Finding Irish Frames

Exploring how Irish NGO's communicate with the public

**Research Commissioned by Dóchas Working Group
on Development Education (DEG)**

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Abstract

The aim of this project was to explore how Ireland's NGOs inform the public about development and the subsequent actions these NGOs assert. The research was built upon the premise that NGOs are contributing to low levels of public knowledge about development progress and the causes of poverty, through limited information provided in communications and campaign materials. To conduct the investigation, the researcher drew on Frames Theory as set out in the work of Darnton and Kirk's (2011) 'Finding Frames: New Ways to engage the UK Public in Global Poverty'. The study sought to identify the dominant frames employed by the NGOS, and consider how these frames serve to situate development.

The research comprised of a content analysis of various artifacts of communication including; NGO websites, video communication, advertisement material, social media, and written materials such as reports, articles, direct mail and e-news. Eight Dochás member organisations participated in the project.

The frames that dominated this analysis included; charity, help the poor, and poverty, which were all found to be situated within the moral order deep frame. The transaction frame was identified as the dominant call to action, with the solution to poverty being claimed to lie within the hands of the potential donor and the NGO. Significantly, women and children were found to be primarily portrayed as the beneficiaries or victims, with images of poster children dominating the materials. It was also found that women were more likely to be represented as either looking after children or working in fields. This was considered to be significant enough to raise cause for concern around the notion of a gender stereotype.

A substantial amount of data also emerged that was found to merit more in-depth investigation from various other theoretical perspectives before attempting to identify specific frames. Overall, it was found that Frames Theory has the potential to be utilised as a practical tool to assist organisations to move towards finding alternative ways to engage supporters.

List of Abbreviations

Dochás   The Irish Association of Non Governmental Development Organisations

DFID   Department for International Development UK

MDGs   Millennium Development Goals

MPH   Make Poverty History

NGO   Non Government Organisation

WBN   World's Best News

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Background

Dóchas (The Irish Association of Non Governmental Development Organisations) was formed in 1993 and comprises of some 50 member organisations. Dóchas strives to enhance NGO capacity to remain at the fore of Ireland's efforts to tackle global injustice. Moreover, and of particular relevance to this research, Dóchas also works to lead the NGO sector towards best practice. Through consultations, working groups and a sufficient body of research, Dóchas aims to enable NGOs become proactive agents of change who have the relevant skills and knowledge to mobilise all levels of society to support development issues and take actions to address global poverty. Ultimately, this research, commissioned by the Dóchas Development Education Working Group (DEG), sought to investigate the 'framing' of communications and campaign materials from a selection of Dóchas member organisations.

DEG, as a Dóchas Working Group, specifically promotes the inclusion of development education practice amongst members. In short, development education is seen as a means to raise public understanding of the complex causes of poverty, whilst increasing understanding of the interconnections between lives here and the lives of those in developing countries. Further, it seeks to expose the West's structural relationship with developing countries, and how this relationship is directly linked to global inequalities. Overall, the fundamental aim of development education is to encourage people to engage in personal and socio-political actions that are intended to bring about positive global change. Development education also sets out to counter stereotypical assumptions, based around dependency and helplessness, which people in the West might draw upon to construct their relationship with the global South. Largely, Dóchas member organisations who partake in development education activities, conduct projects with teachers, students, and youth and community groups.

However, this research was not intended to investigate NGO specific development education projects and practices. The main premise of this project was to explore how NGOs 'frame' their communication and campaign materials. Nonetheless, whether or not

such framing was found to be conducive to development education was of interest to DEG, and will be addressed further in the context of the findings through the discussion and recommendations section.

Fundamentally, DEG argues that the framing of development issues by Irish NGOs via their communications and campaign materials contribute to the low levels of public support for, and understanding of development issues, including the structural causes of inequality and poverty, which can be said to be at odds with the aims of development education (see appendix b, Dóchas, Terms of Reference for Development Education Working Group Finding Frames Research Phase 1). This argument has been sparked by a rising debate currently taking place in an international context. Basically, a new body of research is emerging which is concerned with investigating how NGOs frame their public communications and asking if such framing might be considered a variable in how people understand and engage with development issues. Of particular interest to this project, were the findings that have materialised from a UK study, which identified how dominant frames such as help the poor, poverty or charity are possibly a contributing factor to limited public knowledge about development progress (see Darnton and Kirk, 2011). The relevance of these findings, and indeed other findings that have since emerged, are further addressed in the next chapter.

As well as this project being sparked by findings in an international context, it was also spurred on by findings in an Irish context. Although these findings, presented below, do not investigate how NGOs frame communication materials, they do indeed show indication of low levels of public knowledge and support for development issues. Whether or not, these findings can be directly correlated with NGO communication materials remains to be investigated in depth. Nonetheless, DEG believes that such findings justify a need to understand more about how Ireland's NGOs communicate with the public, in order to make recommendations for best practice, and open up possibilities for further research into exploring if the communications materials might be a contributing variable in the low levels of public knowledge about development in Ireland.

Recent Findings from Ireland

A recent Dóchas commissioned study has highlighted that the Irish public are ill-informed about development and aid issues. The 2013 study which was conducted by Amárach,

found that over half of 1000 respondents felt that Africa was in a similar or worse position than over 2 decades ago. According to the report, this suggests that the respondents 'do not believe that aid is sufficient to bring about positive change' (Amárach, 2013, p 2). The research also found that 55% of respondents felt that it was pointless donating aid due to the high levels of corruption in the recipient countries which results in the aid being wasted. These findings seem to indicate that there is a general public misperception about the impact of aid, with an underpinning view that governments in developing countries are corrupt.

Similarly, an earlier study conducted by Dóchas in 2012 found that, despite 85% of 1000 respondents believing it is important to support development initiatives; there is a prevailing uncertainty about the difference that aid makes to the lives of people in the recipient countries. 'Only 39% of respondents believed that the money makes a considerable difference, with a large group claiming that the difference made is small (47%). 11% of respondents said aid from Ireland makes no difference at all' (Dóchas, 2012, p3).

Furthermore, in the Amárach (2013) study, 53% of respondents felt powerless in relation to bringing about positive change, and believed that poverty resides with the developing countries themselves, and that 'my day to day actions don't really affect people in the third world' (Amárach, 2013, p 2). Likewise, a Suas (2013) commissioned survey, conducted by Amárach during 2012, found that although 85% of 1000 third level students feel it is important to 'do something to improve the world', nearly half of the students (45 percent) agree with the statement that they 'feel helpless in bringing about positive change'.

Perhaps the lack of understanding about how everyday actions can impact upon the global South suggests little awareness around global interconnectedness. Further, as Bryan (2013) quotes in response to the Suas study, it also indicates a lack of engagement with a variety of actions 'including individualised responses, community organisation and whole-scale institutional change...highlighting the importance of encouraging the imagining of alternative, more socially just realities' (quoted in Amárach, 2013, p 49).

Overall, through these findings, it also appears that information is not reaching the general public about the intended outcomes of aid interventions, or how NGOs collaborate with local and national governments to affect lasting change at policy level. In short, it seems

that the findings show that the public are ill-informed about positive, or 'good news' stories around development. In fact, the Amárach (2013) study found that the public have an appetite to be more informed about progress in developing countries. '54% of respondents say that if NGOs provided more success stories they would conclude the NGO is worth supporting – contrasted with 15% who would conclude that success means the NGO's job is done' (Amárach, 2013, p3).

Subsequently, in an attempt to meet the demand for success stories, Dóchas have instigated 'The World's Best News' (WBN) initiative. Throughout 2013, Dóchas piloted a WBN facebook page and free newspaper. The facebook page currently has over 1000 likes, and Dóchas has been encouraging its member organisations to showcase positive and progressive news stories. A series of articles also appeared in the Metro Herald newspaper and the initiative was featured on Radio Newstalk's 'Global Village Show'. Overall, WBN intends to raise public awareness of positive changes and progress in developing countries. However, the extent to which member organisations have responded to the Dóchas WBN project is not the intention of this research investigation. Nevertheless, WBN is considered relevant to this research, since it is important to this project to get a clearer indication around the extent to which good news stories may or may not be included in overall communications and campaign materials of the NGOs.

Overall, DEG believes that all of the above findings merit an exploration of NGO communications and campaign materials. An overriding objective of DEG commissioning the research is to kick start debate around considering **if through these materials, Ireland's NGOs might be contributing to the low levels of public knowledge about the underlying causes of poverty, and lack of engagement with development issues as a whole.**

1.2 Research Aims

Although it was beyond the scope of this project to investigate a specific correlation between NGO materials and levels of public knowledge, this study sought to gain a better understanding of how NGOs 'frame' communication materials. The aims of this study included:

1. To evaluate, through employing Content Analysis, dominant frames apparent in specific items of communication that the NGOs make use of to engage the public.

Section 2.1 will set out in detail the specific items, or what is rather termed as artifacts

2. To present and discuss key findings
3. To make recommendations for the sector, including subsequent research interventions that would merit further investigation to strengthen and verify the findings of this project

1.3 Participating Organisations

In order to meet the above listed aims, it was essential to recruit an adequate number of Dóchas member organisations to participate in this study. An email was sent to all organisations to invite them to take part in this research. The Terms of Reference (see appendix b), which was drawn up by DEG, was included as an attachment within the email. In total, eight member organisations expressed an interest in being part of the study. Subsequently, these organisations agreed to have their communications materials assessed through a Content Analysis. The Content Analysis method will be outlined in 2.1.

For now, however, it is important to mention that it was not the intention of this research analysis to identify and name organisations in relation to the data that emerged from the communication materials. In this sense, the researcher considered all data as a collective so that an overall picture of the use of frames could surface for discussion and recommendations. However, it should be noted that the researcher cannot guarantee complete anonymity for the participating NGOs, since particular content and material might render the organisation identifiable.   Nonetheless, the intention of the research was to expose dominant frames, rather than identify specific organisations, and the researcher, therefore, handled all data sensitively, in order to make recommendations for the sector as a whole.

Chapter 2
Method

2.1 Content Analysis and Artifacts of Communication

In Content Analysis, researchers examine artifacts of social communication, including materials such as books, newspapers, websites, photographs and various written documents. Basically, any information that is considered 'text' can be presented as a unit of analysis for investigating and understanding more about social communication, and how this might impact upon the reader. Simply put, Content Analysis is about investigating what is contained within a message. It may be seen as a method where the content of the message forms the basis for drawing inferences and conclusions about the content (see Nachmias and Nachmias, 1976). These inferences and conclusions relate to three major communication components relevant to the content; the sender of the message, the message itself, and the audience of the message (see Holsti, 1969, Carney, 1972).

The artifacts of communication relevant to this research project included NGO websites, video communication, advertisements material, social media, and written materials such as reports, articles, direct mail and e-news.   These artifacts were selected as units of analyses, since they were considered to be a representation of Holsti (1969) and Carney's (1972) three major communications components mentioned above, and therefore justified the application of Content Analysis as an appropriate method.   Participating organisations were invited to submit as much relevant material as possible employed throughout 2013 only. Although this only covered a one year period, it was considered ample to not only give indication of how NGOs communicate to the wider public through fundraising appeals, but also how they communicate to regular supporters through reports, newsletters, websites and social media.

Overall, it was recognised that a large amount of data would emerge from the above mentioned units of analysis. Therefore, in order to collate a manageable amount of data which is fundamental to research validity, it was vital to apply criteria of selection so that the data gathered reflected what the researcher intended to investigate.

Website Material

Firstly, in relation to websites, the researcher was concerned with investigating who the 'sender' was, what message the 'sender' was giving to the audience, how this message was 'framed' and how the 'sender' expected the audience to respond. In this sense, it was considered appropriate for the researcher to analyse data within the following website links;

- The initial Home Page – What message was the sender immediately giving to its audience?
- About Us Section – Who and What We Are! Where we work and what we do!
- Calls to Action Sections - Support us! Participate! Get Involved
- Video Stories – How the Sender was communicating to the Audience through video!

Exploring the website as a unit of analysis was conducted in line with the work of Bortree (2007). 'Bortree proposes using the main page of a website and two links or clicks into the subsequent website sections. This concept is supported by other Internet research such as Dochartaigh (2002)' (quoted in Williams and Brunner, p 4-5). Therefore, for this study, following the analysis of the initial Home Page, the researcher analysed data present in two clicks into the sections listed above. It is important to point out that this research was carried out at the time of the Philippines Typhoon, and some of the participating organisations were appealing for public support for this emergency. However, it was not the intention of this research to analyse emergency appeals. Therefore, the researcher only analysed data available and relevant to the longer term development work of the NGO.

Articles: Written and Visual Material

For the purpose of this research, written material consisted of posters, flyers, articles, reports, postal and e-news communication that the NGO sends to, or displays for, its 'audience'. As mentioned, each participating NGO were invited to submit written and visual communication they have sent to, or displayed for, their 'audience' throughout 2013.

Social Media

Firstly, it is important to discuss briefly the inclusion of social media as a unit of analysis. Unlike the other units relevant to this study, social media is not static but rather it is a communication form that enables conversations to occur and develop online. This study was not intended to analyse these conversations, interactions or developments such as re-tweeting, re-posting or subsequent hash-tags. The study was simply concerned with the NGO as the 'sender' of the social media message, and how this message was 'framed'. However, it is acknowledged that there is a need for investigations into how the audience reacts and communicates with NGOs through social media. It is hoped that this project will open the door to such future studies, and contribute to how these studies approach and investigate the phenomenon.

Nonetheless, this research looked at the twitter and facebook accounts of the participating NGOs to investigate the following:

- The initial Cover Photo – How could this be assigned to a frame?
- Tweets and Posts – Were these used to provide information only or were they used for specific calls to action? If so, how were these framed and what values do they evoke?

A considerable amount of tweets and facebook posts emerged that were unmanageable within the scope of the study. Therefore, the researcher looked at a maximum of 60 tweets and 60 facebook posts per organisation, focusing on 5 posts and tweets per month that were posted throughout 2013. To select the appropriate posts, the researcher employed purposive, or what is also termed as judgmental sampling, choosing posts that can be deemed typical of the overall month. However, the word 'typical' does not mean that the researcher can claim that the sample is fully representative. Nevertheless, this method was adequate to offer insights into how the participating organisations were using social media to communicate with the public. The aim was to simply get an overview of the dominant frames that posts could be assigned to.

Overall, all of the criteria of selection set out above were regarded to lend themselves to Content Analysis. In fact, 'as media of communication, websites and web pages lend themselves prima facie to Content Analysis (Weare & Lin, 2000). Indeed, Content Analysis

was one of the first methodologies used in web analysis (e.g., Bates & Lu, 1997), and it has been employed increasingly since' (quoted in Herring, 2010, p 233).

2.2 Ordering the Material

When all relevant material was submitted and accessed through social media and websites the researcher organised these into units of analyses. To assist in ordering all of the material, the researcher drew loosely on the method employed by Richey *et al* (2013) in 'Finding Danish Frames – Communications, Engagement and Global Justice'. The findings from the Danish project are discussed in the next chapter, but in short the study was conducted in response to the UK Finding Frames report. Although the Danish study was considered to have an appropriate and relevant method to guide the researcher in ordering the material, it must be emphasised that this research was not in any way intended to be a comparative study with the Danish context. Ultimately, the Danish study differed in context and design to this study. Nevertheless, directed loosely by Richey *et al* (2013), the materials for analysis in this study were ordered into the below units.

1. Analysis Documents (large materials such as reports)
2. Articles (smaller articles written in support of campaigns or for general information about the organisation)
3. Advertisements (flyers, posters, or calendars)
4. Websites (as highlighted earlier with videos being assigned to unit 6 below)
5. Direct Mail (postal and e-news materials)
6. Video (includes videos submitted specifically by the participating organisations, and videos that appear on the website applying Bortree's (2007) 2 click rule, as highlighted above)
7. Social Networking (as highlighted earlier)

The below table sets out the breakdown of the number of documents, videos, or relevant material which were assigned to each unit.

Unit of Analysis	Number
Analysis Documents	13
Articles	14
Advertisements	17
Websites	
Homepage links	8
About Us Links	16
Calls to Action Links	38
Direct Mail	
e-news	11
Post	4
Videos	
Website Video Links	14
Videos submitted by organisations	8
Social Media	
Facebook Posts	480
Tweets	480

Figure.1. Initial Assigned Units

Although photographs were not listed as a separate unit, the researcher analysed images employed throughout the overall materials.

2.3 Framework to Analyse the Data in Units

To guide the analysis all of the above units, the researcher initially considered all data in relation to three different categories.

Category 1 – Frames

The researcher built the analysis around the dominant NGO Frames that were identified in the UK Finding Frames (2011) research.   Since these findings have been paramount in instigating an international debate around the framing of NGO communications, it was believed to be essential to explore these within an Irish context, given that Ireland is in such

close proximity to the UK. Ultimately, the researcher set out to investigate the dominant frames utilised by Irish NGOs, and to inquire if there was any indication that these had relevance to Darnton and Kirk's (2011) findings.

Thus, data from all the units highlighted in Figure 1, was read, re-read, and considered if it could be assigned to any of Darnton and Kirk's (2011) Frames. These Frames are outlined in detail in appendix c, and are specifically identified as either 'surface frames' or 'deep frames'. The researcher provides a more detailed depiction of the concept of surface and deep frames in the next chapter.   For now however, in order for the reader to grasp the analytical framework, surface frames can be described as simply the words, phrases or stories that NGOs use to construct their communication content. In turn, these surface frames are intrinsically linked to deep frames. In short, deep frames represent whole world views. Overall the data was initially considered in relation to how it might fit with surface frames and considered again in relation to a fit with potential corresponding deep frames. Subsequently, the data was categorised against the most appropriate frames.

Category 2 – Action Frames

All data in each of the units was also considered in relation to exploring how calls to action were framed. This was believed important to set as a category, and explore in an Irish context, since the findings of Darnton and Kirk (2011) showed that the dominant call to action amongst UK NGOs was based around donations. The authors argue that the pursuit of transactions by the NGOs have done little to increase public knowledge around development progress. Rather, 'as the NGOs have become more savvy fundraisers, their revenues have increased, but public levels of engagement and knowledge of development issues have in turn stagnated or decreased.   Increasing incomes have been gained by changing the nature of engagement; by turning members into supporters, and setting them at arm's length' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, quoted in Richey *et al*, 2012, p11).

Thus, all data based on calls to action was initially considered in relation to what was termed as the 'transaction frame'. However, the data was also scrutinised for alternative calls to action which might be situated within, what was termed, the 'deeper engagement frame'. Indeed, Darnton and Kirk (2011) have called for NGOs to promote actions which afford people the opportunity to become more directly engaged in socio-political actions that are

intended to address the structural causes of poverty. As mentioned in section 1.1, such actions are the hallmark of development education. Although, it was not the intention of this research to conduct an analysis of NGO development education materials, it was of interest to the researcher and DEG to explore if actions conducive to development education are extended to the wider communication materials of Irish NGOs.

Category 3 – Progress Information Frame

Although not identified by Darnton and Kirk (2011), considering all data in relation to progress information was thought to be important to this project in a specific Irish context. Ultimately, due to the 2013 Dóchas WBN campaign, it was of relevance to this analysis to scrutinise the data for indication of good news stories. It was expected that a significant amount of data might emerge within this category, which could potentially set the findings of this research apart from the UK study.

Beyond the Set Categories

It was understood that unexpected data might emerge which could not be easily assigned to the above categories. Hence, new categories were expected to emerge throughout the analysis. In this sense, the study was structured enough to investigate the extent to which the assigned categories fitted the data, and loose enough to allow new categories to emerge, so that a better understanding of the phenomenon could be gained. As Taylor and Bogdan state, 'the goal of qualitative research is to make sure the theory fits the data and not vice versa' (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998, p8). 'The aim was to be systematic and analytic but not rigid' (Chatziefstathiou, 2007, p61).

Finally, when all data was thoroughly explored and assigned to appropriate categories, the researcher further considered if any key themes could be identified. Indeed, three themes emerged, which are discussed and presented at the end of the analysis in Chapter 4.

2.4 Research Limitations

This study is limited in a number of areas. Firstly, relying solely on Content Analysis as a method of investigation can be criticised for an over-reliance of one method of data collection which is not tested and verified against other methods, such as focus groups, questionnaires or follow up interviews with the NGOs. In short, applying only Content

Analysis fails to ensure that the data is validated and verified through research triangulation. However, this study is intended as a first phase of a wider research process. Through subsequent research phases, the findings from this specific Content Analysis will eventually be tested, verified and validated, in order to better understand NGO use of Frames and the impact upon the wider public.

This study is also limited as it cannot be considered to be fully representative of all Dóchas member organisations. However, having eight organisations participate in this study was considered by the researcher and DEG to be an adequate sample to merit an exploration of all of the variables relevant to this project. Furthermore, the strength of this study lies in the fact that, although it is small-scale, it is a stepping-stone to informing the structure of further larger scale investigations that might emerge as relevant to the findings of this exploration.

Chapter 3

Context Beyond Ireland and Understanding Frames

3.1 Context Beyond Ireland

Conducting this research was further considered important to contribute an Irish context to a rising body of knowledge relevant to public perceptions of international development. For instance, an already mentioned study, 'Finding Frames: New Ways to engage the UK public in Global Poverty' (2011), found that, despite positive progress in development, the public continue to relate to poverty as they did in the 1980s, basing their role in addressing poverty around a model of 'powerful giver' and 'grateful receiver'. As referred to in the previous chapter, the findings from this research have sparked an international debate around how issues of global poverty are communicated and framed to the public. Largely, Finding Frames employed various methods of investigation, such as looking at the already existing literature and data on public attitudes, and conducting a 'staged conversation' with senior NGO staff to identify the common practices and working assumptions of the development sector, in order to pinpoint overriding frames. In short, the report highlighted that the public view the causes of poverty as internal to developing countries with little knowledge of progress made, or how trade, debt and the pursuit of western wealth can contribute to the reproduction of poverty (see Darnton and Kirk, 2011). Findings from the Irish Amárach (2013) research, as highlighted in the first chapter, seem to have some consistency with this UK study.

According to Darnton and Kirk (2011), the information that NGOs provide to the public through their communications and campaign materials is a contributing factor to the low levels of public understanding, and subsequent limited engagement that the NGOs evoke to address poverty. In fact, Darnton and Kirk found that as well as the public remaining ill-informed about the underlying structural causes of poverty, they were also, as the authors put it, 'left behind' in being provided with information of progress about the 'amazing strides forward in recent years' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p5).

Building on the work of the UK Finding Frames, a further study, also already mentioned, was conducted in Denmark to explore how Danish NGOs frame their public campaign material.

In 'Finding Danish Frames – Communications, Engagement and Global Justice' (2013), Richey *et al* set out to explore the extent to which the UK findings relate to a Danish context. In reviewing literature relevant to their study, the authors presented evidence which indicated that the Danish public also remain ill-informed about progress in developing countries. They point out that in research conducted by Danida (2013), 'a common theme throughout all the findings is that the public perceive the situation in developing countries to be much worse than it actually is' (see Richey *et al*, 2013, p 6-7). For Richey *et al*, this warranted cause for an exploration of Danish NGO materials in order to attempt to understand 'why people think what they think and how attitudes can be changed' (Richey *et al*, 2013, p 7). Indeed, given the Irish findings reviewed in Chapter 1, this can be viewed as having some parallels with the justification for conducting this study.

Nevertheless, in a Danish context, it was found that no single frame dominated the NGO material. On the whole, the research identified six key frames which were found to be evenly distributed across all of the material analysed. These included: fighting for rights; solidarity; charity; economy as a competitive game; tragedy; and renaissance. Significantly, across all of the frames, it was found that 'the voice was often held by the powerful members of the donor society (those who are typically white, well educated, Danish leaders) and when other voices were used, they are often supplementary, passive and uni-dimensional' (Richey *et al*, 2013, p 53). Indeed, it might be interpreted that this has resonance with the UK findings in relation to the dominant 1980s model of powerful giver and grateful receiver. Of course, this would merit further investigation and debate, which is beyond the scope of this current literature review.

However, specifically relevant to this study, both Richey *et al* (2013) and Darnton and Kirk (2011) drew on Frames Theory to steer the investigations. At this point, it is considered necessary to explain Frames in more detail, so that the reader has a clearer understanding of the terms and concepts that were used to guide the data analysis and the subsequent discussion and recommendations.

3.2 Frames: How People Think

Firstly, Frames, as understood in the cognitive sciences, can be defined as the mental structures that we use to manage our thought processes. Very briefly, each frame can be considered as part of a neural circuit which exists physically in our brains. Specific words or phrases can set off the neural circuitry to help us understand, rationalise, categorise and respond to information. For example, an NGO fundraising appeal with an image of a malnourished child and a caption stating 'End Starvation' might organise a person's thought process into particular frames which evoke a monetary contribution from the public. Darnton and Kirk argue that this approach is indicative of a 'charity frame'. The NGO is simply seen as the mechanism for privileged people to share their wealth with the poor' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p116). According to Darnton and Kirk, this is the prevailing paradigm used by the development sector, and they have identified this paradigm as the Live Aid Legacy, 'characterised by the relationship of powerful giver and grateful receiver' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p8). For the authors, such a paradigm, continuously 'defines the issue of concern as poverty, often to the exclusion of interrelated issues like trade, corruption, environment, governing philosophies, etc' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p117).

How Dominant Charity frames reinforces Unequal Power Relations

Drawing on the work of the cognitive linguist, George Lakoff, Darnton and Kirk, explore how the dominant charity frame serves to reinforce and legitimise unequal power relations between what is commonly referred to as 'developed' and 'under-developed' nations. The authors highlight how the use of Lakoff's concept of **deep frames** and **surface frames** can be applied to charity representations of people from the global south. Surface frames, as pointed out earlier, are the words, phrases and stories that the NGO chooses to use. For example, words, phrases and stories constructed around 'development', 'aid' and 'charity' provide us with a surface frame of reference which in turn activates deep frames. According to Lakoff, and as already mentioned, 'deep frames essentially represent whole world views' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p8). Applying Lakoff's frames theory, **Darnton and Kirk found that the development sector in general is problematic in that the very surface words it uses activate deep frames which can be considered negative and detrimental to the people the NGO declares to support.**

As the authors point out;

> Applying frames theory, it is striking that some of the words that should be avoided are right at the heart of how the development sector describes itself – words such as 'development', 'aid' and 'charity'. To take the first of these, 'development' is a problem because it activates the 'moral order' deep frame in which 'underdeveloped' nations are like backward children who can only grow up (develop) by following the lessons given by 'adult' nations higher up the moral order (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p8)

Throughout their work, Darnton and Kirk (2011) identified common deep Frames which are relevant to NGOs. The authors highlight these as either positive or negative in relation to development. They call for NGOs to engage with and deliberate over the below deep Frames with a view to embedding the more positive to the heart of communications material:

- The Non-hierarchical Network Frame not the Moral Order Frame
- The Embodied Mind Frame not The Rational Actor Frame
- The Shared Prosperity Frame not The Free Market Frame
- The Participatory Democracy Frame not The Elite Governance Frame

A description of the above deep frames is presented in appendix C. It is acknowledged that to operationalise such frames to the extent the authors call for, would take in depth consultation and interpretation throughout the NGO sector.   It was beyond the confines of this research to make any claims as to how this might be carried out. Nevertheless, it was within the scope of this research to interpret how the data apparent in this study relates to surface frames, and how it can be further potentially linked to deep frames. In this sense, this study can at least begin to gain an understanding of the dominant deep frames that Irish NGOs are employing.

3.3 How Frames are linked to Values

In Finding Frames (2011), Darnton and Kirk highlight how frames used by NGOs also trigger deep rooted values that are inherent in people. Following decades of research by psychologists, a number of consistently recurring human values have been identified.

Finding Frames draws on the work of Shalom Schwartz (1992; 2004) to present common innate values. The extent to which Darnton and Kirk consider these values as relevant to NGO communication strategies will be depicted in due course. Firstly, it is important to explain further the values identified by Schwartz through his in-depth empirical research. Studying values from cultures spanning more than 70 countries, Schwartz found that there are 57 distinct value types present in all human beings. As explained by Richey *et al* (2013), and listed below, Schwartz organised these value types into 10 overall motivational values, 'each defined in terms of their central goal, and followed in parentheses, by specific single values that primarily represent it' (Richey, *et al,* 2013, p11-12).

- Power: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources. (Social Power, Authority, Wealth)

- Achievement: Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. (Successful, Capable, Ambitious, Influential)

- Hedonism: Pleasure and sensuous gratification for one's self. (Pleasure, Enjoying Life)

- Stimulation: Excitement, novelty and challenge in life. (Daring, a varied Life, an Exciting Life)

- Self-direction: independent thought and action choosing, creating, exploring. (creativity, Freedom, Independent, Curious, Choosing own Goals)

- Universalism: Understanding, appreciating, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. (Broadminded, Wisdom, Social Justice, Equality, a World at Peace, a World of Beauty, unity with Nature, Protecting the Environment)

- Benevolence: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact. (Helpful, Honest, Forgiving, Loyal, Responsible)

- Tradition: Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self. (Humble, Accepting my Portion in Life, Devout, Respect for Tradition, Moderate)

- Conformity: Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others or violate social expectations and norms. (Politeness, Obedient, Self-Discipline, Honouring Parents and Elders)

- Security: Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self. (Family Security, National Security, Social Order, Clean, Reciprocation of Favours) (Schwartz, 1996, quoted in Richey, *et al,* 2013, p11-12)

As depicted below in Figure 2, Schwartz further presents a circular values system to highlight how some of these value types are compatible with each other and share an underlying motivational orientation, such as 'openness to change', 'conservation' self-transcendence', and 'self-enhancement'.
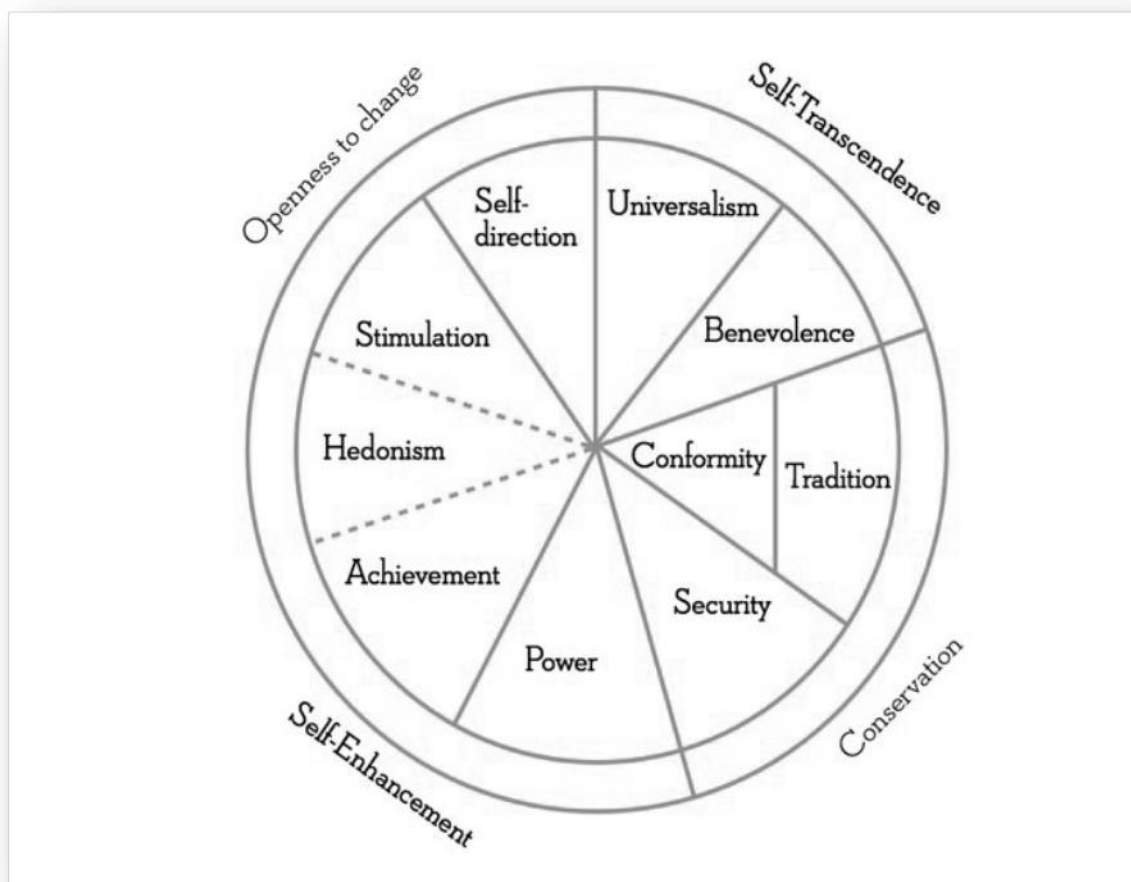
Figure.2. Swartz Circular Values System (quoted in Richey, *et al,* 2013, p13)

As the above illustrates some of these values also sit in opposition, or in antagonism to each other. The activation of one value type can diminish the power of its opposite. For example, values that share the same motivational goal will conflict with values located in its opposite. For example, the pursuit of self-enhancement values suppresses those of self-transcendence. Darnton and Kirk argue that 'because of the antagonistic relationship

between opposing values, the positive values that will deepen and sustain support for development are the self-transcendence values such as benevolence and universalism' (quoted in Richey *et al*, 2013, p13).

However, the authors found that UK NGOs are failing to foster these values. They built on the work of Tom Crompton (2012) to link values to frames to highlight this point. They found that the communication and messaging materials used by NGOs reduce public engagement to a 'transaction frame' which reinforces the West as the powerful giver, which in turn triggers values associated with self-enhancement.   Therefore, despite NGO claims that they are in favour of justice and equality, the very materials at the heart of their messaging serve to trigger innate achievement and power values, to the detriment of universalism.

3.4 Make Poverty History and the Live Aid Legacy

To emphasise the above mentioned point, Darnton and Kirk (2011) reviewed the 2005 'Make Poverty History' (MPH) campaign. They found that despite the campaign's attempt to situate action within universalism, 'the transformative potential offered by the rallying cry of justice not charity, went unheard, in part because it was unfamiliar and hard to comprehend, and also because it was drowned out by the noise of celebrities, white wristbands and pop concerts' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p6). As they further explain;

> Our reading of the Make Poverty History campaign suggests that the prevailing 'transaction frame' (in which support for tackling poverty is understood simply as making donations to charities) proved too strong. Meanwhile, all the things that made the campaign 'mass' reinforced the consumerist values that make the transaction frame so dominant. In the end, Live8 (a series of pop concerts across the globe in association with MPH) reminded everyone of 1985; in the public mind, Make Poverty History became the slogan for Live8, and the Live Aid Legacy was (inadvertently) reinforced (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p7).

Frames associated with the Live Aid Legacy, such as charity, transaction, or poverty, are considered by Darnton and Kirk (2011) to be highly problematic for the pursuit of equality and justice, which NGOs largely claim to be interested in. Rather, such frames reinforce the

public view of the developing world as charity, and by situating their campaigns towards the moral order deep frame, the NGO could be said to be triggering power and achievement values to the detriment of universalism and benevolence. Indeed, it was beyond the capacity of this study to explore such claims in depth. What this study could do, however, was conduct an analysis to identify dominant frames utilised by Irish NGOS, and consider the findings in relation to all of the above.

3.5 From the Live Aid Legacy to a Stereotype

It might be further argued that **the problem with frames associated with the Live Aid Legacy is that these create a stereotype.** According to Barthes, this stereotype can be considered a 'myth', which raises questions about an NGO's 'possible contribution to the making and institutionalisation of the existing myth by their subtle but persistent depictions of a stereotyped agrarian third world made up of only farmers' (Barthes, 1970, quoted in Young, 2012, p 15). Recent research commission by the African and Caribbean Support Organisation Northern Ireland (ACSONI) explored the implications of this 'myth' on Africans and people of African descent living in Northern Ireland, as well as the implications in relation to their human rights. For the purpose of this ACSONI exploration, Concern, Oxfam and Trócaire contributed images employed in their campaigning materials, and agreed to discuss the use of these images in relation to their appeals. Subsequently, focus group interviews were conducted with 20 individuals who are African or of African descent. Through the focus groups, it emerged that despite the participating organisations mentioning that they are committed to the Dóchas Code of Conduct on images and messages (see appendix a), the overall theme in their materials was the perpetuation of helpless Africans. For example, the use of the 'Poster Child' as an image was considered, by the findings, as a means to infantilise African nations. Furthermore, the depiction of women was seen to stereotype all African women as helpless mothers who are dependent on instruction from the West. Consequently, it was claimed that 'this impedes the ability of African women and women of African descent to move beyond the stereotypes created in the charity campaign images' (Young, 2012, p33). Drawing on Northern Ireland and European Human Rights Provision, Young highlighted how this could impact on the human rights of these women, and she called for NGOs to review their content more rigorously in terms of rights laws.

Although Young's (2012) research was conducted in Northern Ireland, the participating organisations were members of Dóchas. This has relevance in that it indicates that a body of work is already emerging on the island of Ireland which is critiquing and looking at the implications of development images upon minority ethnic groups living in Northern Ireland. Even though, this work did not analyse images in relation to Frames theory, it is considered important to mention in the wider context of this literature review and subsequent relevant findings that emerged throughout this investigation.

Overall, this research drew on all the variables presented in the above discussion, and indeed those presented in the previous chapter, to investigate the dominant frames utilised by the NGOs who participated in this study. Finally, these frames were collapsed in relation to three key themes relevant to the values presented in Section 2.3. The next chapter outlines all of the findings in depth.

Chapter 4
Research Findings

Firstly, the researcher would like to remind the reader of the categories outlined in detail in Section 1.6, which were set to guide this analysis. These were:

- **Category 1** - Frames: Including surface and deep frames, which have been set out and defined in appendix 3

- **Category 2** - Action Frames: NGO calls to action which were either situated within a transaction frame or within socio-political actions which, for the purpose of this analysis, were termed as a deeper engagement frame

- **Category 3** - Progress Information Frames: data that indicated progress or good news stories about development

- **Beyond The Set Categories:** Any unexpected categories that emerged from the data which did not fit with the above set categories

Data from each artifact, or unit of analysis, was grouped into the above specific categories, whilst allowing new categories to emerge. Appendix d contains a full outline of the process the researcher initially took in assigning all data to relevant categories. When all data was thoroughly examined and categorised, the researcher further considered how all findings could be collapsed into overall themes. Three key themes emerged, two of which were relevant to the Swartz Circular Values System (1992; 2004), presented in Section 3.3. These themes included; self-enhancement and self-transcendence. Finding deeper frames also emerged as a theme relevant to the unexpected categories that materialised throughout this study.

It is important to point out that this analysis is not exhaustive in that some of the material would merit a more in depth investigation to draw out frames through a thorough textual analysis, perhaps by investigating words and phrases through each paragraph. It was outside of the confines of this research to explore every piece of data at this level, and identify frames beyond what were easily apparent. Nevertheless, as previously alluded to,

the strength of this report lies in the fact that it is a stepping stone to instigate further explorations and discussions around the use of frames by Ireland's NGOs.

4.1 Unit of Analysis 1 – Analysis Documents

Analysis documents comprised of thirteen materials in total. These included eight Annual Reports and five specific Impact or Progress Reports. It should be noted that one organisation submitted two Annual Reports which seemed to focus on different achievements. One other organisation failed to submit an Annual Report.

The researcher considered each document in turn, searching out information to group into the relevant categories. Beginning with the cover page of each document, and subsequently searching through the body of the materials, the following emerged:

Of all the front covers of the Annual Reports, eight included images that might be described as poster children. Six of these had images of a single child only, with the other two imaging two or more children.

Although it might be argued that these images are representations of progress made, or 'Good News' stories, as stand-alone and first impression images they seemed to immediately activate the 'moral order' deep frame in which 'underdeveloped' nations are portrayed as children who can only grow up (develop) by following the lessons given by 'adult' nations higher up the moral order. As highlighted in Section 3.5, Young's (2012) findings seem to be consistent with this positioning, where she sees the use of poster children as a means to infantilise developing nations. Hence, these eight images were assigned under the Frames category, and considered to be indicative of the charity and help the poor surface frames, which subsequently are connected to the moral order deep frame. A further 56 images depicting poster children were contained within the body of the analysis materials, which were therefore categorised as above. Five of these images depicted the children with white Western women who had fundraised for them, and who subsequently visited the children to see how the money they have been donating had being used by the NGO. One image appeared within a report which might be considered to be in breach of the Dóchas code. The image showed four severely malnourished children, photographed naked above the waist. It should be noted, however, that the image was used in a historical context, where the organisation concerned was highlighting that this was

indicative of their work during the 90s. In this sense, a more rigorous analysis would be warranted where the image is explored within the context of the wider report. Nevertheless, the image in itself was undoubtedly considered to be resonant of charity, help the poor and moral order, and thus was assigned as the images above within the Frames category.

Progress Reports: Women, Children and a Gender Frame

In relation to the five Impact or Progress Reports, the front covers contained a variety of images. One of these contained a photograph of women and girls in a field, and another depicted an image of young smiling school children. As with the poster children, the women and girls image appeared to resonate with Young's (2012) finding which highlighted that NGOs largely portray women in terms of working endlessly to nurture and care for their children, and who are in constant need of help and instruction from the West to help them become better care providers. These were subsequently categorised as the images above. In the body of the analysis documents, a further 28 images appeared of women either working in fields, carrying buckets of water on their head, cooking, or looking after children. In comparison, eighteen images appeared which depicted men in a similar respect, highlighting their role as a father or their work in fields. Interestingly, Young (2012) argues that the over use of images of women in such roles, renders men as abandoning women which in turn emasculates a whole region. However, it seems that that this research might be indicating that men are appearing in NGO materials.

Nevertheless, at this point, a challenge was emerging for the researcher in relation to how to categorise the above images of men. It seemed clear that the depiction of women in the mentioned roles justified a straight forward assignment to the Frames category under the charity, help the poor and moral order frames. Indeed, at a first glance, the depiction of men in this way also justified allocation to these categories. However, it also seemed that a new category was surfacing. In short, a gender frame appeared to be emerging as an unexpected category, beyond those that were initially set to guide the analysis. Thus, all of the above mentioned data depicting women and men was also categorised into this new category. Moreover, throughout the body of the analysis documents, 34 images of women appeared in which they were represented in what might be described as entrepreneurial roles such as; managing community schemes and setting up their own business projects. As

well as being categorised to the gender frame, these images were assigned to the Frames category under 'investing in entrepreneurs' frame, which Darnton and Kirk define as 'the notion that the way to alleviate poverty is to treat the world's poor as entrepreneurs who only need to be given loans (eg microcredit) so they can start their own businesses' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p117). In turn, this could be said to activate the 'free market' deep frame as defined in appendix c.

Headings and Symbols

One of the reports simply contained a text heading on its front cover. This consisted of the heading, 'Biofuels: Fuelling Poverty and Environmental Degradation'.   This was considered as an image and assigned to the Frames category, as it immediately seemed to evoke the social movement surface frame, which in this instance, appeared to have potential to activate the embodied mind deep frame. The heading alerted readers to the notion that biofuels were a factor in damaging the environment whilst in turn contributing to reproducing poverty. The reader was therefore immediately encouraged to think about interconnected issues that impacted the whole globe. As Darnton and Kirk put it, unlike the 'rational actor' frame, 'in this worldview reasoning is not purely a mechanical process like mathematical logic, but comes from human interaction with the physical and social environment' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p83). The text contained within the body of this document was also categorised in line with its heading. Overall, the text was a policy briefing which called into question the biofuels policies of Ireland, the EU and other major economies. It called for action to prevent the expansion of land-based biofuels, highlighting the effects of biofuels on the climate and natural resources which in turn affects peoples' right to food. In this sense, the text was also categorised under the action frame of deeper engagement.

Similar to the document presented above, the front cover of another report simply contained symbols to represent various human rights. Again, this was considered as an image and was categorised within Frames, under the justice and fairness surface frame, which in turn is linked to the participatory democracy deep frame. The body of the report was assigned to these categories, given that it was a piece of research that highlighted the voices of people from six developing countries in an attempt to inform and challenge Western thinking on the post-2015 agenda.   Although, for the purpose of this analysis, the

researcher assigned this data to the above mentioned categories, it is necessary to highlight that such documents warrant critique at a more theoretical level, and a subsequent re-evaluation of how these might be considered to be framed. For example, a critique from a post-colonial perspective might raise questions around the whole notion of the post-2015 agenda, probing and asking questions around who is in the driving seat of this 'agenda'. In other words, might it be considered a Western driven agenda, and is it bringing voices from the global South to simply 'react' and 'comment' upon a dominant Western framework, therefore ultimately maintaining the interests of the global north, so be it at a more inclusive level? For the researcher, such questions were beginning to highlight complexities around applying Frames which were beyond the scope of this project to fully address.

Volunteers: Transformational or Help the Poor

One report contained an image of a group of young adults who seemed to be from various ethnic backgrounds. All of the adults were smiling and linked together. In the context of this research, this image seemed to fit with the Frames category under 'mutual support and partnership', which in turn could be considered to evoke the deeper frame of 'non-hierarchical networks'. Overall, a further six images, that could be assigned to these frames, appeared within the analysis documents. Further, the text within the body of the aforementioned report was assigned to the Fames category, under 'transformational experience' frame which has potential to trigger the 'participatory democracy' deep frame. The report focused on presenting findings in relation to how peoples' lives here have been impacted through direct volunteering experiences in developing countries. One other report also follows this format, and therefore was assigned to the categories as above.

Throughout the overall analysis documents, nine images appeared in relation to volunteering experiences, which were also assigned as the text within the report above. However, it should be noted that the researcher is not claiming that all volunteer participants have had a transformational experience, but rather, the intention behind the programmes claimed to be based around providing participants with an opportunity to experience firsthand life in a developing country, and become motivated to take action for global justice on return. Whether, or not, this was the case would require more in-depth research.

Furthermore, text within the body of a particular report was very much focused on the role that the volunteer played within the developing country. Highly skilled volunteers were selected to help build the expertise of various organisations through; introducing better finance and governance practices, building the capacity for better practice, strengthening agri-business projects and the like. The focus here was very much based on the volunteer working their way 'out of a job' so that the various projects could become independent and better equipped to grow as organisations and attract their own funding. It could be argued that this could be assigned to the Frames category under the notion of volunteering to 'help the poor', which in turn triggers the moral order deep frame. As Darnton and Kirk put it, 'the moral order is all too often extended to men above women, whites above non-whites, Christians above non-Christians, straight people above gay people. As such it underpins many of our narratives around charity and mission. Indeed this frame informs the foundations of the big development NGOs that operate around the world today' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, p85). However, throughout the document, it was emphasised how the organisation works towards building capacity independent of the NGO, and the progress and impact made is highlighted throughout. In this respect, the data was categorised under the progress information frame, as well as being assigned to help the poor and moral order.

Furthermore, the document highlighted how the organisation sets about to work in partnership with projects to help build better communities, increase education and improve health care. In fact, all of the annual report documents mentioned how they work with partner organisations in the various countries, in order to better understand the specific needs of the people.

At this point, it seems fitting to highlight the areas of work that the NGOs address. These emerged solely from the analysis documents, and are depicted in the below table. This is followed by a table highlighting the countries that the NGOs collectively work in, as referred to throughout all of the artifacts.

Area of Work	Number of NGOs
Health/Cancer Care/Disability Care/Aids	7
Policy/Advocacy	7
Gender Equality/Empowerment of Women	5
Water	5
Education	4
Enterprise Development/Income Generation/Economic Empowerment/Livelihoods	4
Nutrition/Hunger/Malnutrition	4
Children's Rights/Birth Register/Human Rights	3
Environment	3
Sanitation/Hygiene	3
Child Sponsorship	2
Food Security/Insecurity	2
Governance	2
Volunteering	3
Agriculture	1
Early stimulation	1

Figure.3. Areas of Work as mentioned by the NGOs

Burkina Faso	Guinea	Mozambique	Philippines	Togo
Cambodia	Guinea Bissau	Myanmar	Rwanda	Uganda
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Haiti	Nicaragua	Sierra Leone	Yemen
Dominican Republic	Honduras	Niger	Somalia	Tanzania
El Salvador	India	Nigeria	Somaliland	Yemen
Ethiopia	Liberia	Palestinian Territories	South Africa	Zambia
Gambia	Kenya	Pakistan	South Sudan	Zimbabwe
Guatemala	Malawi	Peru	Timor-Leste	

Figure.4. Country List

In highlighting the partnership approach to working in developing countries, all of the annual reports presented information or news which depicted the impact each specific NGO has had. In this sense, all reports were assigned to the progress information category. 23 images, also assigned to progress information, appeared within these reports which depicted various successes such as local people graduating or doctors receiving training for example. Further, the annual reports also mentioned campaigns such as Act Now, The World We Want and IF. Again, similar to the Post-15 agenda report, referred to above, it could be argued that these campaigns merit a much more thorough analysis from a post-colonial perspective. Indeed, rigorously analysing all of the annual report data, assigned to progress information, is also be merited. Even though, progress information highlights development impact, exploring this information from a more in-depth post-colonial lens would raise more rigorous questions around how NGO discourse can be considered to be framed. Nonetheless, although important to point out in relation to a wider discussion and possible future investigations, such analysis, as mentioned, was beyond the scope of this project.

Causes of Poverty

Out of all the reports, five did not mention the causes of poverty. Rather, statistics and facts were presented in relation to the respective themes of work, with success and impact being aligned to fundraising support. In fact, 26 images depicting community and corporate fundraising events appeared in these documents. Overall, these were deemed to situate the solution to poverty within the transaction action frame, and the data was therefore assigned to this category. This data was also assigned to the Frames category under and the poverty frame subsequent moral order deep frame.

A further two reports were also assigned to these categories, and in fact these organisations presented the causes of poverty as internal the developing country itself, for example; gender discrimination, lack of income, attitudes to disability, customary laws, lack of knowledge or poor weather. Two documents situated the causes of poverty within an international structural level, and highlighted issues such as tax havens, trade injustice, and the importance of challenging the Western agenda within a global context. In this sense, these were assigned to the Frames category, under the social movement frame and participatory democracy deep frame. Furthermore, eight images contained within the

bodies of the reports were also be assigned to these categories. The images depicted people from both the global north and south protesting, lobbying, and partaking in awareness raising activities, with one of these activities linked into fundraising.

Overall, the analysis documents contained a variety of images and messages that could be allocated to different frames. However, in relation to images, the charity frame, help the poor frame, and moral order deep frame were, at this point, dominating with 113 images assigned to each of these categories. The category of progress information contained nine document texts, thus far, closely followed by seven which fell under poverty, transaction and the moral order deep frame.

4.2 Unit of Analysis 2 – Articles

Articles comprised of fourteen documents in total, largely made up of materials for distribution to the public in support of the fundraising campaigns. Throughout these articles 42 images of poster children and 27 images of women working in fields emerged. As with similar images that emerged earlier, these were assigned to the Frames category, under charity, help the poor and the moral order deep frame. The 27 images of women were also assigned to the gender frame, as were seven images of men either depicting them working in a field or partaking in various community initiatives.

A section of text within one article focused on telling the story of how the illustrated poster child had been saved through a nutrition intervention, and how his mother had been educated on how to provide him with better nutrients. There was no indication of the underlying causes of poverty, and no mention of how the NGO partners implement interventions on the ground. Rather, the reader was left with the impression that the NGO itself was the direct provider of all service delivery, and by donating to the NGO the supporters alone would achieve a better future for the intended beneficiary. Further, the absence of information about partners could be said to situate the text within the Frames category, under charity, poverty and help the poor surface frames which could potentially trigger the moral order deep frame. The material also made a direct appeal for money, therefore calling for action within a transaction frame. Collectively, within all of the articles, fourteen similar stories appeared as text sections which focused on the struggles of a particular person or family from specific developing countries. The causes of poverty were

largely seen as internal to the countries, with some facts provided in relation to malnutrition, mortality, gender, health and various other relevant themes. Calls to action focused on donations, and four of the articles contained step by step guides on how to be a successful fundraiser. Hence, these were categorised as above.

Two of the articles contained text which focused on calls for support or action around issues that could be considered to be exposing underlying causes of poverty. One of these articles was linked to the biofuels report which was referred to earlier, and was assigned to the Frames category, under the social movement surface frame and embodied mind deep frame. It was also assigned to the deeper engagement action frame. The other article was categorised likewise as it is focused around promoting support and action around a water and environment campaign.

Out of all the articles, four had a focus on information about the organisations' volunteer programmes. Two of these set out opportunities for volunteering in specific developing countries, with an emphasis based on having a transformational experience and learning about development through working in partnership. One document centred on effective fundraising for the volunteer trip, and another consisted of a story from a volunteer which outlined her direct experience of volunteering in a specific developing country. Although these documents could also be considered under the artifact of advertising, the researcher viewed these as articles, since they contained a considerable amount of text, rather than a short condensed message. Nevertheless, this data seemed to fit with the Frames category, under mutual support and partnership, which in turn might be considered to evoke the deeper frame of non-hierarchical networks. The data was also written in a way which promoted the notion of the transformational experience surface frame and the participatory democracy deep frame, and therefore was assigned as such.

Beyond Frames as a Tick-Box Exercise

Although the above articles might appear to be easily assigned to the mentioned frames, the researcher believes that the whole idea of exploring frames within the context of volunteering would merit more in-depth investigation. For example, exploring volunteering from a post-colonial perspective might call into question possible power relations between

the sending organisation and the host community, and the subsequent level of how volunteering could be considered within the non-hierarchical network frame.

At this point, it was becoming evident that assigning various materials to frames was proving to be more than a simple tick box exercise.   Rather, it was emerging that a significant amount of data required investigation at a rigorous and inquiry based level, before it could be firmly assigned to Frames. From this point of view, it seemed that an unexpected category was emerging, which the researcher termed as 'perspectives around frames'.   Indeed, as depicted earlier, the researcher raised a similar question around a report that was intended to provide a platform for the voices of people from the global south to inform the post-2015 agenda. Although the researcher assigned this report under the justice and fairness and participatory democracy frames, she called for a re-evaluation of these assigned frames from a post-colonial perspective. Therefore, since 'perspectives around frames' has emerged as a significant and unexpected category, the researcher also coded the above mentioned report and four articles into this category.

Furthermore, all previously assigned data, where the researcher called for more rigorous inquiry was also assigned to this new emergent category. These included; eight annual report documents, and the sixteen volunteer images and three reports in relation to volunteering that were reported on in Section 4.1 above.

4.3 Unit of Analysis 3 – Advertisements

The advertisements were made up of seventeen pieces of material which focused on various fundraising campaigns or events organised by the NGO.   Throughout all of this material, there were 36 images of poster children and fourteen images of women depicted either with children, working in a field, or carrying buckets of water. As with similar images that emerged in the above sections, these were categorised likewise. Five images depicting men either with children or working in fields also emerged, and together with the fourteen images of women these were collectively categorised under the gender frame.

There were five images depicting volunteers in developing countries, and given the points already raised around volunteering, these were assigned to the unexpected category of perspectives around frames. Three other images portrayed successful initiatives such as students, from developing countries, graduating, and were therefore categorised under the

progress information frame. Finally, thirteen images illustrated fundraising initiatives from people in the West in support of the NGO, which were assigned to the Frames category, under charity and moral order deep frame. These were also assigned to the action frames category, under transaction.

Four of these materials were flyers to promote fundraising events, with two providing the target amount of money to be raised. These were simply assigned to the action frames category, under transaction frame. However, it was difficult to predict what deep frame these might potentially evoke since the fundraising events were simply advertised without any indication of the impact the money raised would have on the NGO projects. Furthermore, such events involved active activities such as marathons, hill climbing or mountaineering. Therefore, a deeper analysis is merited around whether these advertisements are intended to be directed towards people who are likely to be attracted to such events, rather than being used as a means to engage people in development issues. In this sense, these were also assigned to the perspectives around frames category.

A further two of the materials contained flyers depicting online gifts that could be purchased for the people from the specific developing countries; such as a goat, porridge, or a bicycle for example. One of these flyers contained a personal story about a little boy who had benefitted from the NGO's nutrition programme, and claims were made around how a purchased gift could prevent further cases of severe malnutrition. Both flyers did not describe any underlying causes of poverty, but simply provided facts to link poverty to internal factors within the specific countries. A further 3 of the materials displayed a selection of personal stories which linked the causes of poverty as internal to the developing country, and called for action through donating or volunteering. All of this material was assigned to the Frames category, under charity, help the poor, poverty and moral order deep frame. These were also assigned to the Action Frame category under transaction.

Two advertisement documents depicted the impact the NGO has had in specific developing countries. In this sense these were assigned to the category of progress information. However, given the points raised earlier around the need to critique such information from a post-colonial lens, these were also assigned to perspectives around frames. Further, since a call to fundraising was also apparent, these were assigned to the transaction frame and

the moral order deep frame within the Frames category. One other flyer simply outlined the NGO's direct impact, and therefore was assigned to progress information and perspectives around frames, as consistent with the above position. Four of the flyers advertised volunteering opportunities, and in line with the complexities around volunteering addressed earlier, these were assigned to the perspectives around frames category. An advertisement which simply promoted the organisation's charity shop, without reference to any specific programme overseas, was assigned to perspectives around frames. This was due to the fact that that it would merit a deeper investigation which considers the role of charity shops within a wider context of variables such as consumerism and reusing, against the backdrop of development issues.

4.4 Unit of Analysis 4 – Websites

Firstly, it should be stated that links to all of the data analysed under this artifact were accessed on 30.12.14.

Homepage

Homepages largely consisted of a key image, a short statement about the organisation, and various other images which led to links to highlight aspects of the NGO. Seven organisations had images of poster children or women and children at the forefront of their homepages. Collectively, these consisted of seventeen poster children and seven images of women represented either with children, working in a field or collecting water. As with similar images that emerged earlier, these were assigned to the Frames category, under charity, help the poor and the moral order deep frame. The seven images of women were also assigned to the gender frame. Only one image was a depiction of men, and one other was of volunteers. These were assigned as similar images apparent in other artifacts discussed earlier.

One NGO's homepage simply depicted an image of a road. Given that this was difficult to categorise as a stand-alone image, it was assigned to perspectives around frames.   One image appeared on a homepage that displayed symbols linked to environmental issues, which promoted actions such as reducing food, water and electricity waste.   This immediately seemed to evoke the social responsibility frame which could be linked to the participatory democracy deep frame. It was also assigned to the action frames category

under deeper engagement.   One other image was of a reusable water bottle intended to both raise funds by purchasing it, whilst also raising awareness of water issues.   In this sense, this could be assigned to the action frame category, under both transaction and deeper engagement.

Overall, considering all homepages collectively, the links that were predominantly highlighted to encourage the visitor to click on included:

> Ten links to fundraising (assigned under the action frames category as transaction, and also assigned to the Frames category under the moral order deep frame)

> Eight links to themes of work (assigned to progress information and perspectives around frames)

> One call for actions linked to environment campaigning (assigned to the Frames category under social responsibility and participatory democracy deep frame. Also assigned to the action frames category under deeper engagement)

Each homepage also had a short statement, or paragraph, to summarise the work of the organisation. References to poverty, hunger, development, or the world's poorest, were apparent on six homepages. These were assigned to the Frames category under charity, help the poor, poverty, and the moral order deep frame. Two other organisations made reference to interdependence, working together, partnership or skill sharing. These could be said to be framed around international solidarity and non-hierarchical networks, and were thus assigned as such under the Frames category.

About Us Links

Collectively, within the sixteen 'About Us' links, there appeared 26 images of poster children and five images of women with children. Only one image appeared of a man working in a field. All of these were assigned as with similar images that have already emerged. Three images appeared of volunteers, and these were assigned to perspectives around frames for reasons previously discussed.

Throughout these sections, the organisations set out their main mission, and sub-links appeared beside the above images for the viewer to click on to find out more about each specific theme of work. Collectively, references to deprivation, the world's poorest or hard-pressed communities, were apparent on ten of the links. All of these pages also included links for the viewer to donate or get involved in fundraising. Four other links talked about the causes of poverty, but these were situated as internal to the countries themselves, such as poor health care, no electricity, lack of skills and beneficiaries needing educated so they could meet their own needs. Given all these variables, these links were categorised under the Frames category, as charity, help the poor, poverty, and the moral order deep frame. The initial ten links, which directed viewers to donate or fundraise, were also assigned to the action frames category, under transaction. Two of these links also had a focus on building entrepreneurship in the countries where the organisation operated and thus were assigned to invest in entrepreneurs frame. However, six of the above mentioned links also made reference to the fact that the work was carried out in partnership with community organisations, and two links referred to children's rights. In this sense, these were also assigned under perspectives around frames, as a more in-depth analysis beyond the scope of this research is merited in this instance.

Out of the overall sixteen links, two made reference to being part of a global network to bring about structural change. Calls were made for actions around environmental justice. Further references were made around cultural understanding, advocacy, lobbying, interdependence and solidarity for justice. These links were assigned to the Frames category under international solidarity, social responsibility and the participatory democracy deep frame. These were also assigned to the action frame, under deeper engagement. Finally, four links appeared which focus on volunteering abroad, and as with other volunteering data, these were assigned to perspectives around frames.

Calls to Action Links

In total, there appeared 38 calls to action links.   Throughout these, there were 30 images of poster children and ten images of women either with children or in a field working. These were assigned as previous similar images. These images included a link to click into in order to find out more about various ways the potential supporter could get involved. 27 of these links were situated around fundraising initiatives such as; events, a one off donation,

sponsor a child, direct debit, corporate giving, school fund raising or gifts. All of these links referred to the beneficiaries of the NGO as either the world's poorest, the most disadvantaged, most vulnerable, most deprived or most in need. No underlying causes of poverty were mentioned. The potential supporter was simply asked to 'help' the world's poorest by providing financial assistance. These links were categorised to Frames under; charity, help the poor, poverty, and moral order deep frame. All of these links were also categorised to the action frames category, under transaction. Six other links focused on a call to get involved in volunteering programmes. These were assigned as with earlier data that emerged under this area. Two links focused on calls to support the IF campaign or Act Now. For reasons discussed earlier, these were assigned to perspectives around frames. Finally, three links focused on calls to action for environmental justice. These were assigned to the Frames category, under international solidarity, social responsibility, and the participatory democracy deep frame. These were also assigned to the action frames category under deeper engagement.

4.5 Unit of Analysis 5 – Direct Mail

Direct mail consisted of fifteen items in total, four of which were intended for post. The remainder were for communication through e-news. Collectively, there were sixteen images of women either with children or working in fields, seventeen images of poster children, two of an NGO Director with children, and three of white Western women with children whilst visiting the projects. These were assigned to categories as similar images described in the artifacts above. Ten images depicted corporate and community fundraising. All of these were assigned to the action frames category, under transaction. These were also assigned to the Frames category, under charity and the moral order deep frame. Four images highlighted community progress stories such as local training schemes or health initiatives. These were therefore assigned to the progress information category. Finally, four images featured campaigns such as IF, Act Now, and water initiatives. Due to points raised around such data in the earlier sections, these were assigned to perspectives around frames.

Postal Material

In the postal materials, one was a call to action for the public to buy gifts such as paying for school fees or a goat for example. The call to buy gifts drew on personal stories to highlight what each gift could achieve for the specific individuals. No underlying causes of poverty were explained, and there was no mention of a partnership approach to the NGO's work. It simply stated that by buying a gift, the supporter and the NGO alone could bring about significant change.   Similarly, another direct mail document followed this format, and a personal story of a young boy was provided to exemplify how the supporter could save children like him from suffering from severe malnutrition by purchasing a gift. There was no mention of how the NGO worked in partnership to bring about change. Rather, in this instance, the NGO situated itself as the direct provider of the service delivery. Further, underlying causes of malnutrition were linked to the fault of the beneficiaries themselves, such as parents having a poor understanding of nutrition and lacking knowledge on how to provide their child with a balanced meal. A further personal story was depicted which highlighted how a mother leaves her child for long periods to go work in the fields, and whilst she was gone her child was not being fed properly. It was suggested that the supporter could change this by buying a gift, so that the NGO could better train nurses who would subsequently better educate mothers on how to feed their children properly.

Both above direct mail documents were categorised under Frames as charity, help the poor, poverty and the moral order deep frame. These were also assigned to the action frames category, under transaction.   The researcher also felt it important to assign the mail depicting the personal story about the above mentioned woman to the gender frame, since it was so focused on her role and abilities as a mother.

Two postal documents had a focus on child sponsorship. One consisted of letter written by a specific child to say thank you to his or her sponsor. This was assigned to the Frames category under, help the poor, charity, and the moral order deep frame.   The second document was a letter to the sponsor highlighting progress around certain initiatives in their sponsored child's district. This was very much written to demonstrate impact, and was thus assigned to the progress information category. However, no underlying causes of poverty were mentioned, and the progress made was stated as a result of the supporter donations. In this sense, this direct mail item was also assigned to the Frames category under poverty

and the moral order deep frame. It was also allocated to the action frames category, under transaction. Perhaps here, if anywhere, highlights the need for progress information in general to be scrutinised from a more rigorous post-colonial perspective. Thus, this document was also assigned to perspectives around frames.

E-News

Four e-news documents began with letters which thanked the supporter for their generosity whilst aligning impact directly as a result of their contribution. The letters also made a direct ask to the supporter to continue to donate further, and collectively fourteen fundraising initiatives were presented to the supporters to get involved in.   Again, no underlying causes of poverty were mentioned. In this respect, these items were assigned to the Frames category, under charity, help the poor and the moral order deep frame. These were further assigned to the action frames category, under transaction.   One e-news document is simply a replication of the postal appeal letter depicted earlier in relation to the young boy's story around malnutrition, and was therefore assigned to the same categories as the letter.

Three e-news documents did not set out direct appeals for fundraising, but calls to action were situated more within addressing various underlying causes of poverty by lobbying for change at a structural level.   It is important to note that these e-news all emerged from one particular NGO. Nevertheless, all of the documents contained information on issues such as water, food security and the environment, and called on supporters to engage with these at a personal and political level. In this respect, these documents were assigned to the Frames category, under international solidarity, change the system, social responsibility and the participatory democracy deep frame.   These were also assigned to the action frames category, under deeper engagement.

Finally, three e-news documents were focused around promoting the NGO's over sea volunteering programmes. Due to considerations already raised around volunteering, these documents were assigned to the perspectives around frames category.

4.6 Unit of Analysis 6 – Video

There were 22 videos in total considered in this analysis. Four of these videos were based on an overview of the progress the NGOs have made in specific countries. In all of these films, images from specific developing countries were shown with statistics appearing around progress made. An emphasis on partnership work was also indicated, and one of the films included voices from their partner projects. These videos were assigned to the progress information category, and also to perspectives around frames due to the call already made around the need for more in depth analysis to be applied to such material.

In contrast, there were four videos which were very much focused on a direct appeal for financial support. Three contained white Western voice-overs, who told the story of the depicted beneficiaries around poverty, help the poor and charity frames, thus triggering the moral order deep frame. The other video, assigned under the same categories, followed a similar format to the above mentioned, but included the voices of the beneficiaries themselves within the appeal. All of these videos were also allocated to the action frames category, under transaction, since the solution to poverty was portrayed as reliant on a direct donation from the supporter.

Significantly, twelve videos emerged that were focused on calls for support or action around issues including; water, environment, biofuels, genetically modified food, and human rights. These were therefore assigned to the Frames category, under social movement, international solidarity, social responsibility, and the participatory democracy deep frame. These were further assigned to the action frames category, under deeper engagement.

Finally, two videos appeared that were directly linked to fund raising events, which solely called for donations. These were subsequently categorised to the action frames category, under transaction. However, similar to the point raised around events earlier, it was difficult to predict what deep frame these might evoke, since the fundraising events were simply advertised without any attempt to engage the viewer in development issues. In this sense, these were also assigned to the perspectives around frames category.

4.7 Unit of Analysis 7 – Social Media

Number of Followers	Number of Tweets
3805	4466
1079	3720
1537	1022
727	2261
649	459
540	596
379	298

Figure.5. Twitter

The above table highlights the number of followers and tweets of each organisation as accessed by the researcher on January 22nd 2014. However, the researcher only considered direct tweets from the year 2013. Re-tweeting, directly tweeting and responding to other account posts were not included in the analysis. It should also be noted that one participating organisation had no direct link to a twitter page.

On the initial account pages, two displayed logos as their header image photo, one was a depiction of a poster child, two showed women in fields, one was an image of a field and one illustrated a chick. As with similar images that have emerged in the above sections, the images of poster children and women in fields were assigned to the Frames category, under charity, help the poor and the moral order deep frame. The images of women were also categorised under the gender frame. The remainder of the images were categorised under perspectives around frames, since as stand-alone images, these were difficult to assign to frames without a deeper analysis within the wider context of the organisation.

The organisation with 4466 tweets had a wide range of data that could be categorised into various frames. Overall, it appeared that this organisation balanced its use of twitter for progress information, requests for fundraising actions, policy papers and providing knowledge about environmental issues with calls for public action to address these. The researcher believed that this twitter account required a full analysis, before an accurate representation of the dominant frames employed could truly emerge. This project did not allow for such an in-depth examination. Thus, although it could be claimed the organisation

seemed to employ various frames throughout the tweets, the researcher believed it was best not to assign these to any categories at this point without a full investigation beyond purposive or judgemental sampling.   This also emerged as the case with the organisation with 3720 tweets.   In short, this account appeared to be employing twitter to largely respond to and engage with followers or other twitter users. The majority of tweets were directed to various accounts, and without a deeper analysis, it was difficult to adequately assess how these were framed.

Nevertheless, the researcher was able to gain an overall sense of how the remainder of the organisations were largely framing tweets.   In these accounts, it was more apparent to identify which frames were dominating the twitter posts.   Figure 6 below, provides a collective overview of how the tweets could be described.

Fundraising (events, appeals, child sponsor)	91
Progress News	95
Volunteering Programme Information	27
If/Act Now/World We Want Information	54
Universal (human rights, environment)	33

Figure.6. Tweet Descriptions

As mentioned, although the above provides a general breakdown of how tweets were being used, it is acknowledged that this was not an exhaustive overview of the accounts. Moreover, many of the tweets assigned to fundraising require further investigation by clicking on the links in order to determine how the request for money is framed. Therefore, for the purpose of this research, all of the fundraising tweets, in this artifact, were simply assigned to the action frames category, under transaction.   The progress news tweets were assigned to the progress information frame.   Due to concerns already raised around information that falls within this category, these were also assigned to the perspectives around frames, as were the tweets that emerged around the volunteering, If, Act Now and World We Want.   Finally, the tweets about universal issues were categorised to Frames, under the 'justice and fairness' surface frame and the 'participatory democracy' deep frame.

As with Figure 6 above, the below table depicts a collective overview of how the facebook posts of the eight participating organisations could be described. These were assigned to the same categories as the tweet descriptions above.

Fundraising (events, appeals, child sponsor)	184
Progress News	144
Volunteering Programme Information	58
If/Act Now/World We Want Information	31
Universal (human rights, environment)	63

Figure.7. Facebook Post Descriptions

Of all the above facebook accounts, there appeared an image of poster children on four profile pages. One other account depicted women in a field. These were assigned as with similar images that emerged in previous artifacts. One account image exhibited a group of adults, perhaps volunteers, either at a seminar or conference. One other account displayed an image of a road. These were assigned to perspectives around frames, given that these were difficult to categorise as stand-alone images. Finally one account presented an image of symbols linked to environmental issues, which promoted actions such as recycling and reducing food, water and electricity waste. This immediately seemed to evoke the social responsibility linked to the participatory democracy deep frame, and was therefore assigned as such under the Frames category. These were also assigned to the action frames category, under deeper engagement.

It is important to emphasise that although a selection of posts fell into the universal description, these largely came from one of the participating organisations. Overall, it seemed that social media was predominantly used by the organisations to give general information about the NGO progress, and to promote fundraising. Thus, the transaction frame appeared to be the dominant call to action.

4.8 Collapsed Themes

When all data was thoroughly examined and categorised, the researcher considered how all the findings could be collapsed into overall themes. As apparent in appendix d, the surface frames that dominated this analysis included; charity, help the poor and poverty. The dominant action frame was transaction. All of these, of which were linked to the moral order deep frame. Given the arguments presented in Chapter 3 around how the moral order deep frame is connected to values motivated by power and achievement, all of this data was collapsed into the overriding theme of self-enhancement (see Swartz Circular Values System, Section 3.3). For similar arguments already highlighted, the data assigned to the Frames category, under invest in entrepreneurs and the free market deep frame was also collapsed under this theme. Collectively, this all amounted to 2049 pieces of data.

Drawing further on the Swartz Value system discussed in Chapter 3, self-transcendence also emerged as a relevant collapsed theme. This included data that was originally assigned to the Frames category under; social movement, justice and fairness, mutual support and partnership, transformational experience, international solidarity, change the system, social responsibility, embodied mind, participatory democracy and non-hierarchical networks. Data under the action frames category of deeper engagement was also considered appropriate to collapse to this theme. However, in comparison to the 2049 data pieces collapsed to self-enhancement, the collective amount of data that could be collapsed to self-transcendence amounted to 388.

Finally, data under progress information and perspectives around frames was collapsed into an unexpected theme entitled 'finding deeper frames'. Data allocated to the gender frame was also collapsed into this theme, due to the fact that it merits a much more thorough investigation into how stories about women in development are constructed by NGOs. In total, this amounted to 984 pieces of data.

In sum, the dominant collapsed theme emerged as self-enhancement, which raises cause for concern since it is the motivational values linked to self-transcendence, which Darnton and Kirk (2011) state are the essential values required for support for development and global solidarity.

Chapter 5

Findings Summary, Discussion and Recommendations

5.1 Overview

Overall, this research conducted a content analysis of communications materials to explore how Ireland's NGOs inform the public about development, and the subsequent actions these NGOs assert. The study identified the dominant frames employed by the participating organisations, and considered if these had any congruence with the frames identified by Darnton and Kirk's (2011) UK findings. The project wished to add an Irish perspective to a growing international body of knowledge around investigating the framing of NGO communications materials and how these frames could be a contributing variable in the low levels of public support for and understanding of development issues. In an Irish context, key research has indicated decreasing levels of support for NGOs with the public believing aid does not make a difference, and that the causes of poverty reside with developing countries themselves (see Amarach 2013; Darnton and Kirk 2011; Dóchas 2012; Ipsos-MRBI 2013). Such evidence was considered paramount in conducting this study, so that we could at least begin to understand how NGOs frame their communication materials, so that deeper research questions could be formulated to investigate why the Irish public think how they think, and if the framing of NGO material can be directly correlated to the low level of understanding of development issues. It was essential to this research that the findings should also inform recommendations to work towards strengthening ongoing NGO practice around public engagement.

Key findings will now be summarised and discussed below, with recommendations being offered in the final section.

5.2 Key Findings Summary and Discussion

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Key Finding

The Surface Frames that were found to dominate this analysis included: charity, help the poor and poverty, which are all linked to the triggering of the moral order deep frame

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This finding is consistent with Darnton and Kirk's (2011) UK Finding Frames Research, and as presented throughout Chapter 3, all of these frames can be considered 'negative'. This is due to the fact that these tap into a notion that situates people from developing countries in constant need of saving, and lacking the ability to be able to break the cycle of poverty. This indeed raises cause for concern about how NGOs are communicating with the public. The overriding triggering of the moral order deep frame only serves to emphasise a divide between rich and poor, black and white, or superior and inferior. Consequently, the 'us and them' mentality is reinforced, and perhaps this can be directly linked to the low levels of public knowledge and increasing scepticism around aid impact that is apparent in the recent research studies conducted in Ireland. Indeed, investigations around this possible link would need to be carried out in order to rigorously test and verify such claims.

The Live Aid Legacy and Good News Stories

The findings from this project suggest a need for urgent reflection by the NGO sector on how it has come to be fundamentally defined by frames that trigger the moral order. Furthermore, taking into account the dominant frames apparent in these findings, it might be argued that there is indication that the Irish NGO sector employs frames associated with Darnton and Kirk's (2011) 'live aid legacy' paradigm. Hence, such a paradigm could have negative implications for the NGO sector by creating the impression that the developing world lacks agency and is in a constant state of doom and gloom, despite major progress in development initiatives. In this sense, it seems vital that Irish NGOs consider if the very frames employed in their communications are fuelling a public perception that perpetuates development as a never ending cycle of giving within a two-world concept, where one side of the world cannot seem to work their way out of poverty despite all the donations.

Indeed the researcher is not suggesting that NGOs do not pursue their share of public donations. What is suggested, however, is the need to be mindful of the frames employed to seek proceeds, and consider opportunities for re-framing communications in order to relate alternative narratives to the public about development progress.

Nevertheless, there was some evidence to indicate that NGOs were also communicating progress, or 'good news' stories throughout some of the documents. However, this evidence largely emerged from annual reports. Indeed such reports are likely to be targeted at major funding donors, trusts and foundations. Therefore, it is more liable that the NGO will focus on reporting on impact, progress and capacity building initiatives with partners.

The materials intended for the wider public, however, were less likely to emphasise impact and partnership, and more likely to depict a beneficiary as solely reliant on money from the potential supporter to save them from their plight.

On the other hand, a significant amount of data emerged from social media which was categorised under progress information. These amounted to 239 posts. However, as already highlighted in the findings, this data would need more in-depth and rigorous investigation to identify the dominant frames underpinning these progress stories. Ultimately, these progress posts included links to further click upon, and the researcher cannot be certain if these led to showcasing progress around partnership and development agency, or if it simply linked to personal case stories in a way to thank supporters for their financial contribution. Nonetheless, perhaps overall this can be viewed as a positive finding to build upon in relation to further exploring the potential of social media for meeting the aims of Dóchas 'World's Best News' (WBN) initiative.

Despite this, frames linked to the moral order dominated these findings. Hence this also has implications in relation to the values that NGOs evoke. As highlighted in the collapsed themes section in the previous chapter, the overriding frames found in this study tap into values that lie within self-enhancement, which in turn work in detriment to self-transcendence values, which Darnton and Kirk (2011) state are the essential values required for support for development and global solidarity. In this sense, this suggests a need for further research inquiry to explore more in-depth if the framing of communication materials

based on the moral order directly oppresses the universal values required for long term development support and sustainable change.

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Key Finding

Images of Poster Children are dominating communication materials

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Even though, the images that emerged from this study cannot be considered to be overtly negative by disrespecting the dignity of the people depicted, the use of poster children, as argued in Chapter 3, might be considered as serving to infantilise people from developing nations (see Young 2012). Furthermore, the use of children can be argued to reinforce a focus on the individuals from the developing nations, rather than exposing the structures or deep rooted causes of inequality which are often situated in the pursuit of wealth and power in the Western world. Although, there is limited research in relation to the use of p*ositive* images of poster children in development, there is a critique of such images in relation to the portrayal of people with disabilities. For instance, 'the emphasis on positive images of the disabled is viewed suspiciously insofar as it focuses on individuals and not the disabling society in which we live (Campbell, 1990), and because it perpetuates the perception of disabled people as objects of charity' (Hevey, 1992, 1993, quoted in Barnett and Hammond, 1999, p310). Therefore, as Barnett and Hammond put it, the validity of a perspective that characterizes particular images, or even aspects of them, 'simply as being positive or negative might thus be considered of limited value. Positive for who would seem to be a reasonable question' (quoted in Barnett and Hammond, 1999, p310). Here, if anywhere, highlights the need for the development sector to review its use of poster children, and what might be considered as a positive or negative image.

Key Finding

Images of women, either with children or working in fields, are also dominant in the materials. This was significant enough for the researcher to assign a new category entitled 'Gender Frame'

This finding raises cause for concern, given that the literature reviewed in Chapter 3 highlights recent research around how the portrayal of women in the above roles creates a gender stereotype, where women from developing countries are seen to be needy and dependent on instruction from the West on how to best fulfil these care-giving tasks. Although a selection of images emerged of men in these roles, these were at a minimum as highlighted throughout the previous chapter.

In fact, overall in the analysis there appeared 146 images of women in comparison to 36 images of men. Furthermore, 34 of the images of women showcased them in entrepreneurial roles. Nevertheless, the remainder of the images focused on their role as care givers and providers. Moreover, materials that were intended for direct fundraising appeals were much more likely to use personal stories of women in a way that depicted the causes of poverty as internal to the developing country, or even the fault of the beneficiary herself.

Given the significance of the above mentioned findings, the researcher is concurring with Young's (2012) call for NGOs to re-consider how they portray women, as not only does it reduce all women from developing countries to a specific role, it also 'impedes the ability of African women and women of African descent in Ireland to move beyond the stereotypes created in the charity campaign images' (Young, 2012, p33). Also, it is considered significant that images of men were scarce in these findings. Thus, it is argued that such findings highlight how the NGO sector should consider the wider implications around how stories depicting both men and women from the global south are constructed and communicated to the public.

Key Finding

Transaction is the dominant call to action

Overall, in relation to calls to action, the transaction frame was the dominant depicted solution to poverty. In fact, throughout the majority of artifact analyses, the overriding message was, that by donating money, the potential donor could help change the lives of the 'world's poorest'. Women and children were predominantly portrayed as the victims, and it was considered significant that the majority of links on the websites depicted images of children alongside the calls for transactions. A considerable amount of data also emerged from social media that simply tweeted or posted calls for transactions by providing links to the website fundraising initiatives. This amounted to 275 posts.

Interestingly, however, the advertising of fundraising events, such as marathons or mountaineering, excluded any references at all to development. This would merit further exploration around the whole notion of a market driven fundraising frame, asking questions around the extent to which NGOs might be engaging such target groups solely as a means to extract funds rather than mobilising them for the longer term support for development issues.

Deeper Engagement

In contrast to the 419 pieces of data assigned to the transaction frame, only 27 pieces were allocated to deeper engagement. This indicates that calls to action that are conducive to development education are indeed at a minimum. This finding is considered of particular interest to DEG who strives to advocate for a deeper and extended inclusion of development education into the fabric of development activity conducted by Dóchas members. Perhaps this finding suggests that much work has to be done in relation to extending a development education ethos beyond an individual NGO department, and into the wider public communications strategy of the organisations.

> **Key Finding**
>
> 'Finding Deeper Frames' emerged as an unexpected collapsed theme

Throughout the findings a significant amount of data emerged under the category of perspectives around frames. For example, data around volunteering programmes, IF campaign, and the Act Now campaign, was found to require an exploration from a rigorous post-colonial lens. Data that emerged under progress information and the gender frame also require more in-depth inquiry beyond the scope of this project.

In fact, this highlights certain complexities around applying Frames theory to the development NGO sector. In short, it cannot be simply seen as a tick box exercise between positive and negative, or good and bad. Rather, as the above finding indicates, it must firstly involve a critical analysis by applying other underpinning theories. It must ask questions around if such programmes might be based on a modernisation framework that is ultimately driven by a Western agenda, or if these can be considered to be truly 'focusing attention on the need for structural change, based on a reformulation of the global North's political-economic relationship with so-called developing nations' (Bryan, 2008, p75). Ultimately, this is what the researcher is referring to by allocating 'finding deeper frames' as a collapsed theme.

5.3 Recommendations

Given the results of this study, the following is recommended:

Research

- To add to the validity of the findings from this project, these should be tested and verified against further methods such as a follow-up focus group session with NGO representatives, and a designed survey for the sector as a whole to explore the possible 'intention' behind how NGOs frame communication materials, and the general levels of awareness around the use of frames

- Future research should work towards investigating if communication materials, representative of the dominant frames identified in this study, have a direct impact upon the Irish public perceptions of development

- Future research should further investigate how gender is constructed in development narratives, and the wider implications of this around gender bias and human rights

- Research investigating the portrayal of children in development stories should be conducted and explored in the context of children's rights implications

- Research should be conducted around content that fits with the theme 'finding deeper frames', in order to gain a clearer insight into the frames and values that lie at the heart of such materials

Practice

- A self-assessment tool should be devised by DEG as a means for organisations to identify the dominant frames in their materials. The tool should also aim to help organisations recognise opportunities for utilising more 'positive' frames and values to tell progress stories that promote a genuine sense of agency in the developing world

- The sector should critically reflect on the dominant use of frames connected to the moral order deep frame and self-enhancement values, and how these might be a factor in the decreasing levels of public support for development interventions

- The sector should consider further how social media might be utilised to engage the public in development issues and actions through the use of frames more conducive to self-transcendence values

- The sector should rethink how gender is constructed in development narratives, including the lack of male representation in public communications. The human rights implications should be carefully considered in relation to the creation of a gender-stereotype.   It is suggested that this is explored further in collaboration with the African and Caribbean Support Organisation Northern Ireland (ACSONI) who has already undertaken work around this issue. It is also recommended that this is applied to how children are portrayed in development stories

- Overall, DEG should consider the wider role of development education in driving forward all of the above practice recommendations. It should further consider how it can open up a debate in the Irish NGO sector around creating synergies between development education, fundraising and marketing departments in order to work towards a frames shift in public communication material

Despite making these recommendations, and in concurrence with Darnton and Kirk (2011), it is acknowledged that reframing communication is a difficult task, and no one organisation or group of organisations can claim to have an authority. Further, no one research investigation, or even a series of investigations, can provide answers as to how best go about applying frames to increase public knowledge and understanding of development issues. What research and organisations can do, however, is work towards gaining a better understanding of how the sector has been employing frames, and reflect critically upon how these frames might be at odds with gaining longer term public support for global justice and development initiatives. Here if anywhere highlights the purpose of this research. In short, this research is intended to kick-start a process of further debate and much more rigorous assessment amongst the sector as a whole, in order to find ways to address the low levels of public engagement with development issues overall.

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Appendices

Appendix a DOCHAS Code of Conduct Guiding Principles

http://www.dochas.ie/Shared/Files/5/Images_and_Messages.pdf

Appendix b Terms of Reference for Development Education Working Group Finding Frames Research (Phase 1)

http://www.dochas.ie/Shared/Files/2/ToR_Finding_Frames.pdf

Appendix c Frames identified quoted in Darnton and Kirk's Finding Frames (2011)

Surface Frames

1. Activist frame – A person engaged by the NGO is seen as one to be 'activated' around a particular issue or campaign	**12. Individual Concern frame** – Emphasis on altering individual decisions through appeals to core concerns of individuals
2. Campaign frame – Actions are constrained to the roles and relationships of a traditional campaign (contrast with Social Movement)	**13. International Solidarity frame** – Sentiment that rich and poor are all part of the same community; what affects some of us impacts all
3. Change the System frame – Effort is directed toward shifting power structures and reforming institutions to alleviate poverty	**14. Invest in Entrepreneurs frame** – Notion that the way to alleviate poverty is to treat the world's poor as entrepreneurs who only need to be given loans (eg microcredit) so they can start their own businesses
4. Charity frame – The NGO is seen as the mechanism for privileged people to share wealth with the poor	**15. Market-Driven Fundraising frame** - Treatment of NGO list members as potential customers to engage with marketing strategies.
5. Common Good frame – The underlying value that motivates people to action is a sense of caring for others, with the goal of increasing collective well-being	**16. Poverty frame** – Defining the issue of concern as poverty, often to the exclusion of interrelated issues like trade, corruption, environment, governing philosophies, etc.
6. Corrupt Government (Africa) frame – Aid sent to Africa is like sending buckets of cash to corrupt officials, a pointless and wasteful action	**17. Social Justice frame** – Drawing attention to race and economic class differences, with emphasis on justice and human dignity
7. Empathy frame – Underlying value that motivates people to care for the poor, based on feelings of commonality and compassion.	**18. Social Movement frame** – Telling the story of NGO efforts in context of a movement to remove

8. Giving Aid frame – The primary activity for reducing poverty is a direct monetary transfer from wealthy nations to poor nations	a moral failing or achieve a freedom or right for a disenfranchised community (contrast with Campaign frame above)
9. Help the Poor frame – A description of what NGOs do that emphasises a 'hand outstretched' to help those in need	**19. Social Responsibility frame** – Underlying value that calls upon people to recognise their role in making society better
10. Human Kindness frame – A belief in the basic goodness of people and a strategy for evoking compassionate response to drive action	**20. Transaction frame** – Emphasis placed on an exchange of goods or services between individuals, commonly in the context of an economic exchange
11. Ignorant Public frame – A belief that the reason people don't do more to help is that they are uninformed, which leads to a 'public education' strategy for increasing engagement	**21. Transformational Experience frame** – Exposure to an emotionally powerful experience that results in deep introspection and a persistent change of character

Deep Frames

The Moral Order Frame holds that nature is moral and that natural hierarchies of power are, by extension, also moral. Power then becomes bound up with a very particular perception of morality: man above nature, Christians above non-Christians, whites above non-whites	**The Non-hierarchical Frame** sits in antithesis to the moral order, and Darnton and Kirk (2011) see this as NGO development programmes built around structures that is 'not premised on up or down, or higher and lower'
The Rational Actor Frame asserts a world filled with individuals who make self-directed choices. This has been the foundation of many institutions including banks, the marketing industry and education. As NGOs become increasingly a big business venture to fundraise and promote a brand image, they can become embedded in this frame	**The Embodied Mind Frame** is based on an ever evolving human interaction with each other and the environment, where emotions and values are considered equal to rationality. For the embodied mind, people can make choices by seeking a shared commonality through a collective consciousness and body, and subsequently by focusing on mutually beneficial interactions

The Free Market Frame presumes that the world is filled with individuals seeking to maximise their self-interest (see also the Rational Actor frame). Wealth is created through the industrious efforts of these individuals, whose personal freedoms combine with self-discipline to make them more competitive. This presumed industriousness makes them deserving of the wealth they acquire. Free Markets are moral: if everyone pursues his own profit, the profit of all will be maximised	**The Shared Prosperity Frame** presumes that the world is filled with support systems, often called 'the commons'. The commons are owned by everyone, and are available for everyone's use. They may be natural (as with aspects of ecosystems) or manmade. Wealth is created through shared infrastructure that empowers people to cooperate on a societal scale. Markets comprise one piece of this shared infrastructure and are only as effective at creating widespread prosperity as their design features allow
The Elite Governance Frame asserts that the everyday citizen lacks the skills and understanding to know how to govern, and therefore rely on experts to make decisions on their behalf	**The Participatory Democracy Frame** is grounded in a basic belief that people are capable of governing themselves. While experts are needed to provide essential counsel, it is the people themselves who should be empowered to set their own trajectory

Appendix d Overview of Data Assigned to Categories

Frames	Unit of Analysis	Data Type and Number
Surface Frames		
Charity Frame	All Images	396
	Articles	15
	Advertisements	5
	Direct Mail	8
	Videos	4
	Website	47
	Total	**475**
Social Movement	All Images	9
	Analysis Documents	3
	Articles	2
	Videos	12
	Total	**26**
Justice and Fairness	All Images	1
	Analysis Documents	1
	Social Media	96
	Total	**98**
Mutual Support; Partnership	All Images	7
	Articles	4
	Total	**11**
Invest in Entrepreneurs	All Images	34
	Website	2
	Total	**36**
Transformational Experience Frame	Analysis Documents	2
	Articles	4
	All Images	9
	Total	**15**
Help the Poor	All Images	373
	Analysis Documents	1
	Articles	15
	Advertisements	5
	Direct Mail	8
	Videos	4
	Website	47
	Total	**453**
Poverty	All Images	26
	Analysis Document	7
	Articles	15
	Advertisements	5
	Direct Mail	4
	Videos	4
	Website	47
	Total	**108**

International Solidarity	Direct Mail	3
	Videos	12
	Website	7
	Total	**22**
Change The System	Direct Mail	**3**
Social Responsibility	Direct Mail	3
	Videos	12
	All Images	2
	Website	6
	Total	**23**
Deep Frames		
Moral Order	All Images	422
	Analysis Documents	8
	Articles	15
	Advertisements	7
	Direct Mail	9
	Videos	4
	Website	57
	Total	**522**
Embodied Mind	Analysis Documents	1
	All Images	1
	Articles	2
	Total	**4**
Participatory Democracy	Analysis Documents	5
	Articles	4
	All Images	20
	Direct Mail	3
	Videos	12
	Social Media	96
	Website	6
	Total	**146**
Non-hierarchical Networks	All Images	7
	Articles	4
	Website	2
	Total	**13**
Free Market	Website	2
	All Images	34
	Total	**36**

Action Frames	Unit of Analysis	Data Type and Number
Transaction	All Images	50
	Analysis Documents	7
	Articles	15
	Advertisements	11
	Direct Mail	8
	Videos	6
	Social Media	275
	Website	47
	Total	**419**
Deeper Engagement	Analysis Documents	1
	Articles	2
	Direct Mail	3
	Videos	12
	All Images	3
	Website	6
	Total	**27**

Category	Unit of Analysis	Data Type and Number
Progress Information Frame	All Images	30
	Analysis Documents	9
	Advertisements	3
	Direct Mail	1
	Videos	4
	Social Media	239
	Website	8
	Total	**294**
Beyond Set Categories	**Unit of Analysis**	**Data Type and Number**
Gender Frame	All Images	178
	Direct Mail	1
	Total	**179**
Perspectives around Frames	Articles	4
	All Images	36
	Analysis Documents	12
	Advertisements	12
	Direct Mail	4
	Videos	6
	Social Media	409
	Website	28
	Total	**511**