the difficulties associated with the situation are presented by various members of the large family, inside their tent and while other activities are taking place. The video ad then explains how the organisation was able to “provide a lifesaving intervention and give the family enough wheat flour, cow peas, rice and cooking oil to last for a month.”

EDITORIAL CONTENTS

Mat.17 Stories: “Catching Alices - in a Liberian village, over 800 babies have been named Alice in honour of the midwife who delivered them.”

This story focuses on the figure of a midwife and her ability to deliver babies in extreme and difficult conditions and how the situation was improved by the opening of a Save the Children clinic, named “White Plains”. The first part of the story, in fact, is about Alice telling how arduous her job was before the clinic. For instance, she states, “I used to deliver them along the road – I used to call that motorbike my mobile clinic” or either “It was so terrible, no privacy, everything was exposed. You would have to try to carry the placenta past people... It was very embarrassing.” The second part is dedicated to the current improvements, exemplified by sentences such as “I was so happy. It was like Christmas... because my colleagues used to walk 1 hour 20 minutes, three times a week, to go and get vaccines”. Finally, some details of the personal life of Alice are disclosed. “My mother didn't want me. For someone who became one of the

busiest midwives in Liberia, Alice's own arrival into the world was as traumatic as any of the deliveries in her 28-year career." Several videos and photos are part of the editorial, mainly Alice surrounded by children, Alice alone with a tired facial expression and various children in different settings (e.g. resting, taking a bath and so on).

Mat. 18 Stories: Fatima's story

"I used to be a livestock owner," says Amina, "But since the drought, I lost all my animals." This is the introduction to Fatima's story, who is nine months old and one of the five daughters of Amina. This editorial is focused on famine in Somalia (East Africa), as can be seen from sentences like "Sometimes we set out to eat, sometimes we don't". The first part of the article depicts the past situation of the family, characterised by malnutrition, diseases and poverty. The second part called "turning point" tells the reader how the current condition is improved and how Fatima and her family are no longer in danger thanks to the organisation.

Mat. 19 Article "East Africa Hunger Emergency"

Save the Children's informational articles differ from stories, since the former are more focused on analysing a certain situation from a collective and external point of view.

In this 2022 article, the focus is on the Hunger emergency happening in East Africa. The article is divided into three parts. The first one is dedicated to the "numbers", for instance, the author states that "across the region – Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia - 25.3 million people are expected to be severely food insecure by June, with 5.7 million children acutely malnourished." The second part recalls the history and past dynamics concerning famine in East Africa, while the last part is a call to actions targeted at potential British donors, "UK, must act now – or children will pay the price of their neglect."

Mat. 20 Third Sector's Fundraising Conference

The concept of "saving" the children, in the sense of passive salvation which fits in the saviour-victim dichotomy is traceable in the organisation's own name. This issue has also been addressed directly from the organisation on the occasion of Third Sector's

Fundraising Conference 2021. Gemma Sherrington, Executive Director of Fundraising and Marketing for Save the Children, explains how, first of all, the choice of changing the name of the organisation would be careless for different reasons, both on a branding level and on a practical level, since “Save the Children” is a well know brand on a international scale. Sherrington during the conference argued that “It’s not a conversation we’re taking lightly and that we can just change our name tomorrow because it’s got impact implications if we’re not recognisable.” The conference touched many other valuable points, such as the issue of othering as a common communication practice for many international non-profit organisations, the balance between the characteristic of a certain type of advertising and its benefit and the simplification of wide and complex social phenomena, such as large-scale poverty. Sherrington also thinks that some advertising messages involve misrepresentation of people and a high level of simplification of the issues and conditions involved in the organisation. The director finally argued that, for what concerns donors, they have been “allowed to demonstrate generosity while perpetuating injustice”, as a result of years of saviour-victim dichotomy based advertising campaigns.

Mat. 21 Research report: The People in the Picture

In this research study funded by Save the Children, the purpose of the research, as stated by the authors is “to give voice to and understand contributors’ (and members of their communities’) experiences and perceptions of the image-making process and the resulting Save the Children communications.”

Mat.22 Save the Children’s 2020 Annual report

The 2020 annual report was published in 2021 and is the most recent available annual report from the organisation. For what concerns the “letter from the CEO” page, position held by Inger Ashing at the time, the main theme which arises is the pandemic and its consequences, in particular when it comes to poverty. In the first part of the letter, Ashing debates the difficulties of the communities in which Save the Children operates, in relation to Covid-19. For instance, the CEO states that “families are being pushed into extreme poverty” (Save the Children International, 2021:4) and that “children are not getting the essential, life-saving health care they need, which puts

them at risk of serious illness or even death.” (ibid:4) In the second part of the letter, the focus switches to the efforts the organisation has put in place in order to face these challenges. As put by Ashing, “we focused on four crucial areas – keeping children healthy; [...]; preventing families from slipping into extreme poverty; and protecting children from the risk of violence in their homes and communities.” (ibid:4) Finally, the third and last part of the letter is dedicated to the technological progress and improvements the organisation has achieved during the year.

APPENDICES C - VIDEOS TRANSCRIPTS

Vid. 1 “Yemen: for just \$10, you can help save a child's life.”

I am Mat Tinkler, managing director of international programs at Save the Children. Right now, Yemen is experiencing the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. Famine threatens the country. It is estimated that every 10 minutes a child dies that could have been saved. Seven years of brutal conflicts have devastated innocent lives. Famine is spreading, food is scarce. Families are starving. More than 2 million children under the age of five are expected to go hungry. For just ten dollars a month, you can help save a child's life. Your gift can provide the life-saving food and urgent health care they need to survive. If you do not act now, I fear for how many children's lives we'll be losing in Yemen this year. Save the Children it's on the ground but we need your help. Just ten dollars a month is all it takes. Please call 1800-431-454 or go to savethechildren.com. Thank you.

Vid. 2 “The realities of Ramadan in Yemen this year”

[On-screen text] This Ramadan one in every two children are starving. The realities of conflict have left baby Arwa severely malnourished.

[Spoken in Yemeni Arabic, with English subtitles] My wife cannot breastfeed the baby. There is no option but to buy milk from the market. The prices are high and there are problems, some areas are not safe.

[On-screen text] Your Sadaqah can make a difference. Noor was treated for malnutrition seven months ago at a Save the Children clinic.

[Spoken in Yemeni Arabic, with English subtitles] We do not want to live like this anymore. All the children are sick. I'm so depressed. I am losing hope from such a life.

[On-screen text] This is Noor now.

[Spoken in Yemeni Arabic, with English subtitles] Now she mumbles and plays. She can say Baba, Mama. I thank God she is getting better.

[On-screen text] Donate Now!

Vid. 3 "Safa'a's story"

[On-screen text] Safa'a is six months old and is suffering from malnutrition. This is not just another news story. It is Safa'a's life.

[Spoken in Yemeni Arabic, with English subtitles] Honestly, our life is very difficult. My daughter is malnourished

[On-screen text] Conflict in Yemen is rising, food costs have left babies starving.

[Spoken in Yemeni Arabic, with English subtitles] We can't afford what we used to afford in the past. I feel very sorry and I cry that I can't help my children more.

[On-screen text] Stop the war on children like Safa'a donate now.

Vid. 4 "Fatima's Story"

[Spoken in Yemeni Arabic, with English subtitles] Fatima is my little sister and I love her.

[Voiceover in English] When Fatima arrived at the hospital, she was too weak to even stand. But with urgent treatment and nutritious food, this is Fatima just a few days later. That's how fast a child can recover from severe malnutrition if they receive the food and medicine they need in time. That's what your three pounds today could do.

This is the land where Fatima's family now lives since drought forced them to leave their home. But with your help, this is how families all over the world are transforming their land and their lives with different types of seeds and new farming practices, this is what your three pounds a day can do. At Save the Children, we see how each donation adds up to something amazing. Children: happy and healthy, because their parents can grow their food they need to thrive.

[Spoken in Yemeni Arabic, with English subtitles] When I see my sister happy and healthy, I am so happy for her.

[Voiceover in English] That is what three pound a month helped to achieve, imagine what yours could do.

Vid. 5 “Babies and Mothers: Teresa”

[Voiceover in English] For babies born in this hospital in East Africa, the first moments of life are the most fragile. Many don't make it through their first sixty seconds. Baby Teresa was born with fluids blocking her breathing, without the use of this simple suction tool, births like Teresa's could be fatal. Around the world, one million babies don't survive their first day.

[Nurse speaking in English] The child might come out not breathing so you have to start resuscitation.

[Voiceover in English] Save the Children is on the ground helping save babies and mothers, but we need your help.

[Nurse speaking in English] There are a lot of mothers delivering at home, and in that process we are losing mothers, we are losing babies.

[Voiceover in English] Please call or go online now and join Save the Children as a monthly donor. For only 10 dollars a month, just 33 cents a day, you can help fragile children survive.

There has been an increase in survival of the mothers since Save the Children came onboard.

Because of donations like yours, baby Teresa is now safe at home but thousands of other children are at risk. All it takes to make a life saving difference is just 10 dollars a month.

Vid. 6 “Mother explains how her 7 month old baby is suffering with malnutrition due to drought in Somalia.”

[On-screen text] In Somalia crop production is expected to drop by 75-85% by this season and income from livestock sales is expected to drop by up to 55%. Devastating the lives of millions of people like Zainab.

[Spoken in Somali Arabic, with English subtitles] The biggest problem we face in our community is a lack of water, reduced food intake and our income has decreased.

[On-screen text] Her family have been displaced since 2017, having lost their livestock and access to income because of drought, her 7 months old son also became severely malnourished.

[Spoken in Somali Arabic, with English subtitles] When I brought him here (treatment center), he was very weak, couldn't move, had a fever, was vomiting and had diarrhea. If the drought intensifies and there's no support to those affected, water shortages and disease outbreaks will increase and we'll see more malnutrition cases in the hospitals.

Vid. 7 "How is UK aid supporting families in Malawi"

In this community most children were unhealthy and malnourished. Because of scarcity of food, we were failing to give our children enough to eat every day.

[Voiceover in English] Improving early childhood development is the key to making sure children realize their full potential. Here in Malawi, there's a network of ten thousand community managed pre-schools but one of the main obstacles to keeping them functioning is the lack of food. Supported by the path and differed meep program, Save the Children is helping communities in Malawi to provide healthy food to children in pre-schools and homes.

[Local worker speaking in English] We are contributing to early childhood and development by ensuring pre schools remain open and functional throughout the year. We're actually doing this by providing support to these preschools to grow nutritious crops by providing training in best agricultural practices.

[Voiceover in local language, with English subtitles] Life nowadays is full of activities. And when we were offered training we learned that we can cultivate crops twice a year. Giving food to kids every day has encouraged them not to stay at home. Because they know that if they go to school they are going to get food.

[Voiceover in English] The project also showed parents how to provide nutritious food at home, helping them to expand the range of crops they grow and use new recipes.

[Local woman speaking in local language] Before NEEP (name of the project), I can say that Lela was malnourished, because I didn't know how to prepare a variety of food

for the children. We started following the procedure and noticed that Lela's health has started to improve. I am very happy because I know that if my child is having nutritious food, that means we have less cases of illness here at home.

Vid. 8 "Displaced by Drought, a Family in Somalia Struggles to Survive"

[On-screen text] Sisters Deko and Amina have been displaced by drought in Somalia. They help to herd the only animals the family have left.

[Deko, 7 years old and Amina, 14 years old, speaking in Somali] We were hit with drought and lost our livestock and now we are here.

[Anab, mother of Deko and Amina, speaking in Somali] When we were in our rural area life was better. We had our domestic animals. The drought hit us and we were left with only 20 goats.

[On-screen text] When animals die, families lose their income

[Anab speaking in Somali] I won't lie to you, it has been almost a month since we cooked food with vegetables, because we can't afford it.

[Amina speaking in Somali] If there isn't anything to cook you will go hungry.

[On-screen text] Save the Children is supporting families like Amina's with food to keep hunger and illness away.

[Deko speaking in Somali] I love tea and juices.

[Amina speaking in Somali] We are happy to receive this food, no one else has given us as much.

[On-screen text] But many more children need your help.