

What do young people think of development?

An exploration into the meanings young people make from NGO media

by

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Abstract

Young people are not passive, homogenous audiences of media that is produced by international humanitarian and development organisations (NGOs). They actively read and engage with the messages cognitively and emotionally and in the process create new meanings. This thesis is an investigation into what interpretations young people make from NGO media. The twin goals of education and fundraising present certain difficulties for NGOs who view developed world schools as a key site for awareness-raising for both their brand and global issues of injustice. Critics are concerned that when representation is aligned directly and simplistically with charity, powerful messages are signalled to the viewers. The nature and impact of these messages are yet to be fully understood as there is little empirical evidence of how young people receive and interpret NGO media.

This research directly addresses this gap. The research identifies and maps various interpretations that young people have on encountering images and messages produced by NGOs. Year 10 social studies classrooms were chosen as the context for data collection and 118 young people and seven teachers from five diverse secondary schools in New Zealand participated. They were canvassed using qualitative methods that included focus groups. The approach for this research was informed by postdevelopment critique which examines the power of the discourse of development in constructing ideas about people and development.

The findings show young people to be astute and critical interpreters of NGO media. Teachers reported that NGO media is very influential and could be problematic in forming a solely negative view of the global South. Most of the young people approved of the sector's charitable work but many expressed doubts about NGO expenditure and the accuracy of the imagery. A key finding is that many said they knew the images were designed to make them feel guilty in order to elicit action which was usually a donation. The findings support other research among adults and show the early development of attitudes towards NGOs and ideas about the developing world. The significance of a conflicting emotional response towards NGO marketing is a central finding for this thesis. This conflict of wanting to help and yet not being able to do so created a tangible tension within the young people and affected

how they viewed people in the global South. Young people in New Zealand are emerging actors in the global development industry and their ideas will shape North-South interactions in the future. This research directly contributes to understanding the power of the NGO sector to mediate global relations across difference, a process of which there are moral and political implications.

Keywords: NGOs, development education, charity, education, representation, emotion, images, postdevelopment.

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Glossary of terms

Developed/Developing; the global South/North: These terms are debated in the discourse on development, and are contentious. In this thesis, I use the terms developed/developing world and global North and global South to describe the binary of the West and the 'Rest' which is seen in general discourse as the countries of the OECD as the 'West' and those that are not part of this association as the developing world. In the vernacular in New Zealand, the terms First World and Third World are common and New Zealand considers itself part of the First World.

Development education and global education: Development education in this thesis refers specifically to resources, material or events that are produced for the formal education sector by NGOs and other institutions. It is specifically concerned with understanding what development is as well to encourage active involvement in bringing about global social justice. Global education has similar aims but includes a greater emphasis on global citizenship. There is a shared history between the two and strong overlaps. There are also divisions within development education which I explain in Chapter 3.

NGO: International non-government aid and development organizations. These may have their headquarters in New Zealand or internationally and have an office in New Zealand. I do not distinguish between certain types of NGOs, such as human rights-based or environmental, except that they all have as their focus, work in the global South and view the New Zealand public as their donor constituents. I use the terms 'sector' and 'industry' interchangeably to refer to these organisations collectively.

The Other: In trying to describe the subjects in the images and the people of the South, I use the term Other with a capital O. At times when specifically referring to images of poor or vulnerable people I will preface the term with such adjectives for precision. The use of this term is also contentious as it reinforces a divide.

Participants, students, young people: The participants in this study refer to all those who took part in the research: the students, teachers, and NGOs who contributed

images. 'The students' refers to those students in this study, while 'young people' is the generic term for young people of their age (13-15 years) in New Zealand.

Chapter 1: **INTRODUCTION**

No one is entirely clear of the nature and extent of the interpretations that young people are making from visual and textual media that is produced by international aid and development organisations (NGOs). This thesis is an investigation that addresses this gap in knowledge. The interpretations of NGO media by young people are canvassed and mapped to enable a better understanding of how the NGO sector influences young peoples' comprehension of development and global issues, particularly poverty. The research covers the views of 118 New Zealand students aged between 13 and 15 years and their teachers, and is in an area where there is very little existing empirical data. The research supports the findings of other research with adults and provides new evidence of how NGO media are interpreted. This includes the finding that young people see the NGO sector as business-like to the extent that they seek accountability for their donation. Evidence from this research also contributes to the literature concerning compassion fatigue and provides new insight into how this age group in the developed world see their relationship with the 'distant and vulnerable Other' as presented to them by the NGO sector.

A brief outline of the issues surrounding NGO representation and the role of NGOs in development education is given in this introduction before presenting the research questions which guided the investigation. I also present my personal reasons for undertaking this study and discuss various papers and presentations that either foreground this study or are an outcome of the findings. The chapter finishes with an outline of the structure of this thesis and rationale for the terms used concerning the global divisions.

1.1. The public face of the development sector

Images and accompanying text on campaign posters, promotional leaflets, child sponsorship advertising and disaster relief material are the public face of the international development sector. They have been studied critically since the Biafra Famine of the 1960s. Cohen (2001, Chapter 7) gives an outline of the debate surrounding NGO imagery and representations of poverty that peaked during the 1984-5 Ethiopian Famine. Images of needy children in particular caused divided

public opinion. On one side the images created publicity and awareness that fostered support for relief efforts, while on the other side, it was argued they obscured complex issues of social justice and misrepresented people in crisis. From the mid 1980s the debate focused on the educative role of NGOs and how they informed their constituents about their work and people in the developing world. Questions about the impact on both the subjects of their visual media and the intended audience were prominent in the literature from the late 1980s (Lidchi, 1993, 1999).

Arturo Escobar (1994, p. 103) suggests that the image of the humanitarian campaign of starving children is “the most striking symbol of the power of the First World over the Third”. Critics have argued that the needy image of the child is crafted specifically for the Western audience whether they are a potential donor or otherwise (Manzo, 2008). Kapoor (2004) makes the claim that the images are carefully produced to suit our own (the West’s) image and desire, often to emphasize differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’. The literature includes studies of specific generic styles of NGO imagery and the findings support these claims. For example, Dogra (2012) and Moro (1998) argue that the images carry connotations and these signal certain meanings that reinforce cultural and economic difference. NGO images are designed to raise awareness and in most cases, to attract funding. To achieve this they concentrate on showing need and often use emotion as a marketing tool. As Cohen (2001, Chapter 7) argues, it is difficult to portray images of active working partners when it is the pitiable child that brings in the money.

NGO images have a widespread presence in media, including in the education sector, and empirical research concerning people’s interpretations of NGO visual media is a relatively new area as past research has often focused on the images themselves. Smith¹ and Yanacopulos (2004, p. 661) note that the physical practice of understanding audience reception of NGO material is complex and that research on today’s development media is vital for unpacking the different contexts and faces of the industry. Exploring the implications of the public face of development is needed for understanding how attitudes across difference are formed, maintained and challenged. Smith and Yanacopulos maintain that “The public faces of development

¹ The author Smith, M. also appears in this thesis as Baillie Smith, M.

do not exist in a vacuum. They are a key dimension of the wider political economy of development and are hence fundamentally shaped by the operation of power” (p. 660).

It is this operation of power that concerns postdevelopment and postcolonial critics as the development industry influences many people, including their constituencies in the developed world. NGO images of development are part of a representational system that constructs meaning beyond what the intended product or service is for (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2005). This system is not repressive, it is productive; it produces ways of thinking about development and this includes ways of thinking about those who live in the developing world. NGO images and texts are both educative and advertorial at the same time.

1.2. Development education and young people

In the curriculum area of the social sciences, which includes the subjects of history, geography and economics, charity and education about global inequalities are often present and inter-related under the broad umbrella of development education. Bourn (2011) describes how development education has had a presence in education practice in most industrialized countries since the 1980s, with radical beginnings inspired by the work of Brazilian theorist Paulo Freire. Development education is often located informally within schools in the social sciences under various topics such as global issues or global citizenship. Traditionally development education has been resourced by the NGO sector and government agencies based in the developed world. Smith (2008) argues that the practice of development education has always been a product of struggle and negotiation between education and fundraising, a sentiment echoed by others (Andreotti, 2006b; Bourn, 2008a; Lidchi, 1993; Lissner, 1977)².

The main concern for many commentators relates to learning about places and people through a particularly narrow lens of need, often followed by a charitable action. Bryan (2011) has critiqued the NGO sector for losing its radical voice from its beginnings with Freire. She maintains that today’s development education providers frame complex issues about social injustice into easy formulaic events in line with recent trends in self-centered humanitarianism. Bryan argues that critical thinking on

² The author Andreotti is listed in the references both as Andreotti, V. and Andreotti, V.O.

the structural causes of inequality has given way to the charitable side, resulting in an approach to learning about development issues that is little more than “fundraising, fasting and having fun”, effectively narrowing the ways in which development can be thought of and taught (p. 6).

Sinclair (1994) notes that NGOs have a presence in the formal education sector in the developed world, at both primary and secondary levels. This presence comes in many forms, including visiting speakers, special events, campaigns and through formal resources that may be used as part of the curriculum. The public face of an NGO is often seen in their website and many NGOs have sections of their websites dedicated to providing information to school children. Young people in the developed world are a target audience for NGO messages, and they become exposed to both the work of NGOs, and the places the NGOs work through these messages. Outside the school environment young people are also exposed to NGO messages in general media and this forms a lens through which they see the developing world. This vision is often complemented by their own travel, personal relations with people from the developing world, and through media that does not have charity as its focus.

Despite NGOs being involved in many diverse activities, there is still strong competition within the sector for the youth market and the attention of teachers. NGOs typically have a dedicated education budget and staff, attesting to the importance they place on the exposure of their brand and their development work with young people. Many NGOs spend considerable time and effort on organizing events, campaigns, and developing resources for use in the formal education sector. The classroom or school assembly provides a captive audience of young people, and is an ideal location for their communication efforts. While NGOs are concerned about audience reception of their campaign material, young people in schools are not usually part of their market research. A resource or campaign’s success is often judged on sign-ups, funds raised or resources sold to schools.

Audience studies research on the impact of NGO media is ongoing (see for example Seu, 2011) and is spread across many disciplines, from social psychology to marketing and each have their own methodological approaches. Overall, there is very little empirical research regarding the impact of NGO media on young people in social

science classrooms, where NGO media may feature as part of the formal curriculum. Teachers, NGO education writers, and campaigners are often the participants in development education research, rather than the students (Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marshall, 2005; Smith, 1999). NGOs often carry out audience research into the effectiveness of their campaigns but their participants are generally adults, over the age of 18. Those that include younger audiences are often held in more informal settings such as youth groups (Darnton & Kirk, 2011; Devlin & Tierney, 2010; DfID, 2000). A New Zealand study involving university students found that distinct impressions about both the developing world and the idea of aid were framed through exposure to NGO media, but that those were not necessarily the messages intended by the NGOs (Dalton, Madden, Chamberlain, Carr, & Lyons, 2008).

Since Moeller's book 'Compassion Fatigue' was published in 1999, there has been renewed interest and research about the way audiences respond to representations of poverty and suffering as presented by developed world media and the NGO industry (Chouliaraki, 2006; Dogra, 2012). There have also been analyses of how these representations are present in the classroom (V. Andreotti, 2011; Bourn, 2008a; Bracken, Dart, & Pickering, 2011; Pardiñaz-Solis, 2006). What concerns these commentators is that aspects of NGO representation, such as specific audience studies in the developed world, remain under-researched and research has been dominated by the analysis of images, or policy around the use of images. Smith and Yanacopulos (2004) argue that:

[t]hese public faces – the images and relationships with the South – are a significant element of the politics of development [yet] there has been relatively little systematic research in this area, nor has there been any attempt to consolidate what work has already been done. (p. 659)

It is with regard for this politics of development that I have taken a postdevelopment approach as my lens for studying how young people interpret NGO media. The focus here is not simply on analysis of development activities in the global South, but on the discourse of development and how it affects audiences in the North. The postdevelopment approach encourages a flipping of the gaze, to examine 'over here', is equally valid to examining 'over there'. Representation is also a matter of politics,

as Moeller (1999, p. 50) succinctly articulates “To control the culture, one must control the pictures”. By focusing on young people in the developed world I see them as the recipients of specific NGO messages, as future actors or non-actors for the NGO sector, and ultimately as people who are affected by the development industry. I also make the assumption that young people’s impressions of NGO media influences in some manner the way they consider their own current and future place and role in the world. The extent and nature of this influence is largely unknown.

1.3. Research aim and questions

In response to the lack of information about young people’s interpretations of NGO media, and the concern expressed by commentators about the conflation of education and charity, this investigation specifically addresses this gap in the field: the voices of young people. In this study I set out to ask young people aged 13-15 years, *what they thought* when they saw NGO images and information. While this drove the overarching aim, the response of teachers to the place of NGO media in the social sciences’ classroom was also included in the study, as the teachers provide further insights about how the NGO presence is enacted within the classroom.

The central research aim for this study is:

To explore what meanings young people make from the images and messages produced by the international development sector in New Zealand.

To support this central aim, four research questions focus on specific aspects of the students’ interpretations, and a fifth question covers the role of teachers in mediating the NGO presence in the classroom. A sixth question concerns how the findings from this research could be used to inform NGOs on the impact their media has on young people.

The six questions are:

- 1: What meanings of development and global relations do students make from visual images of the poor that are produced by NGOs for campaign or educational purposes?

- 2: What discussions do young people have concerning the roles of NGOs when they are situated in groups?
3. What emotions and attitudes are identifiable in the students' discussions and around what themes do they occur?
4. What impressions of the developing world do students develop from the presence of NGO material in the classroom?
5. What is the influence of the teacher in students' understanding of development?
 - a) How does the teacher use this material in the classroom?
 - b) In what ways does the teacher evaluate and use this material critically?
 - c) What meanings do they think their students make from the visual images?
 - d) What concerns does the teacher have about visual images used in their teaching?
6. How might these findings further understanding of the implications of NGO images and messages that young people are exposed to?

The participants in this study were drawn from five different secondary schools across New Zealand that represented a range of socio-economic communities. The selected classes had all studied global issues located in the developing world within the past two years and were familiar with NGO material, campaigns and events. The study included 118 year 10³ social studies students (aged 13-15 years) and seven teachers. Social studies in the New Zealand Curriculum is a combination of geography, history and economics and is compulsory until year 10. Using qualitative methods, the students' interpretations of NGO representations were canvassed. The findings were analysed and a mapping of the student interpretations was developed. This was combined with findings from interviews with the teachers which provided a more holistic picture of the environment through which students receive NGO messages.

³ New Zealand schooling consists of 13 years, with the first 11 considered compulsory. Most students begin formal schooling on their fifth birthday. By year 10, most students are aged between 13 and 15 years.

1.4. Personal reasons for undertaking this study

In the early 1990s teaching geography in a rural New Zealand secondary school I was frustrated at the imagery and description of Monsoon Asia presented in the available textbooks of the time. I sought out touristic posters for my classroom walls to balance what I saw as an emphasis on poverty and the exoticification of Asian people in the textbooks. This was largely due to my childhood experience from living in this region of the world for the first fourteen years of my life. Although I am from New Zealand, my family lived in Asia as my parents worked for the Christian Church training local pastors. The energy and diversity of people that I grew up with did not translate well into the static images. Later on in my teaching career I also started to notice the influence of the NGO sector and became involved in helping their work in schools. By the late 1990s I recognised, although was unable to articulate it as such, that teachers can exert a moral force on their students through wanting them to undertake some form of social action. These experiences culminated in several questions concerning NGOs and representation that led to my studying for a masters in development studies in 1999.

Encountering the theories of postmodernism and postcolonialism during my masters resulted in my referring to the years of 2001 to 2004 when I was a stay-at home-mother, as my ‘Foucault and Nappies’ period. It was during this time that I read the work of a New Zealand Baptist pastor and sociologist, Dr. Alan Jamieson. In his doctoral study he interviewed people who had left the Christian Church and mapped their reasons and experiences. His work taught me two salient points relevant for this study. Firstly, he argued that the voice of people who leave or do not conform is important and secondly, that they were not deviant ‘back-sliders’ but people who in most cases, left the church to preserve their faith. He addressed the leaders of the church community by arguing that the voice of those that leave, although often silent, is important and should be listened to. In his work I saw that people’s agency takes various forms and exploration and analysis of this agency can be informative for others. Both his rationale for his study and his methodology influenced the nature of this study.

There were also many events that led to this inquiry and which influenced the nature of the investigation. One incident that encapsulates why I wished to pursue how young people engage with NGO media occurred in 2008 while I was working as an education officer for the Global Education Centre⁴. Invited to speak to a senior class at a local high school on global aid and development issues, I arrived to find a jaded group of students expecting a speaker from an international charity. Sensing that they expected to be told about the ravages of overseas poverty and how they could do more and make a difference, they looked bored. They were anticipating a certain narrative, and I disrupted this expectation and debated with them the very concept and value of aid. After pointing out that international aid had its critics and many of those were from the developing world, I informed them that NGOs were not perfect institutions. This piqued their interest and the rest of the lesson was a heated discussion that was barely manageable. We discussed emotions, manipulation, pressure, dishonesty, hypocrisy and the lack of a relationship with the poor 'over there'. The bell went for the end of the lesson, but the discussions did not stop. As I left, two girls followed me out to my car and one of them said to me:

Please Miss, can you come back? That was the most interesting discussion we've had in our class all year. We're never allowed to discuss these things or say what we really think. We're just expected to do what they [the NGOs] say.

For this young girl, she knew she was meant to feel in a certain way (pity, then anger, then guilt) and to take action in a predefined but familiar way, to quieten these feelings. That is the expected ethical norm, but what happens when you tire of this message or have questions? This student felt that she was expected not to think critically about aid and development issues. Instead, she was made to feel that there was an ethical imperative to think and act charitably. Concern over this constraint is voiced by Andreotti (2006b) and Bryan (2011), who note that development education, particularly the variety practised by NGOs who seek solely to raise awareness for their work, is in danger of becoming limited to a charitable framework. This may

⁴ The Global Education Centre was a New-Zealand based NGO that was core funded by New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The Centre began in the 1980s as a coalition of NGOs to provide information about development to the New Zealand public and was initially called the Development Resource Centre. I worked there from 2005 to 2009 writing resources on global issues for the formal education sector. In 2010 it was renamed to Global Focus Aotearoa and in 2011 due to central government policy changes in aid, it was officially closed.

exclude other ways of thinking about development and this constraint may have educational and relational consequences. This study contributes to further understanding this nexus of the NGO sector and education that takes place in the classrooms of the developed world.

Crush (1995) states that “The discourse of development, the forms in which it makes its arguments and establishes its authority, the manner in which it constructs the world, are usually seen as self-evident and unworthy of attention” (p. 3). During the lesson at the school, I had questioned the self-evident, the dominant framework of NGO humanitarianism and offered the students another way of thinking about NGOs. The seeds for this study are, in part, due to reflecting on this young student’s constraint and ethical dilemma. In this investigation I seek to problematize the premises that sit beneath the messages that NGOs give to young people in schools. As with other critics concerned about the public face of the sector, I take the view that images leave an impression; they are powerful, but no one is exactly sure just how influential they are. NGO-directed thinking about development had considerable power over the young students I spoke to, and it is the need to examine this unseen and self-evident power that underscores my personal reasons for taking up this investigation.

1.5. Papers and presentations associated with this study

Before the formal start of this inquiry in 2010, I submitted two papers on the narrowing definition of development education, and how the developing world was framed in the social sciences school curricula in New Zealand (Tallon, 2008a, 2008b). I noted that there were few comprehensive textbooks for teachers on what constituted development and theories on development and representation. Information about global issues was largely from NGO-supplied material, and this material often had a narrow focus on individual issues, and micro-level development which focused on ‘what to do now’ with an NGO-supplied solution. Very few texts dealt with global structural or economic issues for inequality. New Zealand’s trade and aid relations with other countries particularly for social studies at levels 9 and 10, was often presented in a glowing light with little critique. There was also a paucity of critical thinking about how to teach development issues within the context of the rapidly

changing developing world and new media technologies. One teacher commented to me regarding classroom resources on development: “we just use what we are given” (Tallon, 2008b, p. 92). I was concerned that easy access to unqualified or biased information from the Internet, an abundance of variable material by NGOs and a lack of professional development and critical thinking around development education was causing a charitable framework to dominate in the classroom.

In 2008, through the Global Education Centre I helped organize a symposium on critical global education for which postcolonial theorist Vanessa Andreotti was the keynote speaker. This symposium challenged many NGO education officers to consider the theory behind development and the way in which educators from the developed world are not necessarily well-placed to accurately represent people from the developing world (C. Murphy, 2011; Pardiñaz-Solis, 2006). In line with this, acknowledging the position from which NGOs write and produce materials for consumption in New Zealand is important. Bourn (2011) has argued for greater critical thinking about global and development education and supports Andreotti’s call for there to be a deeper engagement with theory (Andreotti, 2006a). From 2002, the Global Education Centre produced resources and training materials that provided educators and youth workers with a more critical perspective of what constitutes development or global education (Andreotti & Munn, n.d.; F Beals, 2009). However, this professional development only reached a small proportion of teachers in New Zealand and was not seen as mainstream by many teachers. The Global Education Centre was not funded by the Ministry of Education and its outreach was limited. In this respect New Zealand differs from the support given to development education in many European nations, and with a change in government in 2008, funding was withdrawn and this institution closed its doors in 2011.

In 2008 I presented a paper at a New Zealand NGO conference. The topic focused on NGO images and representation and a short article on the power of images followed (Tallon, 2008c; Tallon & Pirnia, 2009). Feedback from this session included conversations with the education officers of large NGOs in New Zealand who informed me that they struggled with the tensions of their role to both educate and raise funds. As one education officer explained to me, “we know there’s a problem [with how we portray the South] but what can we do? We need the money”. Under the

umbrella of the New Zealand Council for International Development, I facilitated nationwide workshops for NGO campaigners and education writers in 2009 on the ethical use of images in fundraising. Interest in ethical images in NGO media prompted an invitation to present this material to *InterAction2010*, a major North American NGO forum. This interaction with the sector gave me an insight into the tensions that existed for many, concerning not just education and fundraising, but competition with each other for the donor attention and dollar.

In early 2010, several New Zealand NGOs worked together to host a symposium on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and New Zealand's role in the Pacific. I helped to prepare a group of New Zealand secondary school students make a short presentation about the MDGs to the symposium delegates. The students were video linked to a group of Papua New Guinean students. During this exchange, one of our students unintentionally offended the Papuan young people, by using the word 'developing' to describe them. This embarrassing moment led to some soul-searching and reflection by the NGO education officers involved, and we started asking questions about how our students perceived the Other. This led to the publication of a paper that sought to examine how the New Zealand students implicitly *knew* they were superior to the Papuans (Tallon, 2011). In that paper I raised the question about how viewing the distant Other entirely through an economic model of development, with an emphasis on statistics and poverty, can lead to a sense of superiority. We had ourselves, taught the students to view the Papuans through a lens of deficit. The simple modernist framework of 'them catching up' erases complexities of history and politics. This has the consequence of leaving the easiest option for learning about the distant Other to be in a charitable framework, echoing the concern of many in critical studies of development education, that we learn about them and their disarray, then we fundraise for them.

Since the formal beginning of this research in 2010, I have published two papers from this study. The first explored the issue of emotion and agency within the classroom (Tallon, 2012a). Working on this paper helped to confirm the significance of emotions and attitudes in the learning of the distant Other through NGO media. The second paper (Tallon, 2012b) was written concurrently with the fieldwork, in the first half of 2012, and proved to be a good way of reflecting on the questions and methodology of

the study. In July 2012 I presented findings at the 3rd International Conference on Geographies of Children, Young People and Families, in Singapore. A highlight of the conference was meeting a fellow New Zealand researcher (Margie Campbell-Price) who is studying how parts of the world are often constructed as an exotic adventure playground for young New Zealand students to explore and in doing so, undergo personal character development. In the latter part of 2012 I gave two presentations of findings regarding how students perceived the NGO sector to both the New Zealand Council for International Development and the New Zealand Biennial International Development Conference. These presentations were useful for the NGO sector attendees, allowing them to see firsthand how their messages were being received by a New Zealand audience.

1.6. Structure of the thesis

This thesis begins with a discussion of the theoretical approach I have taken to this study, followed by a literature review which includes contextual background to the nature and state of development education within New Zealand. Chapter 4 describes the methods to collect and then analyse the data that answer the research questions. Finishing with a framework that shows how the responses from the participants was organised, Chapter 4 concludes the first half of the thesis. This framework structures the next three chapters, which present the findings. These three chapters are followed by a discussion chapter that links the findings to the literature. The final chapter, the conclusion, addresses the sixth research question and presents my reflections on how this research adds to the literature on this topic.

1.7. A note on terminology

The very terms ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ are problematic. As this thesis takes a postdevelopment approach, it could be argued that the use of these terms is in direct violation of the spirit of postdevelopment critique. Escobar (2007, p. 29) argues that “the concepts of development and the Third World are already something of a bygone past. Let them rest in peace.” These dividing terms from the era of European colonisation are still in use in the vernacular in New Zealand and terms like ‘Third World’ are still common. Terms such as developed world and developing world are

also used in NGO resource material, but increasingly their accuracy is under challenge.

I am uncomfortable with these terms and use them interchangeably. With the student activities I have used Developing World with capitals, but in this thesis I have taken the approach of not referring to them as proper nouns. In my conclusion I use 'global South' exclusively to refer to the majority world that considers itself non-Western in its cultural identity. I agree with others (Beals, 2013; Young, 2010) that these binary terms are inadequate descriptors of global realities, so in this thesis they are used with caution, as part of this thesis addresses this very dilemma of naming our world.

The terms describing the distant and vulnerable people of the South portrayed in NGO media are used with a capital O in the term 'Other'. Again, this is problematic, but I am drawing upon the discipline of development studies in the use of this term, and indeed of its use as a proper noun, hence Othered and Othering are used in this thesis.

Chapter 2: **THEORETICAL APPROACH**

An actor-orientated approach not only helps open up black boxes of formal, institutional and discursive development but also opens up and nuances post-development theoreticians' depiction of the development discourse. (Lie, 2007, p. 56)

This study is informed by both postcolonial and postdevelopment critiques of the development enterprise which see Development as an historically and politically constructed social project. In this chapter I outline how a postdevelopment perspective influenced my approach to studying the development sector. Postcolonialism and postdevelopment are related critical approaches and both have concerns regarding the power of representation, specifically in the variety of ways that the West represents the 'rest' as Other. In this chapter I discuss both critiques and explain why postdevelopment informs this study in particular. Postdevelopment is not without its shortcomings and a brief outline of critique is given here. Arguably, postdevelopment is a newer member of the critical social sciences that seek to examine the relations of power between subjects. Sayer (2009) argues that critical thinking should move beyond the merely descriptive, and posit new ways about thinking about society and its subjects. By taking a postdevelopment perspective, this study focuses on actor agency within the development sector. By exploring how young people in the developed world interact with the visual face of development, the *power* of the discourse of development, the language, the images and their meanings, are viewed as problematic and placed under the spotlight.

2.1. Postcolonialism and postdevelopment: Origins and relations

According to most commentators, neither postcolonialism nor postdevelopment should be categorized as static, homogenous, theoretical disciplines (Sharp & Briggs, 2006; Ziai, 2004). They are complex, evolving, cross many disciplines and also cross over into each other (Simon, 2006). Both approaches have a shared epistemological birth as part of the outcomes of the discursive turn in cultural studies of poststructuralism and postmodernism (McGregor, 2009). The key theorists of both took from Foucault, Derrida, Saussure and Lacan amongst others, the tools of post-

structuralism to present new ways of thinking about the areas they were concerned with by “decentering metatheory and [the] preoccupations with monocausal explanations and universal truths” (Simon, 2006, p. 10). At the centre of both were concerns around power, what it was, how it manifested itself and its effects on people both in the developing and the developed world.

Edward Said, through his seminal work *Orientalism* (1979), drew upon Foucault’s idea of discourse, arguing that the way in which the world was commonly conceived was Eurocentric. He maintained that texts, images and film could (and should) be deconstructed to examine their perspective, their way of viewing and ordering the world. Media from the West formed a discourse that positioned people and places, and they were not politically neutral. Questions of representation have been central to postcolonialism, with critics such as Gayatri Spivak arguing that there is a double connotation of the term representation – the literal subject and the semiotic, both of which have the ability to reduce whole peoples to a singular signifier (as discussed in Saunders, 2002, introduction). It is this ability of words and images, taken together to frame and present the Other for consumption by the West that is the power of representation. Kapoor (2004, p. 635) notes that Spivak claims that “representations of the Third World/subaltern cannot escape our institutional positioning...we cannot pretend to have a pure or innocent or benevolent encounter with the subaltern. To do so, [is to] perpetuate, directly or indirectly, forms of imperialism, ethnocentrism, appropriation”. Kapoor argues that two implications follow from this: first, that our representations of the Third World are institutionally tinted; and secondly, that we *produce* the Third World, and to a large extent, “we produce them to suit our own image and desire. Our representations of the Other are *only in so far as* we want to know it and control it” [emphasis added] (p. 636).

Postcolonial critiques pushed the boundaries for thinking about how the world is mapped and described, how people are portrayed, spoken for and categorized. They were not ‘coming from the margins’ or ‘speaking from below’; they were charging that the very relationships that determined who spoke for whom and when, should be challenged (Bhabha, 1983; Mohanty, 1988; Spivak, 1988). Postcolonialism also recognized that dominant forces had the dual effect of limiting or discrediting other ways of thinking (See section 3, Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997; Sardar, 1999). The

power of the discourse in defining what was, had a flipside: it also defined what was not. Postcolonial critique argues that how the West came to view the Other was through a paternal lens of assisting the 'native' that morphed from colonialism through to development (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2006; Crush, 1995; Spurr, 1993). Kothari (1988) notes that "where colonialism left off, development took over" (p. 143).

While postcolonialism originated as a literary critique, postdevelopment is said to have emerged from the dissatisfaction with the development industry following the development impasse of the 1980s (Escobar, 2007; Kiely, 1999; McGregor, 2009). By the mid1980s, the industry had achieved such a status that whole institutions and ways of being were part of the development machine. In Crush's (1995) book devoted to analysing the power of development, the language or discourse of development is central to the critique. In Watts' contribution to that volume he asks if we can get round the development gridlock; the way of seeing the world along modernist lines. Development terms are evidence of this framing in which economic progress along Western ideals is the benchmark for development.

Other critics have supported Kothari's claim of a link between colonialism and development, with Hattori⁵ (2003) describing the global relationship of development as one founded on the concept of giving: We (the West) have something to offer you, the Rest, namely: improvement. This subtle difference in the form of assistance has been part of the critique concerning development in that it is not so much "help in need, but help in the overcoming of a deficit" (Gronemeyer, 1992, p. 65). Escobar (1994) describes how within the development enterprise, 'Experts' were sent to the Third World and institutions rose up to relay and implement the scientific ways of thinking and doing concerning the path to progress. What concerned Escobar was that the development discourse had become "the central and most ubiquitous operator of the politics of representation and identity" in the developing world, after World War Two (p. 214). It was important for Escobar to move the critique towards analysing development as a discourse, to understand that words have power and that the questioning of how things are made to appear is to study the intentional framing and

⁵ Hattori builds upon critique that has been present in development studies for some time, concerning the negative gift that sustains unequal power as the recipient cannot return the favour.

construction of a reality that may or may not actually reflect reality. The critics were arguing about Development with a capital D. They were not uniformly against development per se, they were looking for alternatives to the prevailing hegemony of a Western-led, interventionist approach (Petrie, 2008).

If development has become so self-evident that its pervasiveness is not noticed, then it is all the more important for all aspects to be held under scrutiny. Escobar (1995, p. 14) notes that such is the prevalence of the development narrative that people in the developed world (and many in the developing) find it difficult to think about the developing world in terms other than those provided by the development discourse, such as poverty, famine, illiteracy and helplessness. People become *what we once were* in that they are in the process of catching up to us. This narrative is about an order, a Western hegemony; the complex and diverse voices of the people are given no space. Evidence of surprise by those in the West are often expressed when developing world governments and people disrupt this hegemony and construct their own development path, their own viewpoint concerning development and aid⁶.

In the varied representations of the developing world in NGO media, questions have arisen concerning who is speaking for whom and why? These are discussed in the literature review in the next chapter. The power of the image is part of this questioning about representation and is part of postdevelopment critique that calls upon looking closely at the power of the discourse of development. Postdevelopment as a distinct, and yet unbounded theoretical approach, did not champion different ways of doing development per se, but questioned the very idea of development, drawing upon poststructuralism's tools of deconstructivism. Crush (1995) notes that the power of development is the power to generalize, homogenize and objectify and yet he states in the same paragraph that "the current obsession with Western representation of 'the Other' is a field of rapidly diminishing returns" (p. 22). It would seem that studies of representation do not yield fruitful analysis of power for Crush. This research is not an analysis of the textual or visual aspects of representation per se. It acknowledges these, but is concerned more about the power of a way of thinking that is formed by

⁶ A recent example is Malawi President Banda's criticism of singer Madonna's charity efforts (Gumede, 2013)

representation practices and seeks to explore this power, not specifically on the subjects represented but on the consumers of these images.

Sidaway sees the theorists of postdevelopment as “all seeking to problematize the assumptions and claims of development, but in this, they belong to a long tradition of critique” (adapted from Sidaway, 2007, p. 348). Escobar called for commentators to move “beyond *critique* of conventional development into more active re-learning to see and assess the reality of the global South” (as quoted in Simon, 2006, p. 13). Postdevelopment theorists responded to this call for a conceptual move away from the details of development activities to exploring the wider nature of the movement. In its short history, development has had its share of critiques, and postdevelopment is arguably situated on the more radical end of the spectrum.

2.2. Critiques of postdevelopment

Postdevelopment theory has not been without its own drawbacks, changes and critiques and these deserve some attention here. Evaluating words and meanings seems to lack a way forward, being mired in theoretical argument on the meanings of words⁷ (Corbridge, 1998; Nederveen Pieterse, 2000). Others posit that postdevelopment often frames the development industry as homogenous and negative, whereas this is far from reality (Storey, 2000). Sardar (1999) argues that postdevelopment’s reliance on postmodernism is just as Eurocentric as modernism. He asks if an approach which seeks to question metanarratives, such as History, Religion and Tradition can be supportive of the non-West, when as such, they define what it means to be non-Western? By using Foucault’s tools of discourse analysis to question development, he asks if this is not paradoxically “absorbing the non-West in ‘Bourgeoisie liberalism’” (p. 45). For Sardar, postdevelopment seems to be borrowing from the West to critique the West and in doing so, forfeits originality and continues the dominance of Western thinking, thus the centre is not moved. Furthermore, there has been criticism of a romanticising of poverty and anti-modernity which are not populist, reflecting perhaps academic aspirations rather than those for whom development is a daily reality (Ziai, 2004). Escobar’s engagement with Foucault has

⁷ The debate concerning how discourse can shape reality is illustrated in Yapa, L. (2002)

been considered light and not fully engaging with Foucault's more nuanced understandings of power (Lehman, 1997, cited in Brigg, 2002, p. 422).

There is a further critique of postdevelopment in that it seems to underestimate human agency, to dismiss how development is negotiated with as a means of dissent, as a means of challenging power. As discussed by Brigg (2002), postdevelopment theorists can be accused of ascribing too much agency to the West, viewing power as an imposition, as a force that can be located spatially (in the West). Instead, Brigg would argue that it is not a sovereign power but a bio-power in that it operates through everyone and is relational. Kiely (1999) also argues that postdevelopment "tends to imply a passive Third World, simply having its strings pulled by an all-powerful West" (p. 48) whereas a deeper understanding of power vis-à-vis Foucault reveals it to be ascribed with greater human agency – it is not a thing, it is what people do. Lie (2007) takes this further saying that postdevelopment relies too much on a binary of power over the individual, over society, often as McGregor points out, focusing on the negative impacts of development rather than what is gained or negotiated (McGregor, 2009, p. 1692).

Postdevelopment has been seen in this negative light, and often critics ask, what is the practical outcome of such critical analysis? Storey (2000) defends the contribution of postdevelopment arguing:

It is the methodological orientation of the post-development school – especially its seemingly 'negative' predilection for deconstruction and critical discourse analysis – that has, I believe, most to offer, rather than its problematic attempt to formulate a more 'positive' model for social change. (Storey, 2000, p. 45)

The postdevelopment approach that I have taken for this study specifically informs the methodology in that a deconstruction of the discourse of development is undertaken. This is done by assuming the reception of NGO media is not the same for all students. The methodology specifically allows young people and their teachers to voice their critique. This study is not a criticism of the workings of development *per se*. Instead, through critical analysis it aims to contribute towards an understanding of the social

conditions in which the ideas of development are disseminated and received. The discourse of development is present in classrooms and the assumption that it is benign have been challenged (Beattie, 2001)⁸. By taking a postdevelopment approach I seek to explore the power of a way of thinking about global relations that may be influenced by the presence of the NGO sector in schools.

Returning to Kiely's comment about a 'passive Third World', in this study I argue that actor agency has perhaps been neglected by some postdevelopment critics. Where this study shifts the critique, is in the assumption that the development sector creates passive developed world audiences. The power of development to maintain difference and construct an asymmetrical relationship around giving as Hattori (2003) suggests, implies that all participants in this relationship accept their roles. In this study I have taken as a premise that the developed world audience is neither passive nor homogenous in their interactions with the sector. As a partner in the development enterprise, whether willing or not, the audience of NGO marketing is not always a conforming actor, either in action or in thoughts about the sector. People throughout the world respond to NGO marketing, and it is this agency, to negotiate the predefined role of the active Northern benefactor and passive Southern recipient, which is of interest here.

2.3. Actor agency

This specific critique of the lack of actor agency within postdevelopment studies is significant for this study. Lie (2007) maintains that "the tendency to omit agency is a key weakness in postdevelopment theory and has great implication for the view of the free subject in relation to larger structures" (p. 55). He concludes that postdevelopment ascribes the discourse of development with an all-consuming power, but in reality it is much more complex and non-homogenous. Significantly the role of individual actors, states and societies to interpret development on their own terms is underappreciated by postdevelopment theorists (p. 59). From the turn of the millennium this concern over the lack of agency started to become more prominent as theorists and practitioners reflected on the realities of engagement with the discourse. Sidaway (2007) looks at this confluence as an intertwining of the legacy of

⁸ The author Beattie, R. also appears in this thesis as Duke, R.

postcolonial sovereignty and the seemingly unstoppable trajectory of (modernist) development and looks for the discussion to continue to explore the possibilities of negotiation in that space, a “reworking of the nexus” (p. 349).

Most critics do not dismiss the use of a Foucauldian concept of power for postdevelopment, instead arguing that it is a useful departure point or backdrop for a greater analysis into the workings of development⁹. Postdevelopment has also struggled with the image of being a refuge for armchair critics, without adding anything constructive to people’s everyday lives (Corbridge, 1998; Nederveen Pieterse, 2000). This has been addressed in recent empirical research that seeks to move beyond the ruin of the legacy of the development to using this nexus to better explore the *politics* of development and the agency of actors to work within the spaces of development (see for example Curry, 2003; McKinnon, 2008). Of these, Gibson-Graham’s¹⁰ (2005) work is noteworthy as it calls for more empirical work to be based upon postdevelopment that allows for spaces to open up concerning the analysis of the workings of power within development. In this work, Gibson-Graham drew upon Boaventura de Sousa Santos regarding the absences that are the by-product of the hegemony of Enlightenment thinking. They argue that Santos pushes them to go beyond the genealogical and deconstructive when it comes to examining power and to pursue instead, a “sociology of absences” that focuses on what has been discarded, rendered invisible etc., (p. 5). The aim is to see the credibility of these absences and silences as objections to the political regime that they exist within; these sites of actor agency are evidence of shifting power relations.

One particular site of actor agency is young people in the North who are a key audience for NGO representations. In the normal course of the development discourse, this particular site has not been given great attention, it is perhaps, a site of absences as I discuss in the literature review following this chapter. Much of development research is about the effects of the development industry in the developing world. By taking a postdevelopment approach I specifically argue that exploring how young people are influenced by the NGO sector’s representations is part of critically studying

⁹ Ziai (2004) maintains that postdevelopment is not just a Foucauldian critique of development, as this is too singular a position: much of postdevelopment critique is broader than this, incorporating other ways of seeing development.

¹⁰ Gibson-Graham refers to two authors who collectively write under this name.

the discourse of development. Focusing the critique on the activities of the sector in the developed world is a small but growing part of research that identifies that the discourse of development touches more people than those for whom the industry itself portends to concentrate its efforts on. What is regarded perhaps as a by-product of the industry is the focus of this study.

2.4. Exploring power

Beyond the response of particular actors, lies a further less tangible aspect of development which a postdevelopment perspective is able to critically explore, namely, its presumption of moral authority and the relations of power this entails. This moral authority is referred to by Hattori (2003), who posits that there is a case for a concept based on neo-Gramsci thought, of an ‘ethical hegemony’ which can be applied to the relationship between the North and South. It is not that development was just a project; it became imbued with a moral imperative. Within the idea of hegemony, there comes a higher order that is called upon; an intrinsic code of values with regard to the *raison d’être* for how things are seen and what should be done. Taking Hattori’s position, development can be viewed as grounded or underpinned in a value-laden framework: a Western view of the world imbedded with certain assumed values. Those values included various humanist traditions such as privileging humans over the environment and individualism over communalism. Forerunners to these secular or humanitarian values were Judeo-Christian values about charity and salvation. These values manifested themselves into ideology such as the ‘Third World’ being in deficit, and that it was ‘*the right thing to do*’ to fix it; it needed salvation and change. Individuals and development institutions in the West were well placed to do this work that had begun under colonialism. These values became so much a part of the hegemony that was and is Development that they were assumed to be right and any alternative was a deviance.

Hattori’s application of an ethical hegemony is useful as a further deconstruction of the authority, and the assumptions of the development enterprise that Crush (1995) identified as needing scrutiny. In coming to understand postdevelopment critiques and taking a critical view of how the development enterprise is enacted with young people, two layers of power can be identified. Firstly, the actual imposition of the

development enterprise on people in the North, that is often taken for granted and secondly, the moral underpinning of that enterprise. This moral hegemony, a form of *noblesse oblige* towards the distant Other is arguably strong and linked in to the legacy of colonialism (Gronemeyer, 1992). How this moral hegemony articulates itself through the NGO sector and with young people in the developed world is of interest to this study. Questions have arisen as to the agency of the young people upon encountering this moral imperative to help the Other and this study adds to this field of inquiry.

2.5. Chapter summary

By adopting a critical postdevelopment perspective, I employ what is usually held as the normal way of things and place them under examination, by reversing the gaze. What appears normal and indeed, ‘right’, concerning development practices in the North may be problematic, with unintended and unknown consequences. As I described in the vignette in the introduction, the students who felt constrained in their thinking about development had been part of an unquestioned paradigm. This had positioned them in a giver-receiver relationship to the distant Other to which they had generally acquiesced. However, the students had questions and these were largely unanswered for them. The students knew that if they expressed doubts or questions openly, they were likely to be perceived as morally deviant. I am interested in how young people in the North act within the development enterprise as a key audience and this study explores how they do this by asking them to share their interpretations of NGO messages. NGOs communicate to them, directly and indirectly; how are they responding?

Informed by a postdevelopment perspective I am interested in moving beyond descriptive analysis of an issue such as representation of the Other. By instilling a distance between the familiar, taken-for-granted images that NGOs create, I critically examine their wider influence. The subtle consequences of NGO images and marketing campaigns may have ethical implications and it is important not to dismiss these (Borgerson & Schroeder, 2005). Orgad (2012, p. 9) makes the observation that mediated representations of the geographically distant become a background to our lives. They can influence how we think and feel about other people without our being

fully cognizant of that influence. I hold that young people, as specific target audiences of NGO visual media are affected by the discourse of development. Exactly how are they affected? As yet researchers are only beginning to understand this gap in the knowledge. The following chapter explores in greater detail the literature around NGO representation and finds that images are powerful and researchers from various disciplines are looking into the visual face of development, exploring it as a key determinant in forming global relations.

Chapter 3: **LOCATING THE RESEARCH IN THE LITERATURE: THE
CONTEXT FOR THIS STUDY.**

[...] relationships between North and South are reified through visual imagery, often centred on poverty, famine and appeals for money, through media reporting of “distant suffering”, calls to participate in campaigns or through development education [...] a visual sociology of development has an important role to play in understanding the processes and dynamics of these mediations and the moral engagements they engender. (Smith & Donnelly, 2004, p. 128)

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first two provide a literature review on the visual representation of the developing world by NGOs both in the general media and within development education that is designed for young people in the developed world. Both critical commentary and empirical research are discussed. The third section reviews concerns from education on the placement of NGOs in the classroom. These include how NGOs represent the developing world against changing geopolitical realities, the NGO influence on disciplinary knowledge and finally, their use of emotion to win students over to their cause. The fourth section provides background knowledge to the scope and status of NGO’s presence in formal education in New Zealand and how development education fits in to the formal New Zealand curriculum. This chapter provides the reader with a background to the literature, including other research that has informed the nature of this study.

3.1. Key debates on NGOs, images and messages

There’s a need for careful empirical research that explores the dynamics of image, audience and space in ways that remain alert to the power relations that inhere in all of these. (Rose, 2003, p. 219)

The literature on NGO representation during the 1980s and 1990s centred on textual and visual analysis of the images and their impact on the subject first, the audience second. Early criticism concerned how the images used by both NGOs and Western media were often patronising or demeaning to the poor (see Smith & Yanacopulos, 2004, for an overview). Quantitative studies of the images themselves can be divided

into two slightly different methodological approaches. The first investigates how they are chosen, displayed and framed for a specific agenda or audience with a focus on editorial decisions (Clark, 2004; Strüver, 2007; Van der Gaag & Nash, 1987). The second is a content analysis of images, often counting aspects of the images, such as how many women and children are featured and at what angle the camera is pointed. In this more specific visual or content analysis of the images, issues arose around dignity, de-contextualisation, representation and what was being signalled to the audience.

Both Lamers' (2005) and Paech's work (2004) are examples of visual content analysis in that they took a collection of images over a series of time from several NGO publications and analysed the images. Dogra's (2012) study is similar, although in her case she includes interviews with NGOs for their comment. The research of Wishart (2008), Fox (1998) and Palmer (2003) are further examples of this approach, in that a close examination of the images and what they are collectively signalling is of interest. Many of these studies draw upon the seminal work by Lutz and Collins (1993) on the images chosen for *The National Geographic* magazine, where the central question is what these images collectively signal to their intended audience about the subject, the viewer and relations between them.

The research is complemented by commentary into the (mostly) negative effects of image production on the countries represented (see for example Coulter, 1989; Dillon & Griesshaber, 1996; Fair, 1993; Jahoda, 2001; Moro, 1998). The discussion concerning NGO images was often about the negativity of the imagery on the subjects in the images and the people they represented (Alam, 2007; M. Bell, 1994; Godwin, 1994; Lidchi, 1993; Wainaina, 2006). The debate both in academe and general commentary centred around the idea that repeated single-version largely negative stories of the developing world had given rise to a branding effect (Ankomah, 2008; Davis, 2007; Fan, 2006; Mahadeo & McKinney, 2007; Roy, 2007; Versi, 2009) that simplified complex situations, using easy-to-format media sound bites that supported the agendas of fund-seeking NGOs. NGO images were critiqued for being a 'two-character play' that could be considered unethical (D. Kennedy, 2009).

Manzo (2008) summed up the prevailing concern, arguing that NGOs said one thing to their audiences in the developed world and yet often did something else with their partners in the developing world. The representation was about selling an idea and this was charged with being a misrepresentation. In Diprose's (2003) study analysing the images used by seven prominent New Zealand NGOs, he concluded that the NGOs adopted largely postdevelopment practices with their Southern partners. On the flip side, they did not question the Western narrative of intervention as development in their promotional material as this would undercut their rationale for their donors. In effect, their marketing continued to "recycle modernisation's positioning of actors with the North possessing power, knowledge and money and the South requiring assistance to overcome their deficit" (p. 92). Diprose concluded that the NGO texts constrained New Zealanders thinking about development and reinforced their existing imaginations of the Other as needy and awaiting help.

The criticism around the NGO imagery led to specific identification of a characteristic genre of image, the 'lone, decontextualized child' that stares emotionally into the camera (Manzo, 2008). Aside from this image, other constructions and marketing techniques, such as the 'Madonna and child' image, the aid worker, the celebrity activist and gifts to buy for the South were identified. Studies have been carried out concerning how each of these genres are used in NGO marketing (for example, the use of celebrities and products, Clarke, 2009; Njoroge, 2009; Selig, 2011). Visual theorists such as Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) developed schemata for identifying how certain images actively symbolize difference between the viewer and the object in the image. They identified images that represent others as 'not close to us', as disempowering the subjects through pity or objectifying them for our own gaze (p. 339). Combined, these photographic strategies encourage Othering, leading many commentators to support postcolonial criticism that the ways in which the developing world was portrayed by the NGO sector was an intentional framing (Alam, 2007; M. Bell, 1994).

Lissner (1977) was one of the first to raise concerns regarding the representation of the South through NGO imagery, commenting that the signifiers of the image were not neutral; they had political and economic ramifications: "[t]he majority of people who give to an overseas development charity are giving, not to 'other people

overseas', but more accurately to 'an image of other people overseas'" (Lissner, 1977, p. 147). This image of what these people were became the metonyms for cultures and peoples, and need began to signal (and demand) a response of pity, and a possible conclusion of helplessness. The images promoted an emotional response that all but drowned out critical analysis of some of the deeper causes behind the need. Plewes and Stuart (2007) have warned NGOs about the perils of using emotive imagery and yet, as recently as October 2012, a media campaign in New Zealand involving Kia Motor Company using a World Vision image of a child demonstrated that the use of emotive imagery is still common in NGO media and not without criticism from the general public (Zappone, 2012).

Studies with a focus on the stylistic qualities of the images and what they collectively signify can be located on one end of a spectrum that Seu (2010) has identified concerning images and their reception. She notes that in the research there is a continuum with studies on the representation of the distant Other on one end and studies on the audience action on the other. Along this continuum, there is a complex set of interrelated phenomena, with gaps in the research. At one end are quantitative studies that focus on elements in the image as discussed above, and at the other end, the audience reaction to the image. It is this audience response that has received a greater variety of attention since the mid 1990s in terms of different methodological approaches.

In her book *Compassion Fatigue*, Moeller (1999) suggested that audiences both tire and get bored with the same, repeated calls upon their goodwill. An early criticism of the possible psychological effects of the lone child image worried Burman (1994), who was concerned that the needy child image confirmed the culpability of the rest of the people that the child represented. The lack of contextual information meant the Northern viewer became in effect 'in loco parentis' whether they liked it or not. McKee (2003) also claims that desensitization of the audience occurs when a distortion is created in the representation, when "*only* children are represented and when it is the *only* way children of some world regions are photographed and depicted" (p. 164). People may see too much tragedy, too much of the same story, through repetition and saturation and this causes them to switch off, an argument that Campbell (2012) and Cohen (2001) find too simplistic. Moeller, like many others, focuses on the cause, the

media, and from thence extrapolated that people can suffer from compassion fatigue. Critics such as Campbell argue that the ways in which people respond are far more varied and complex than Moeller surmises. Compassion fatigue is too simplistic, there is more at work in both the emotive and cognitive domains of viewers of tragedy.

3.1.1. The audience interpretation

The focus on the audience has also prompted studies into how images can harm both the subjects in the images and the viewers. Commentators from both the NGO sector and visual studies have questioned the morality of images of suffering, if indeed through their decontextualisation, their mass use by media, their commercialization of poverty and stereotyping, they may cause more harm than the good intended by them (D. A. Bell & Coicaud, 2007; Elliot, 2003; D. Kennedy, 2009). Kennedy, citing Sontag, notes the following dangers in imagery:

Sontag cautions that photos can backfire: viewing the horrors of war will not necessarily make one anti-war. In fact, these images may actually convince the viewer of the justice of the endeavor, align her with the cruelty of the perpetrator, or blunt her sensibilities. (D. Kennedy, 2009, section II)

Studies from disciplines such as psychology, consumer behaviour and marketing have different epistemological perspectives to understanding audience reactions. With many, the emphasis is on either how people conceive of the poor and charities, or their response to the demand of the NGO. Very few studies comprehensively explore all forms of interpretation yet viewers may evaluate the message, the messenger and the subject of the message in varying ways. The NGO, as messenger, is often both making a demand and representing the poor. Broadly speaking, NGO-led research is mostly concerned about the audience response to the demand – *will the images propel people to donate?* Research that sits outside the NGO framework looks at the wider implications of the imagery, how it forms perceptions and creates relationships, both with the NGO sector and with the people they represent. This is not to claim that NGOs are not interested: their response in research is varied across the sector. In the past decade, there have been several studies by NGOs into audience interpretations of their marketing (for example, Darnton & Kirk, 2011; VSO, 2002)

Fiske (1994) uses the term ‘site of audiencing’ whereby the process of developing meaning about an image is negotiated, and in some cases rejected by an audience. Audience studies has its foundation in Stuart Hall’s work and is primarily concerned with the semiological tool developed by Hall of *decoding* a text or image (discussed in Rose, 2007, pp.197-200). Hall argues that people do not passively take in all messages, but that they can react in three different ways: acceptance, opposition or negotiation. There is a relationship that is formed between the viewer and an image, and the viewer is able to negotiate the meanings from that image. Early questions raised by photography and media critics called for greater attention to be paid to the emotive and psychological power of the photograph (Barthes, 1977; Sontag, 1977). Both Rozario (2003) and Ash (2008) raise questions regarding how deeper psychoanalytical responses are often a simmering and understudied by-product of a well-intentioned media campaign. The agency of the viewer, particularly their cognitive and emotive response, and the conditions under which they view the image have increasingly become important elements in understanding audience response.

Studies conducted both within academe and the NGO community have found that audiences are aware that the images of the poor are often simplistic or inaccurate and lead to the formation of stereotypes which they don’t necessarily agree with (Iyengar, 1990; VSO, 2002). Viewers may try to suppress unwanted stereotypical thoughts when viewing aid advertisements. Within psychology and marketing there exist explanations about audience behaviour that are determined largely by inputs and outputs. Research within a positivist framework often places emphasis on extrinsic determinants such as location, demography, socio-economic status etc., and intrinsic determinants, such as emotional state, ego, previous history of reaction etc., and how these affect audience reception. (see Sargeant, 1999, for a detailed example). What is important is that as Cohen (2001) suggests, images of the suffering of others cause both an emotional and cognitive response; they do not leave us untouched.

Carr (2003, p. 47) notes that within the charity image so commonly used by NGOs, salience is often given to the single human figure, subtly emphasizing the individualization of poverty through decontextualization, whilst situational or structural causes are in the background or not mentioned at all. Such deliberate

framing of poverty leads viewers to make significant attribution errors (Krull et al., 1999) possibly entrenching dominant discourses of poverty and individual helplessness. Carr concludes that a “wide range of theory and research indicate that conventional media depictions of the poor reinforce rather than reduce donor bias among advertisement viewers” (p. 48). He is referring to studies in social psychology that have shown that donors can be biased towards attributing poverty as a dispositional problem such as, ‘they are lazy people’ not a structural one, due to the deliberate framing (Campbell, Carr, & MacLachlan, 2001). Many of these studies employ a methodology that is often of a behaviouralist nature. In these situations the physical actions of people (such as their intention to donate) in reaction to an image or NGO appeal is studied under certain artificial conditions (Dyck & Coldevin, 1992; Hibbert, Smith, Davies, & Ireland, 2007).

An example of this is Kennedy and Hill’s (2009) work around cognitive processes that occur when a person tries to suppress unwanted thoughts, such as stereotypes. From her original study, Kennedy (2009) identified that unwanted thoughts, such as racism and bigotry can resurface involuntarily, creating a form of rebound. Within these forms of research, participants are often asked to complete certain tasks through which attitudes and opinions are surmised from the physical actions that occur. For example, participants may be shown an image of a person and then their subsequent actions towards the type of people represented by those in the image are recorded under laboratory conditions. The researcher is often looking for a certain trait to appear in participants, such as racism or apathy towards the object in the image. While this type of research has its value, it is often deductive and not open ended and this can limit the exploration of both why and how audiences interpret images. The effect is observed and the causes surmised, but I would argue that the connections between the two are weak, in part due to the limitations of the methodology.

These studies may not tell us why people behave in certain ways and what they are thinking when they do. Seu (2010) takes the view that questions about these unwanted thoughts and their outward manifestations remain largely underexplored, there is more to it than, ‘will they donate or not?’ Positioned somewhere along this continuum between the representation and the audience action are questions about what viewers

are actually thinking. This unknown factor has been termed a “black hole in the mind” by Cohen (as discussed in Seu, 2010, p. 441) and there has been very little research in mapping how, and why, audiences respond to both the representation and the demand of the NGO appeal. Seu maintains that to understand what people are thinking when they view humanitarian images, particularly those that call for a response from the viewer, a qualitative approach is more appropriate. Researchers are seeking to understand how NGO images work on their audiences, both cognitively and emotively and the focus has turned towards qualitative methods.

3.1.2. Qualitative studies

Research of a more qualitative nature allows a deeper exploration of what audiences think and how they can construct meaning collectively. Radley and Kennedy’s (1997) qualitative study explored the “variety of responses that members of the public make to photographs showing different degrees of dependency/empowerment [by the object in the photograph]” (p. 435). Some images showed people as very passive and this had a different effect on viewers to those that showed people portrayed as more active. Radley and Kennedy were aware that charity images are used to “represent, depict and construct meanings in the service of particular aims” (p. 436) and they wished to discover through focus groups how people responded to these images. They found that viewers made sense of the photographs by relying on certain conventions and strategies to judge what they were looking at, and to deal with what was being requested of them. The charity images drew the viewers into a predefined relationship: the viewer knowing that feelings of pity and a consequent action are expected. Through analysing the conversations of their focus groups, Radley and Kennedy were able to see how people positioned themselves towards the appeal and towards their peers. This study is significant in the literature as it showed active negotiation of the intended message by viewers, and social constructions of this negotiation.

Taking a similar social constructionist approach, Dalton et al (2008) investigated “how understandings of aid appeals, poverty and charitable giving are discursively produced and constructed in relation to one another through an analysis of New Zealand young adults’ talk about these issues” (p. 492). In their study, university

students identified three themes related to aid: local versus international need, emotional arousal and insufficient information. The participants critiqued aid appeals as being compromised due to immunity (or viewer fatigue) and as diminished through the various positioning of self-help and self-responsibility. This is related to how they saw themselves as relatively poor students who valued education. This then affected how they saw the situation of the people in the appeals. They favoured a dispositional attribute, not because it was necessarily the case for the people in the appeals, but because they identified with improving their situations personally as a means of avoiding poverty. The study allowed the participants to talk about their thoughts of the image which enabled a mapping of how this audience related to the poor in the images.

Smith and Donnelly's (2004) research explored ways in which university students positioned themselves in a globalized context. They wished to explore the global relationships that the students see themselves in when they view images of the distant Other. The images they chose were designed to unsettle conceptions about modernity and development. They did not choose the generic aid appeals. They wanted to investigate perceptions of development, globalisation and change, and so chose images of a more unsettling nature. An example of this is juxtaposing traditional clothing with modern technology. The discursive accounts revealed four broad responses, which were able to be deconstructed for their emotive and in one case paternalistic underpinnings towards the Other. One set of responses were most interesting, as they revealed a sense of disbelief and incredulity: the students were unable to accept the disparate nature of the images. Smith and Donnelly raise the concern that there appeared to be some moral detachment and critique of both the image and the messenger as the viewer positioned themselves. Of significance to this study is that Smith and Donnelly found that the students defined themselves as the objects of particular targeted attempts to elicit particular responses (as discussed in Baillie Smith, 2008, p. 14). While the studies of both Smith and Donnelly and Dalton et al contribute to the mapping of audience responses in a more qualitative manner, their participants do not reflect a representative sample of the general population and each study focuses on a slightly different aspect of the NGO image, either the demand or a representation of the developing world but not both in a comprehensive manner. However, their work is very informative for this study.

Ferguson's (2011) study employed a social semiotics approach developed from van Leeuwen (2000) and involved a mixed methodology based on rhetorical analysis that looked at each chosen image in depth, then followed this up with semi-structured interviews with five participants. The participants varied in age and many other ways, but were well-educated people and some of them had good knowledge of either visual communication or development or both. Ferguson found that viewers can feel harmed by the negative emotions of sadness, despair and anger that they are "rhetorically manipulated to feel" (p. 44). As with the studies above, there is a sense of detachment between the viewer and the subject in the image. Distance is not necessarily reduced by the image, other factors come in to play.

Many studies also take either a specific NGO's campaign or a wider selection of images and ask people their opinions about the imagery, seeking to form an understanding of people's interpretations. The Bond Report (Darnton & Kirk, 2011) is an example of a collective measure from surveys, questionnaires and interviews carried out across several NGO and government departments to gain a sense of the public opinion, awareness of and attitudes to aid and development assistance. For many of these reports, whether qualitative or quantitative in nature, the participants are generally adults who are willing to partake in the research and often do so in their own homes (such as filling out a survey online) or in a location set up for the purposes of the research. Collectively these studies on audience interpretation are adding to understanding what people are thinking and feeling when they view NGO media.

From a postdevelopment perspective, a wider and more conceptual approach to these studies is required. It is beyond the scope of this study to include a comprehensive account of the literature of on NGO marketing. What has been selected are those studies that seek to explore the power of the discourse of development to shape ways of thinking about other people. This reflects the concerns of Escobar as discussed in Chapter 2, that not just actions, but ways of thinking become constrained by the development discourse. The following sections discuss literature that has explored how people consciously and subconsciously negotiate these prescriptive terms and demands that the marketing face of the sector produce.

3.1.3. Understanding the negotiation of the NGO demand to help

In their work around denial, theorists Cohen, Seu and Chouliaraki bring together fields of sociology, psychology and media studies to further explore how people respond to the humanitarian appeal. Cohen (2001) notes three types of overlapping psychosocial denial: literal, interpretive and implicatory. For implicatory denial, whereby people do not deny the event but the moral implications that follow it, he argues that the vocabularies around these are “increasing and becoming more convoluted as they are used to attempt to bridge the moral and psychic gap between ‘what you know and what you do’” (as discussed in Seu, 2010, p. 442). Cohen is arguing that in not wanting to engage in an appeal to assist, people use verbal techniques to morally position themselves so that they do not look bad in the eyes of others. For example, ‘I didn’t give any money to that charity because I’m not exactly sure where the money all goes’. These interpretative repertoires or accounts can be drawn upon by anyone and they are very ordinary, but they call upon a higher sense of ‘what everybody knows’. In the example above it is assumed that everyone knows that there is suspicion around charity spending. This supports what Radley and Kennedy found as discussed above, that people call upon certain conventions and strategies in their negotiations. They give reasons for not taking action.

In her qualitative research around accounts of denial, Seu (2010) identified three interpretative repertoires used with regards to an appeal. In the first, the medium is the message and the focus is on the attributed manipulation of the appeal. The second attacks the messenger, the NGOs, and the third questions the validity of the appeal’s suggested action. This type of research is exploratory, and Seu argues it has wider implications for debates about humanitarianism, representation and even morality. She concludes that the voice of the distant Other can become lost in the relationship between the viewer and the NGO, and that increasingly, the NGO is seen as another actor on the media playing field, tarred with the same suspicious brush of spin and conjecture. Seu argues that discursive accounts are a better portrayal of what people actually think and do, as the audience draws upon common repertoires which need further analysis. Finally, she has an interesting conclusion which is relevant for this study. She finds no evidence for the assumed emotive responses of pity, compassion and empathy, as most of the emotional force by the participants in her study was spent

on self-protection. This response to defend the integrity of the self, as a moral person who chooses not to take action, is self-orientated and strengthens the distance between the audience and the Other.

In Seu's work, as well as the previous studies discussed, the methodology of focus groups, open-ended discussion and paying attention to the discursive account recognizes the agency of the viewer of NGO images to negotiate the message and the appeal. It is also significant that in the discussions, certain tropes or repertoires are identifiable and they can inform us about common ideas and perceptions that people have. These conventions and strategies are not just what people bring to the discussion; they are also formed during them as people support or disagree with one another. The participants' accounts are not an accurate account of reality because they are an account of what the participants, together with the interviewer, make of their world at the time (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008, p. 195) In these studies the participants were adults operating under their own free will. They were asked to be part of focus groups. That they did not always respond positively to the NGO's appeals indicates that they were free from any NGO restraint; they did not have to be polite. The question this study raises is, are these conventions and strategies the same or different for a younger audience in a different context?

Considering this work from the various disciplines concerning audience interpretation, many are from a broad social constructivist background. For social constructivists knowledge is created or constructed within the context that it is derived (Silverman, 2006). This stress on the situated context and emphasis on audience constructions particularly in media studies is not without its critics. Philo and Millar (2000) take up this reliance on what people make of reality arguing:

The encounter with philosophy and post-modern theory has left much cultural / communications studies and indeed many other areas of social science, struggling with the notion of small groups or individuals 'actively' constructing their own interpretations and the meaning of their world. A key problem in such an approach is the neglect of outcomes or consequences. For example, asking about how people interpret texts cannot of itself answer

questions about the influence of the media on ideology or belief. Such questions need to be asked directly. (Philo and Millar, 2000, p. 6)

This study notes these concerns and agrees with Sayer (2009) that critical social science research should not stop at the descriptive, but should examine the structures of power that are at work to constrain people's choices. While this study is interested in how young people construct meanings from NGO media, it also includes wider contextual constraints, such as their teacher's role in using NGO material. In a similar manner to Chouliaraki's (2006) examination of media representations, this study does not place young people as autonomous creators of knowledge, they are specifically influenced by aspects of the development sector that may appear to be taken for granted. They may not be aware of this power to influence their way of thinking about development or the developing world. It is this exposure of both the power of the development sector and the agency of the young people that make the approach of this study unique.

That the development sector can publicise its work and represent the developing world in schools is not a given; NGOs actively seek an opportunity and some are denied entry. School leadership often decides which charities to support and they are often a mixture of local, regional and international causes. NGOs that provide education material that supports the curriculum are likely to be welcomed by teachers. NGOs occupy a market space, selling a commodity: poverty and injustice alleviation (Hutnyk, 2004; Jefferess, 2002; Lidchi, 1993). The reception of their work by both teachers and students is not guaranteed to be how they envisage it. Some teachers are happy to use NGO material, while others may be more cautious. In a similar vein, campaigns that occur within the school environment may receive a mixed reception. Exploring this diversity while paying attention to the power structures is part of this study's postdevelopment approach that heeds the concerns of Sayer and Philo as discussed above. The next section focusses on the key debates and research concerning the extent of the NGO presence within the classroom of the developed world.

3.2. The NGO presence in the classroom: Key debates and research

NGO awareness and fundraising work, as a specific dimension of the development industry that operates in the developed world, comprises NGO education material, events and a wider presence within schools that may include initiatives such as child sponsorship programs. In the 1960s, the education of the former colonial powers was considered important, with key African leaders such as Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda arguing that ten per cent of aid money should be spent on educating the First World public about the actual causes of poverty (Adamson, 2013). NGO activities in the developed world that concern its work overseas is distinct from ‘development education’ a term which may include such activities but is arguably a wider perspective concerning global inequality, as McCloskey (2009) describes:

Development education aims to result in informed local action based on a global consciousness to bring about social justice and equality. The importance of this pedagogical approach is its capacity to engage the learner with global justice issues over the long-term rather than elicit a short-term (sometimes emotionally-driven) response that can equate development with financial aid. (McCloskey, 2009, p. 2)

NGO resources may fit the short-term model or they may encompass the wider perspective. Initially concerned with raising awareness about issues, fundraising has become an integral part of the NGO presence in schools since the 1980s. For the most part, fundraising for local small scale projects overseas dominates. There are exceptions to these, but many NGOs have found it easier to raise awareness if a specific issue or local cause is highlighted, rather than wider structural or global reasons for inequality. Fair trade or environmental NGOs are often more focused on macro-development initiatives.

The presence of NGOs in the classroom is varied and many different types of NGOs are found in the formal school environment. In some schools, there is a monopoly of one or two NGOs who have a long traditional association with a school, while in other schools it is more diverse and changeable from year to year. International development NGOs also compete with local NGOs for the attention of staff and

students. NGOs also promote international service learning (a relatively new growth sector in education) and North/South school partnerships. Aside from posters and images in classroom materials, NGO activity, such as visiting speakers and campaigns, present to students not just the NGO, but the developing world locations where they operate. Thus, their campaign marketing also becomes education.

As Lissner (1977) identified, within larger NGOs, general fundraising and specific education activities can seem to be conflicting and contradictory. Both activities involve the extensive use of development imagery to portray people, programs and aid workers in the global South. In the late 1970s and 1980s, the term development education covered the work that NGOs and government agencies did on raising awareness among young people (see Mannion, Biesta, Preistley, & Ross, 2011, for a discussion on the geneology of development education). Within any individual NGO, there can be different activities with different aims concerning awareness about issues in the South. Arnold's (1988) description of educational material from Oxfam illustrates this confusion of messages:

On the one hand, many of its [Oxfam's] campaigns and some of its educational publications suggest that it strongly favours the 'empowerment' vision, while at the same time it provides materials for people to 'knit' for Oxfam and to send clothing to the less fortunate. (Arnold, 1988, p. 191)

Politically, this division and tension within NGOs is most evident in the formal education setting of the classroom, where there has been critical comment on how global divisions are both constructed and maintained through a twinning of campaigning and educational material (Gyoh, 2008; Henderson & O'Neill, 2011; M Smith, 2004). In work by Smith (2008) in the United Kingdom, there were concerns from teachers about NGOs' educative role in classrooms, leading some teachers to question the pedagogy of a "charities mould" (p. 10) in which fundraising sneaks in as part of a focus on citizenship or social justice that may be occurring in the school setting. The difficulty facing development education officers of NGOs, is that while some may seek to challenge systemic structures that promote inequality, for many of them, funding and other constraints may background this agenda with the more

traditional (colonial) ways of viewing the world taking place (see den Heyer, 2009; Jefferess, 2008 for further discussion). Bringing the money in is often the priority.

Analysis of the providers of development education in the North and the lens through which the South is positioned within that resourcing, has been commented on by many, (Bourn, 2007; Bracken, et al., 2011; Osler, 1994; Sinclair, 1994) and many of their arguments are applicable to the situation in New Zealand. Andreotti (2006a) contends that much of what passes as development education is action through charity rather than a critical analysis of the processes of development. Andreotti posited a division of ‘soft’ versus ‘critical’ global education¹¹ whereby the soft or conservative version sits within a modernising or humanitarian position, because it supports the view of the development relationship, of them needing our assistance. The critical approach encourages critical thinking and the questioning of assumptions about development and North/South relationships (Bryan, 2011; McCloskey, 2011; Scriven, 2012). A condensed version of Andreotti’s division is in given Appendix E. Analysis of the material used in development education is ongoing in many European nations and a recent German study concluded that older divisions of seeing the world prevailed in material used in classrooms (Glokal, 2013). NGO material can send messages about global relationships that support or challenge the prevailing narrative, and at times, confusion can result: are we equal to them or are we superior? Scriven (2012) discusses that the two views are not necessarily at odds with each other; a charitable framework can precede a more justice-orientated approach and possibly the relationship works the other way around.

Commentators calling for a radical rethink of the soft version of development education that reinforces a Western humanitarianism underscored by a patronizing view, are asking what the educative impacts are of this framework (Bourn, 2008b; Marshall, 2005; Pardiñaz-Solis, 2006; Roman, 2003). As an example of critical

¹¹ The terms global education and development education cross over here: both relate to understandings of global social relationships. For some NGOs development education is solely about raising public awareness of issues and reinforcing their work and their brand. Global education is often seen as more of an umbrella term, encompassing environmental issues, social justice and cross-cultural education with a greater emphasis on critical thinking around the structural cause of global issues. The end product of learning for either branch is not necessarily charity. There is also Global Citizenship Education which is gaining increasing use and is more in line with global education but has an emphasis on citizenship responsibility.

thinking being present in a text for teachers, UK educator Susan Fountain in a guidebook on global education, gives a warning that aid appeals may reinforce stereotypes and racist thoughts despite their positive intentions (Fountain, 1995). The internal conflict that exists within NGOs that Lidchi and Lissner recognized, finds its way into the classroom. Manzo (2006) summarized many of the issues concerning the intersection between development education and the use of the charity image by concluding that “dominant media images of the majority world promote emotion without understanding, charity without structural change” (p. 11).

In considering what postdevelopment theory can offer development education, Dillon (2003) makes the following observation: “While development education may be strong on advocating alternatives and on addressing structures of inequality, it has been weak on interrogating the assumptions about development that it often employs” (p. 235). This is an important consideration for this study, reflecting Osler’s (1994) and Bryan’s (2011) concerns with development education, that practitioners may not be able to see outside the framework of development. This is where, as Storey (2000) points out, postdevelopment in its deconstruction of structures has something to offer. The radical rethink is perhaps best achieved from outside the development discourse. Duke (2003) makes the following observation:

That peoples of the South are ‘poor’ and thus need ‘our’ help is seen as a natural state of affairs; the ways in which this framework creates a hierarchy of superiority/inferiority, and thus of oppression, is obscured by its very normality and by the good intentions with which it is accepted and reproduced. (Duke, 2003, p. 201)

It is the power of these good intentions, this naturalized state of affairs which postdevelopment seeks to problematize. Duke’s point that normality can obscure the faults of a framework is salient for this study, whereby the assumed ordinariness of the presence of the NGO sector in the classroom is under examination.

3.2.1. Research in the classroom context

The tension that exists between charity and education has sought many to research the educative effects of the NGO presence in education and this study is part of that exploration. Smith's (1999) research in the UK found that teaching about the developing world was often carried out through difference, a concern he has raised elsewhere in his examination of NGO material: "They are different to us in these ways. Often NGO education material positions the NGO as the principle actor in development and a linear version of development is created, a kind of 'dot-to-dot' picture" (Smith & Donnelly, 2004, p. 134).

This linear way of thinking leads to a simplistic understanding of development that is reliant on Western intervention. For example, if a school is built there, (with help from that NGO) they will become educated and developed. However, education practice reflects societal shifts in thinking, and Smith (2004) has noted that the "moral certainties" of the past ways of thinking about the Other have been replaced by "a much more complex set of ideas" (p. 746). Teachers themselves are often in conflict over presenting the South. At one level, notes Smith: "Some teachers may seek to articulate critical and reflexive approaches to development and change... [but] this is not always achieved. The traditional face may offer a more manageable and ordered frame of reference" (Smith, 2004, p. 746). Smith interviewed teachers and found that the modernist narrative of development dominates media constructions and that within the classroom, the emphasis was on the preparation and skilling of young people for a global market economy which may limit their preparation for a global cultural economy. Their education emphasizes their location on a superior economic level, without challenging this assumed relationship to the Other.

Several studies from Ireland and Northern Ireland have contributed to the literature (Duke, 2003; Regan, 1995; Wegimont, 2000). Irish development educators have sought to explore the ways in which the global South is portrayed to the Irish public and what this means for development education. A comprehensive study by Irish Aid into the treatment of development education by geography and religious education textbooks and NGO material for post-primary schooling showed a disconnect between the official goals of development education as articulated by the state and the reality in

the classroom (Bryan & Bracken, 2011). They found specific themes of a narrow modernist view of development and the promotion of individual activism and charity as the solution to the South's needs. In effect, the findings indicated that the core-periphery relationship had remained the same. Their methodology did not evaluate NGO material, but did include interviews with in-service teachers and administrators, students themselves were not interviewed.

A different study from Northern Ireland involved the interviewing of teachers, teacher trainees and students, both at primary and secondary levels (Niens & Reilly, 2010). Looking at the teaching of the global dimension (a form of global education) in schools, Niens and Reilly found significant variations according to the type of school. The nature of the school affected the lens through which the global dimension was taught. Schools with a strong link to the church emphasized charity and fundraising, while secular schools emphasized a more personal link, encouraging students to experience diversity and other cultures through partnerships with schools overseas. The authors concluded that each approach was liable to reinforce stereotypes about the Other, if not approached critically. With regards to the students, one of the chief findings for this study was the lack of introspection on behalf of the students: they learnt about the Other, but not necessarily in relation to their own culture, reflecting Roman's (2003) concern that the students make brief forays across into other 'dangerous' territories, which can reinforce neo-colonial ways of seeing the Other.

A further concern raised by Niens and Reilly's study was the finding that pupils often displayed attitudes that were considered acceptable to their teachers, whilst outside the classroom the students may think and behave quite differently (Niens & Reilly, 2010, p. 18). This disconnection, between the theory in class and the reality outside, can be a form of dissent, with students simply assenting to the educational (and ethical) demands momentarily without exhibiting any long term behavioural or attitudinal change. This has also been reported in research concerning young people and global activism (Scheunflug, 2008). Research around the impact of development education and the NGO sector within the classroom is often an analysis of education or NGO policy, such as those carried out by Andreotti (2011), or of curriculum resource material. Studies that take a more qualitative approach, to interview teachers or young

people such as Osler's (2011) work are outnumbered by those that focus on policy documents or content analysis of resource material.

One study that is of particular significance for this research is that of Beattie (2001)¹². The aim of her research was to question if the "discourse of development education reinforced negative stereotyping and therefore might work counter to its own aims" (p. 2). Beattie's methodology for data collection involved semi-structured interviews with 55 secondary school students from five different schools. Each interview was carried out in a group setting with Beattie moderating the discussion and images were used for visual stimuli. Twelve teachers were also interviewed and a content analysis of the materials used, both general textbooks and NGO supplied resources. In her findings regarding the students, Beattie found that there was a high level of interest in the global South and people were spoken of with respect. However, there was a prevalence of stereotypical views and a Eurocentric view of what was considered normal life. The students also had confusing ideas around terminology concerning development. Beattie touches briefly on some of the emotions that the students expressed, but there is little exploration of the emotional account of the students in this research.

In her analysis, Beattie noted a high correlation between the teacher's approach to development education and the responses by the students. A school with a strong human rights focus clearly stressed a more holistic picture of global injustice in the classroom and this was evident in the students' responses. Beattie concluded that for the students in her study, "the Eurocentric concepts of development and civilisation were strongly embedded in their minds" (p. 66) and she noted that: "Development education had not given them a way to reconceptualise the development of the world and so become aware of their own assumptions; rather it had tended to reinforce those assumptions." (Beattie, 2001, p. 66). This conclusion echoes the concern of other commentators in that development education material may not be challenging the very discourse of development. This study takes a similar methodology to that of Beattie's study, but seeks to explore further the students' responses, to be able to map and

¹² A reminder here that the authors Duke, R. and Beattie, R. are the same person.

analyse them in greater detail, particularly the emotional negotiation of the demand to help the Other.

Bryan (2008) argues that the practical value of research into how development is presented in the classroom “lies in its capacity to explore the relationship between how development is portrayed and the nature and level of engagement that these representations are likely to evoke” (p. 64). This research seeks to add to this exploration, by focussing on the interpretation of NGO representations by young people. This review, by canvassing work across several disciplines agrees with Seu (2010) that research in the area between representation and audience reception is underexplored. From across several disciplines there is a concern regarding the North/South relationship and how this is influenced through various avenues, such as NGO marketing and development education. Together, these studies, with their differing approaches have cumulatively shown that certain common threads exist. One of these commonalities is that audiences are not passive; they interpret and respond to NGO media in various ways.

Some understanding is beginning to form about the role of NGOs in schools. That there is a tension between education and charity is no longer doubted. That NGOs have considerable power in representing the South is also accepted. What is still unknown is how this affects young people in the North who are a key audience for NGO marketing. This study focusses on a particular audience in a certain context and through a specific methodology seeks to explore their interaction with the sector, through the sector’s visual face. Leaving the scope wide, this study seeks to explore young people’s interpretations of the South *and* their response to the NGO appeal.

3.3. Key concerns from the education sector

Three key concerns about the role of the NGO sector within the classroom are central to this study. The first is that of representation of the developing world in texts in the classroom. The second relates to disciplinary knowledge and the third concerns the use of emotion by NGOs. This section weaves together concerns from these different commentators within education. What unites them is their concern over pedagogy and how the NGO sector influences the social sciences learning area in particular. Other

concerns exist, but I have chosen to concentrate on these as they are relevant to the questions of this study.

3.3.1. Representation of the developing world

Within geography, a key site for learning about global inequality, there is a history of concern as to how textbooks and other education material portray the developing world. These concerns reflect the criticisms of NGO images (Marsden, 1976; Myers, 2001; Phillips, 2001; Robinson, 1987; Wright, 1979, 1985). Recent analyses of education texts, both disciplinary and NGO material, have noted that the images of the distant Other are often designed to placate the viewer, not to unsettle them (Freeman, 2008; Schuermans, 2008). The way in which the world is seen remains Eurocentric in some texts, with a focus on the deficit of the developing world, particularly in images. There has been vocal criticism that images portray the developing world as some editors would like it to remain: controllable, primitive and known (Alam, 2007).

Geographers Bell (1994) and Gregory (1994) argued that the ways in which the distant Others are portrayed are often a crude representation that is designed to continue the old colonial binaries, echoing the concerns of postdevelopment critics. “A combination of moral concern and fascination with the exotic forms the basis of our geographical imagination and continues to underlie much contemporary interest in non-Western societies” (Bell, 1994, p. 193). Bell argues that through the theories of development and modernisation our view of the periphery is fixed, obscuring rapidly changing diversities. These terms and theories that geographers have used to depict and order the world are under increasing pressure as being inadequate ways of knowing. Almost two decades later, working critically to challenge these ways of constructing the world, others have welcomed better ways of thinking about global inequalities that better reflect reality (Beals, 2013; Tinker, 2007; Young, 2010).

There is awareness in academia in the discipline of geography and in the wider social sciences that ‘ways of seeing’ are important and that critical appreciation of both texts and images is necessary. Rigg (2007, p. 7) set out to portray people of the South as ‘everyday people’ as he saw a gap in the market for the ordinary. Rigg was concerned that people of the developing world were often deliberately framed as the Other, the victims of global forces and that they were relegated to the periphery almost as though

they did not matter. Critics of NGO representation argue that NGO's exacerbate this exoticism and Othering by plying their trade in emphasizing need. This tension again comes to the fore: charity or education; relief or awareness.

Within the social sciences classroom, how the world is portrayed is in a process of shifting from the old binaries of First/Third World, a 'them and us' binary, to a greater complexity. The 'modernisation is best' ways of thinking in the 1990s are under challenge and texts and educators are responding (see Butt, 2011, for a discussion of the various challenges in geography). This study will uncover whether these binaries are still present in the way that young people conceptualize the world. The question is whether NGO representations reinforce the binaries and increase distance or bring students closer to the distant Other. Teachers also influence the framing of the world and many teachers seek to balance and critique representations that are the older, more stable ways of viewing the world, such as historically placing the domination of Brandt's Line of North and South and critiquing its use. Smith's (1999) research found that the old divides proved to be the default pedagogy and the concern is that if the NGO sector highlights the need of the distant Other, they may inadvertently reinforce the core-periphery relationship. If this is the case, teachers that wish to challenge these older divisions or provide alternatives may find it difficult to do so.

3.3.2. Disciplinary knowledge and the NGO sector

Recently within the social sciences there has been a response to the cultural turn in knowledge. In 1971, education theorist Michael Young published his thoughts around knowledge, paving the way for an emphasis on the social construction of reality: namely that people construct their own worlds of knowledge. There is not the space in this thesis to fully cover the debates about knowledge in education, suffice to say that at the heart of these debates are questions about the objectivity of knowledge (see Smagorinsky, 2001, for an overview). Is what we know, of anything, including what is ostensibly called the developing world, created by ourselves as we draw upon our own subjectivism, and what are the key influencing factors for our knowledge creation? In terms of knowledge within the disciplines of the social sciences, this debate has tremendous ramifications, with many theorists arguing about whose knowledge counts (for example Gilbert, 2005; Rata, 2012; Wood & Sheehan, 2012; M. Young & Muller, 2010). At the core of the debate, what should be taught in schools and for this context,

what should be taught about the global South, if indeed there is such a geo-political space?

Young people learn about the developing world and the development industry from a variety of sources, not just formally in the classroom or from NGO media. This construction of knowledge from text or images is a concept that has its roots in education constructivism¹³, which holds that education, or learning, is more than just what a teacher might teach to a student. Instead, students bring their own experiences and make or construct new meanings from what they see and experience. Often the classroom is the site for debate on issues concerning reality, morality and one's place in the world. This is relevant for this study. Students may bring ideas about the distant vulnerable Other from home, from watching television or personal experience and these may not correspond with the messages being given by the teacher or the NGO sector.

Within geography in the UK there has been discussion concerning what constitutes core geographical knowledge (Lambert, 2011; Morgan, 2002). Standish (2009) has recently contributed to the debate arguing that disciplinary knowledge in geography is being 'hijacked' by moral causes, such as the 'soft' forms of development education in which the centrality of the student is paramount and education becomes more about what you can do for the Other. Your identity as a person becomes central:

The reorientation of education away from knowledge about the world towards the moral viewpoint of young people reflects both contemporary disenchantment with the value of subject knowledge and also the belief that social problems can be addressed by reforming individuals (Standish, 2009, p. 107).

Standish is concerned that personal engagement with an issue of social justice, performing an act of some description, turns knowledge into a political act. The ramifications regarding life-long learning are not yet fully evaluated. In other words, volunteering or undertaking fundraising towards a project at school, as part of the

¹³ Education theorists John Dewey and Maria Montessori are known for the idea that students actively create knowledge; they are not passive vessels waiting to be filled with knowledge.

learning about certain places or people does not necessarily result in a permanent behavioural shift and may unintentionally reinforce stereotypical thinking (p. 128). Students may feel good at the time, but what are the long term outcomes of this social action within the classroom, particularly if it is semi-obligatory? Standish is concerned that teachers are being swayed by ethical rhetoric to teach uncritically about certain issues and the educative effects are not fully understood.

Social action within schools is under consideration by some educators, with Brooks (2007) arguing that how these activities affect young people's place in society and sense of social citizenship is unclear. In Brook's research among young people she noted a mix of positive and negative outcomes. Situated within the classroom, the not-so-voluntary social action that is part of the curriculum, can become a means to generate extra lines on the curriculum vitae. The Other becomes a tool for one's self-improvement, a critique that Jefferess (2012) is concerned about with recent trends in NGO marketing. This has parallels in service learning and school partnerships, where critics ask who benefits the most from these enterprises (Baillie Smith, Laurie, Hopkins, & Olsen, 2012; Edge, Frayman, & Lawrie, 2009; Pickering, 2008). The knowledge learnt becomes centered on the student having a subjective experience rather than acquiring objective information.

3.3.3. The employment of emotion in the classroom

Many educators have expressed concern regarding the use of emotion as a tool to engage students as its effects are often unquantifiable. In 2007, I witnessed an NGO worker expressively use emotion to move a captive audience of high school students firstly, to a sense of horror, then pity and then guilt, which could be relieved if their proffered action was taken. The NGO's speaker was addressing a school assembly and although I was standing in the foyer I could see the photos of emaciated Asian children on the large screen and I could hear emotive music. The students were very quiet until the teachers and I heard something coming from the auditorium: *sniffing*. A number of the students had been emotionally moved to cry. This poignant moment was shattered by an outburst from the teacher standing next to me. She swore loudly, and then said in a very irritated voice '*Great, how am I supposed to teach them maths after this?*'

My first thought was that the teacher was being disrespectful. The students should feel for the poor and this charity was doing its best to raise awareness for its projects. The second thought was that I agreed with this teacher. How could algebra compete with saving the world's poor? How would she restore the emotional balance for her students? What was going through the minds and hearts of these students to make them cry? Questions continued as I wondered if this emotional pull was the best way to raise money for the poor. This personal vignette illustrates the power of an NGO worker's performance, not just in educating about the Other, but in moving the Northern student emotionally. Education about the Other becomes tied up with your emotional position.

Emotion is often a double-edged sword for NGOs (Orgad & Vella, 2012) and while many are aware of the dangers of emotional manipulation, within the school setting there is little empirical evidence of the impact of the use of emotion, particularly by NGOs. NGO material and appeals are often designed to move students towards a certain emotional response and from thence, action. Kenway and Youdell (2011) posit that how emotion circulates in education, how it is produced in certain ways in certain places is an underexplored area of education research. They note that education has been perceived in the past as a site of rationality, but critics are arguing that this is not so (see the chapter on 'Critical Affiliation' in B. Hill, 1994). Far from being sites that are devoid of emotion, classrooms are full of the complex variety of emotions and it is significant for this study to discuss the critiques concerning emotion in relation to how students learn about the distant Other.

Baillie Smith (2012, p. 75) notes that the consideration of emotion in development research tends to be reactive, particularly with how the researcher is coping with the research. The emotional responses of the researched are not often viewed as a key source of data. However, in arguing that emotion in development research is important, Humble (2012) in making a reference to Shrestra, states:

The scale, complexity and also intensity of development presents researchers with a duty to explore, reflexively and productively, emotion as both a reflection and critique of dominant development narratives, contributing to the

project of unpicking ‘the trappings of Westernized development fetishism’ (Shrestra, 1995:277). (Humble, 2012, p 85)

Unpacking the diversity of the emotional response to the NGO media is one way of disrupting the usual way of thinking within development discourse. There can be an assumption that on viewing poverty, people respond in a normative manner. A postdevelopment perspective is in agreement with Shrestra above, in that part of the trappings of Westernized development fetishism may be the usual emotive course of pity, empathy and altruistic action. In this study, the placement of the students’ emotional encounter with the development sector is to view their emotional account as significant as it forms part of their impressions. The emotional account is made explicit and is seen as part of the many ways in which the NGO sector has influence on young people. The dominant expected emotional responses are seen as hegemonic; other emotional responses deserve attention.

Todd’s (2003) work in understanding how we view the Other, particularly the poor or vulnerable, looks at how guilt and empathy are often used to consolidate or support learning. She argues that emotional responses are not always optional; students are commonly forced into being made to feel compassionate for the less fortunate, or made to feel guilty that they are wealthy/privileged. Todd argues that the learning that takes place is one that is about ‘imagining how *I* would deal with this [situation of poverty etc.]’. Thus the empathy generated serves our own interests. It is constructed for self-reflection; it is not about respecting the difference of the Other (p. 62). The voice of the Other, their thoughts, their opinions, is silent. The educational goal is to imagine the suffering of the Other, but the thoughts, desires or actions of the Other are not really part of the equation. The Other’s suffering becomes a tool for our own learning, our own development. This ‘sculpting of the Other’ is one in which Spivak argues that the centre is not moved, the subaltern remains at the periphery: [She] does not speak (as discussed in Andreotti, 2007).

The concerns of Todd are echoed by media critics such as Cohen, Philo and Chouliaraki as discussed in section 3.1. For both postdevelopment and postcolonial critics, the main direction of the relationship between them and us is not challenged. The elements may change a little, but the dominant neo-colonial paradigm remains the

same, and as Chouliaraki (2010, p. 121) warns, it may be in danger of being reinforced, as individual judgement comes to the fore as a means of challenging social injustice. The student's (or prospective donor's) needs come first. Social justice action can become more about enhancing personal social capital. Chouliaraki argues that this new form of altruism is in danger of becoming a form of cultural narcissism whereby the Other is subsumed into the traditional hierarchies of global inequality in which the privileged Northerner remains superior. They retain their saviour status, they are beyond reproach.

It is by no means guaranteed that learning outcomes are predictable once emotions are called into play. Shohat and Stam (1996) comment, "A person might 'sample' oppression and conclude nothing more than: 'C'est la vie' or 'Thank God it wasn't me!'" (p. 166). If NGO material does seek to employ emotions, particularly those of guilt and empathy, there are dangers that the learning that takes place may produce further unwanted and negative emotions. Nash (2008) argues that NGOs employ emotion strategically to win people over to their cause, not worrying about those for whom this strategy does not work. Nor is it their main concern to fully evaluate what emotions are being fostered. As Plewes and Stuart (2007) have argued, this lack of concern by NGOs is becoming unethical.

Returning to Standish, he raises a different concern; "if emotional responses are becoming part of the curriculum, then does this mean that students are evaluated on their feelings?" (2009, p. 154). If you do not feel in a certain way, are you penalized for this? Furthermore, to recall Chouliaraki's concern discussed above, that as humanitarian campaigning changes, in response to the market, stressing the individual actor agency may place pressure on the student to *act*, as a moral agent, further strengthening the distance between 'them' and 'us' (Chouliaraki, 2010, p. 121). It becomes all about *what you can do*, the agency of the Northern actor. The power of the young person in the developed world is elevated to that of global saviour, a perilous positioning that Andreotti (2011) finds dangerously ethnocentric. The Southerner is reduced to passive gratitude, a critique that postcolonial and postdevelopment commentators would argue maintains the status quo and is evidence of the power of development at work. The gaze remains one-way: the problems are their inadequacies.

3.3.4. *Summary of concerns: Crafted subjectivities in the classroom*

The issues discussed here concern the placement and power of development education material in the classroom context and highlight that there are still several unknowns that concern educators: the ways in which the developing world is represented; the influence on curriculum subjects; and emotive power. Together they have alerted educators that the NGO sector, like other sectors, lobbies for influence on young people and the captive audience of the classroom is a convenient location for the promotion of its ideals. Teachers may not be aware of the influence of the NGO sector on either themselves or their students. Taken collectively, the way in which the developing world is represented through images and text and the moral and emotional constructions that surround that learning, a certain discourse about how we come to see, and relate to the poor in the developing world may become naturalised and unquestioned.

Jefferess' (2012) critique of an NGO's marketing practices in North America notes that there is a demand to *be good* and the individualisation of benevolence speaks to the individual's self-fulfilment. NGO programmes tap into deep-seated desires to help and provide a consumer-orientated way out of this dilemma. The ethical hegemony is ever-present and difficult to critique. By soliciting young people's ideas about NGOs the intention in this study is to further understand how this power is at work in the classroom. Are young people and their teachers able to identify the framework of charity and individual philanthropy which the NGO sector presents to them? Commentators have argued that easy ways of viewing the world and solving its problems allow educators to move on to the next topic once some social action has been achieved. Difficult and critical ways of thinking about development that may challenge the NGO charity framework are often not promoted. The underlying issue for Andreotti (2011, p. 115) is that social activism in the classroom is reduced to providing 'help' in order to solve their problems and change the world via our good will rather than critically assessing what structures keep global inequalities in place.

These commentators are concerned that as yet we don't really fully understand the *power* of the development sector in education. How does it create and maintain certain ways of thinking about development and certain subjectivities for the students in the

developed world to embody? How does the young person in the developed world see themselves and are they aware of the roles which are ostensibly mapped out for them; that of giver, helper, ethical consumer and global activist? If they are aware of the certain subjectivities they are meant to embody, what is their agency in this? Questions over their 'fit' with these crafted and to a large degree controlled subjectivities remain. The nature and extent of the power of the NGO sector to construct young people in the developed world in a certain manner and their response to that is what this study hopes to shed light on.

3.4. Development education in New Zealand: The context for this study

Development education within New Zealand has mirrored the development of the same in the United Kingdom. Small (1997) documents that development education had radical beginnings in the 1970s as NGOs reconsidered the patronising relationship between donor and recipient that characterised aid and development campaigning. He noted that the tension between fundraising through the use of pity imagery and education was present for many New Zealand NGOs: "There was [...] a constant tension in all but the most stagnant agencies between being wealthy and pragmatic or poor and principled" (p. 586).

One of the key dividing issues was child sponsorship and Small argues that this caused divisions between NGOs, such as Corso and World Vision. NGOs like World Vision promoted the child sponsorship style of development, while Corso moved beyond charity into national politics. Small describes how the neoliberalism of the 1980s and 1990s in New Zealand reduced the political willpower of NGOs, and many of them focused their efforts on alleviating poverty overseas at a micro-development level. This led the NGOs to further exoticise poverty as belonging 'over there' and Small claims this default position did nothing to challenge the structures which promoted those inequalities (p. 590). From the mid 1990s, other NGOs such as Oxfam established themselves in New Zealand, but they were cut from the same cloth, focusing the gaze on the poverty over there, calling chiefly on wealthy New Zealanders to help improve the Other through philanthropy. This individualization of poverty alleviation reduced critical thinking about global poverty and often reinforced

the general public's perception of development to a financial transaction for emergency relief or child sponsorship.

The critique of Small mirrors Bryan's (2011) concerns that there has been a de-radicalization of development education, so that by the late 1990s, what passed for development education was little more than promotional material for overseas aid work. The conclusion that Small came to was that there needed to be a radical reorientation of the messages that NGOs were promoting and the actions they were undertaking in New Zealand if there was to be an increase in international solidarity to build strategies for change. In a sense, Small was prescient of Cohen's call to be less 'merchants of misery and to have more solidarity with the miserable' (adapted from Cohen, 2001, p. 185).

Before Small's critique, there had been some consolidation of the NGO sector. In 1992, after a recommendation from the OECD's Development Assistance Committee, government support was provided to establish the Development Resource Centre (DRC). As a semi-autonomous body it was a collection of NGOs who pooled their resources together to provide advocacy and education around development issues to the New Zealand public. Significantly, it was core funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, not the Ministry of Education. Support from government increased in the mid 2000s and a contestable education fund was established for NGOs for developing education resources for young people both in the formal education sector and for youth groups and other informal settings. At this time the DRC extended to establish the Global Education Centre which provided resources to schools on global issues. Without the need to fundraise and without projects overseas to support, the Centre concentrated on providing a critical perspective on aid and development issues.

The extent and range of NGOs in the New Zealand education system has not been formally assessed and there is little information on the extent and nature of the sector. There are a handful of very well known NGOs, such as World Vision, UNICEF, Volunteer Service Abroad and Caritas, which most teachers are aware of. There are at least twelve NGOs on the database of the New Zealand Council for International Development that have some presence in the formal education system. In Appendix F, a table gives an approximate overview of the involvement of the more influential

NGOs in the school system. The numbers of students involved directly with NGOs through events or the numbers of resources sold or websites visited is beyond the scope of this study. It should also be noted that many teachers also access the websites of NGOs such as Comic Relief and AusAid's Global Education website who do not have a physical presence in New Zealand. There are also many faith-based development organisations that have relationships with faith-based schools which may provide young people in schools with volunteering or service work with their partners overseas.

In 2007 the New Zealand Ministry of Education's new national curriculum had a specific directive to encourage students to participate more actively in New Zealand's diverse, multicultural society and the global community (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8). In their Irish study Bryan and Bracken (2011) noted three curriculum areas that NGOs were frequently present in; the civics, religious education and geography. In New Zealand, civics or global citizenship education is part of the social sciences learning area and religious education is generally found only in schools linked to a faith-based institution. Geography as a subject is a key area in which NGO resources are used, but geography is an optional subject from year 11 onwards, and generally features before then as part of social studies. The curriculum guideline for the social sciences learning area of which social studies is a part, is as follows:

In the social sciences, students explore how societies work and how they themselves can participate and take action as critical, informed and responsible citizens. (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 17)

In New Zealand, it is compulsory to study social studies as a subject through to level 5, or year 10¹⁴ (age 14). The curriculum guidelines for level 5 do not set specific geographic regions as contexts, so teachers are responsible for choosing a wide variety of settings, both geographical and historical. The curriculum sets out achievement objectives for which there are nine at level five. These objectives specify the skills and knowledge that the students should be learning. Development or global issues can occur within any of the achievement objectives, at any time during the course of a

¹⁴ New Zealand schooling consists of 13 years, with the first 11 considered compulsory. By year 10, most students are aged between 13 and 15 years. In the research over eighty-five per cent of the student participants were 14 years old.

social studies program. For example, it is quite common for developing world contexts to be used when teaching to achievement objective nine which states that: “students will gain knowledge, skills and experience to understand how people define and seek human rights” (Ministry of Education, 2007, n.p.). Decisions concerning the context, when and how to teach an objective, are made by the teacher within constraints such as resource availability, personal knowledge and overall department planning.

The Global Education Centre responded to this curriculum guideline and increased the production of resource material that debated global issues and provided teachers with greater theoretical knowledge of development. It was during this growth period from 2005 to 2009 that I worked for the Centre writing material for secondary school teachers. In 2009, the Centre, which was to be renamed Global Focus Aotearoa, published a document outlining its pedagogy for global education: *Global education: Transforming the world through community education*. The author Fiona Beals returned to the radical roots of development education and used both Levinas’ ideas of compassion with Freire’s critical literacy to challenge the charity framework that often dominated NGO material that was presented in the classroom. Influenced also by Andreotti’s concern over the prevalence of ‘soft’ forms of development education, the document challenged educators to consider their own place in the world first before considering that of others. Complicity and complexity were to be encouraged, not ignored. The charity framework was considered as a framework and it was not viewed as the only way to see development and global issues. Education officers from the more established NGOs welcomed the wider perspective that Global Focus Aotearoa offered.

My own involvement in this sector is relevant here as I had raised questions about the influence of the NGO sector on determining how aid and development was presented in the classroom (Tallon, 2008b). Influenced by Pardiñaz-Solis (2006) I was concerned that the combination of a market-driven curriculum¹⁵ and the marginal status of Global Focus Aotearoa in the education sector did not provide a balanced

¹⁵ No textbooks are recommended by the Ministry of Education for studying development or aid issues so teachers are heavily influenced by resources on the market, and the cheapest, glossiest or easiest to use may dominate what is taught.

perspective on development for teachers. I was concerned that much of what was written about the developing world reinforced old colonial ways of thinking about the South: that students' learnt of the South largely through a lens of deficit. Ordinary life was marginalised, echoing Rigg's (2007) concern. In particular I was worried that for many teachers of the social sciences there was a paucity around critical thinking concerning development theory and the placement of the NGO sector in the classroom. As I was able to meet with teachers around the country as part of my role in Global Focus Aotearoa I learnt that there was diversity in the approaches that teachers took towards NGO material. Some used the material uncritically and there was little division between NGO branding and education, while others refused to allow international charities into their classroom, having a very negative manner towards them. This also included teachers not wishing to use material from Global Focus Aotearoa.

When I left Global Focus Aotearoa at the end of 2009, the National Government was removing funding and eventually the Centre closed its doors in 2011. Thus, the only critically alternative perspective to NGO resource material that was widely accessed by teachers was no longer readily available in New Zealand. The Ministry of Education although supportive in principle, was not prepared to financially support Global Focus Aotearoa. In 2011, the most prominent NGO resource providers for secondary schools in New Zealand were World Vision, UNICEF, VSA, Oxfam, Caritas and Save the Children. Many of these NGOs also organize special events, such as World Vision's 40 Hour Famine, which are held on a national scale and involve thousands of school children taking part. Other NGOs with a varied presence in schools include Rotary, SurfAid, Amnesty International and Trade Aid. The range and scale of education resources is diverse and many schools also have partnerships with schools in the developing world and service trips are increasingly popular and these may be organised through private companies.

3.5. Chapter summary

This chapter began by covering the general critique in the literature concerning the representation of the developing world by NGO media, but then narrowed the discussion to the research on audience interpretation of NGO media. As this study's

participants are located in the education sector, specific concerns from those within education were discussed. Three in particular were outlined: representation of the global South, disciplinary integrity and the use of emotion in the classroom. It is the nature of these concerns that informed the research questions, which subsequently helped to shape the methodology. Finally, the chapter concluded with a background to the history of development education within New Zealand, the current situation and my own personal involvement in the sector. This study is located within a wider history of development education in New Zealand and reflects the political nature of education in this country. The study itself is shaped by my own experiences and concerns. As such, it is neither a full nor complete study of development education in this country. It is a partial, contextual exploration in an area of development education which I feel strongly about. The following chapter outlines the steps I took to answer the research questions that directed this study.

Chapter 4: **METHODOLOGY**

Photographs are mute artifacts. They do not speak, but can only be interpreted, and interpretation is a notoriously tricky game. (Goldberg, 1993, p. 21)

This chapter describes the methodology that was employed to answer the research questions. I have described how a postdevelopment approach seeks to uncover the power of development and that I view young people in the North as active agents in the development industry. They are at the receiving end of the tension in education of the representation of the developing world and efforts to remove social inequality. What are they actually learning when they are presented with NGO material? The research questions were designed to guide the exploratory nature of the inquiry and they reflect both my concerns and the gaps in the literature. These included the aspects of representation, development, the developing world in general, the NGO sector and what emotions or attitudes the young people held when speaking about these topics. I formulated the questions to seek both their impressions of various aspects and their emotional account: how they felt about the topics. Added to this information was the teachers' usage and perspective towards NGO material.

The research questions narrowed the type of required information to be collected and certain methods were crafted to collect relevant data. In particular the methods reflect an approach that encouraged open-ended discussions that privileged what the students thought. In line with a postdevelopment approach, this research specifically places what is arguably a neglected voice, that of the young person, at the centre of the study.

The research aim is:

To explore what meanings young people make from the images and messages produced by the international development sector in New Zealand.

Five research questions set parameters for this exploration

- 1: What meanings of development and global relations do students make from visual images of the poor that are produced by NGOs for campaign or educational purposes?

- 2: What discussions do young people have concerning the roles of NGOs when they are situated in groups?
3. What emotions and attitudes are identifiable in the students' discussions and around what themes do they occur?
4. What impressions of the developing world do students develop from the presence of NGO material in the classroom?
5. What is the influence of the teacher in students' understanding of development?
 - a) How does the teacher use this material in the classroom?
 - b) In what ways does the teacher evaluate and use this material critically?
 - c) What meanings do they think their students make from the visual images?
 - d) What concerns does the teacher have about visual images used in their teaching?

A final question concerns the contribution of this research.

6. How might these findings further understanding of the implications of NGO images and messages that young people are exposed to?

This chapter details the selection of participants, the context for the data collection, the selection and rationale for the methods, the ensuing data management and any ethical considerations. In addition, the limitations and any problems that were part of the data collection are also discussed. Section 4.5 gives an overview of the systems used to prepare the data for analysis. Towards the end of the chapter an account is given of my personal reflections concerning the data collection and any implications for the findings. Chapters five, six and seven follow and they present the findings and discuss them in relation to the literature and their significance for this field.

The methodology for this study involved using mixed-methods to collect information to answer the research questions. The emphasis is on qualitative data. The first five research questions explore what it is that young people interpret from NGO resources that depict the developing world. The sixth question takes this information and presents an argument for how the findings can inform NGOs of the use of visual imagery. In this study, 118 young people drawn from five secondary schools were

involved in two activities designed to allow them to express what meanings they made from NGO media. Their seven teachers were also interviewed as part of the methodology to allow for a better understanding of their role in mediating NGO messages. The three data collection methods were repeated across the five schools.

4.1. The selection of schools and participants

This study is situated in secondary schools in New Zealand, a country which sees itself as part of the developed world. The social studies classroom was where the students would most likely be engaging formally with NGO resources and the participants were drawn from year 10, (level 5). If they had not engaged formally with NGO material, it was very likely that the students and teachers had engaged with NGOs through extra-curriculum events or activities outside of this particular learning area, such as visiting speakers or events.

Five geographically spread schools were chosen to capture a diversity of viewpoints. From these schools, six social studies classes were selected by the heads of departments as suitable for the research. This was largely a pragmatic decision based around teacher availability and interest. After three schools had been canvassed, it was noted that all three year 10 classes had been the top academic stream. The remaining two schools were asked to provide lower stream classes for the research. The study did not set out to provide a statistically representative sample of the general student population as there was a preference to have at least two schools with a high multicultural ratio. The four criteria used to select the schools are listed in Appendix C, Table 2.

The data collection across five schools enabled a diverse selection of viewpoints from which to answer the research questions. Of the 118 students who took part in the research, all were aged between 13 and 15 years, with the majority being 14 years old. There were 72 boys and 46 girls. Four students opted out of the research, for reasons that were unclear at the time (although it is likely that they had lost their completed consent form).

Table 1: Description of selected schools (information from Education Counts, 2011). All school names are pseudonyms for the purposes of this study.

School and decile rating	Geographic location	Type of school and roll	MC¹ mix %	Academic stream	Teacher (gender: years spent teaching)	Students Boys: girls: total
Treeview High School (3)	North Island City Suburban area	State-co-ed (595)	5	Top	F:4	8:3:11
Northern Plains High School (5)	North Island small rural town	State co-ed (609)	3	Top	M:10	14:15:29
Cameron Heights College (10)	North Island City Suburban area	State co-ed (1224)	18	Top	F:11	10:4:14
Beaufort College ² (4)	North Island city, Inner city area	State co-ed (2336)	64	Class A: Medium	F:17	11:3:14
				Class B: Low	M:6	14:12: 26
Topaz High School ² (2)	North Island city, suburban area	Integrated co-ed (484)	11	Low	Teacher A: F:31 Teacher B: F:7	15:9:24
Total:						72:46:118

¹Multicultural mix (percentage of students that are non-European, non-Māori and non-Pasifika).

²Beaufort College offered two classes, and Topaz High School offered one class that was team-taught by two teachers.

Richards (2005, p. 136) advises that saturation in data collection is obtained by good data handling and this study recognizes that breadth of information is not the aim; rather the aim is to explore in depth aspects of the data. The number of schools was left open at the start to between four and six, including the pilot school and it was decided after four schools that similar themes were emerging, so the fifth school became the final school.

The context of the students' own classrooms for the site of the activities was chosen as it would be in this classroom that they would most likely be engaging with NGO resources as part of the curriculum. Elwood and Martin (2000, p. 649) note that the micro geographies of the site of interactions are important, not just for pragmatic reasons, but also for understanding power relations and the stimulation of ideas. The classroom is the familiar environment for the students, so creating a domain in which the students are empowered to share their opinions and not feel overawed by a strange setting was an important consideration. Both Komulainen (2007) and James (2007) caution against decontextualizing the voice of the child from the surroundings in which the research takes place.

Within the classroom there was also likely to be an NGO poster or reminder of the phenomena that was part of the questions in the activities. Elwood and Martin (p. 652) point out that these observations of the physical attributes of the site should not be dismissed: they may contribute towards a participant's interactions, which indeed proved to be the case for this study. Employing observations of the micro geographies of the classrooms is an integral part of the methodology: the data collection methods do not stand alone in a vacuum – they are part of the environment and this environment needs to be accounted for. In some classrooms, NGO material was still present in the students' workbooks, folders or displayed on the classroom walls, and the students referred to it as part of completing the activities. For each classroom, I took field notes describing the classroom environment.

Teachers are included in this study as they shape how NGO resources are deployed and appraised within the classroom. Their professional decisions as well as their attitudes towards both NGOs and their resources may impact on student learning. Atkinson and Rosiek (2008) maintain that teacher experience and knowledge is an integral component of the pedagogical process and that teacher knowledge should be accounted for when studying student learning.

[...] teacher knowledge researchers study the ways teachers actually make professional judgements about representing the particulars of their subject matter while attending to the influence of school and local culture, the relevance of student characteristics, pedagogical resources in a teacher's

professional or personal background, and ethical and political considerations.
(Rosiek & Atkinson, 2005, as cited in Atkinson and Rosiek, 2008, p. 176)

Teachers are often the subjects of research projects and they may be hesitant to offer their opinion as they may be concerned that their teaching is being evaluated. Beals (2003) refers to some of this uneasiness felt by teachers in research settings and it was important that the teachers understood that what was being primarily evaluated was the influence of NGO resources on learning. Their role affects this, and so the interview questions were designed to allow the teacher to reflect on how they interacted with these resources, what their opinions were of both the text and images and other NGO activities, such as visiting speakers or campaigns. The questions were not designed to measure their teaching performance.

The teachers were not involved in the decision-making elements of the research process, but they were given their students' aggregated comments to view before being interviewed themselves. Bringing them in, after this stage of data collection, offered them the opportunity to reflect and comment on how their students were making meanings from the NGO resources. This procedure enhanced their stakeholder power in the research process and was also an aspect of validation, in that tentative findings were taken back to them so that they could reflect on whether they 'rang true' (Merriam, 2002, p. 26), and reflected their students and the context that they knew.

The omission of a critical analysis of NGO education material and the voice of education officers in the sector is due to the focus of the research. This decision was also pragmatic, as there are many NGO resources available on the market and a systematic review of them would be a separate study in itself. The aim of the research was to hear from the consumers, so the producers are not a formal part of the data collection. In the design of the activities for the students, several NGO education officers in New Zealand were approached to gauge their interest in contributing images to the activities. Two responded in the affirmative and their images were included. Education officers from three NGOs that provide education resources in New Zealand were kept informed of the progress of the research and any findings. While both the aims of the research and pragmatic reasons excluded analysis of

material and the voice of the producers from this research, they are not divorced from this study. The NGOs are viewed as key recipients of the findings of this research.

4.2. Explanation of methods

Three research tools were constructed for data collection across the two groups, the students and their teachers. For the students there were two activities; an individual written questionnaire that each student filled out and a focus group activity that the students completed in groups. The questionnaire was designed to take approximately 25 minutes to complete, and provided a written record of their thoughts. The focus group activity was voice recorded and took on average 40 minutes to complete. At each school, the questionnaire was completed first, followed by the focus group activity in the next social studies lesson. For both activities the teacher was asked to be absent from the classroom and the students were informed that their teachers would not see individual comments, nor was this research part of their formal curriculum. For the teachers a semi-structured interview was carried out approximately two weeks after the student activities. This section details these methods and gives an account of the rationale for their use, issues that arose in their deployment and their limitations. As the research proceeded minor changes were made to the activities and these are detailed in Appendix B where the activities are listed.

With regards to mixed methods, it is important to consider where the mixing occurs in the research design and to denote the significance of the different forms of data to the overall analysis (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2008). In this study the emphasis was on the discursive account, privileging the qualitative data. Quantitative data collected included the classification of the students and teachers (assigning them certain variables such as gender) as well as some closed questions in the questionnaire. The place and significance of the various methods, and to which research question they are primarily collecting information for is illustrated in the following diagram, with the size of the box signaling the weighting:

Figure 1: The significance given to each method for analysis and the research questions they are specifically designed to answer.

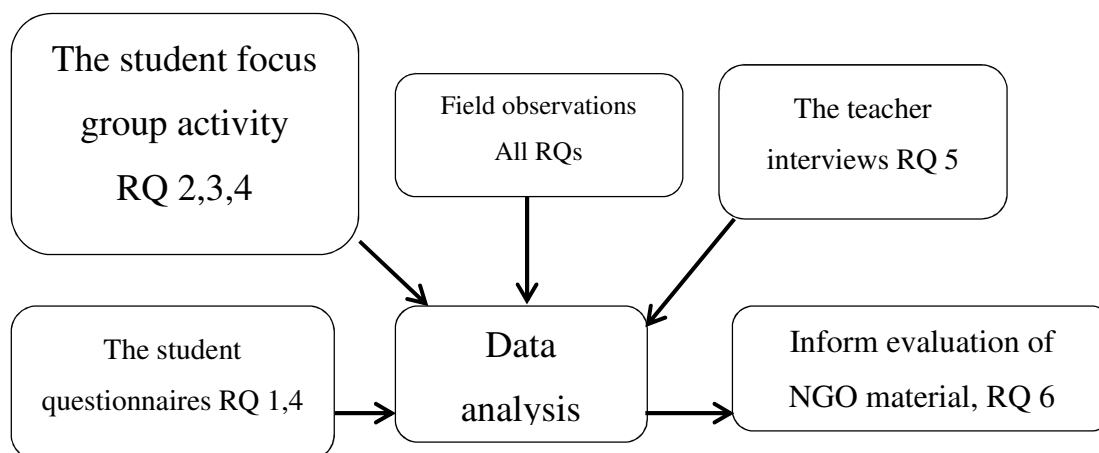


Table 2 summarizes the number of participants who completed the activities, and thus the data collected. As the two student activities were carried out on separate days, there is a discrepancy between the number of questionnaires completed and the number of students who partook in the focus group activity due to student absences. 118 is the total number of consent forms received from the students.

Table 2: Summary of the data collected at each school

School	Questionnaires completed	Number of Focus Groups	Total number of students who participated in the focus group activity	Number of teacher interviews
Treeview High School	9	3	8	1
Northern Plains High School	27	6	24	1
Cameron Heights College	14	4	15	1
Beaufort College Class A	26	5	26	1
Beaufort College Class B	14	4	14	1
Topaz High School	8	6	24	2
Totals	98	28	111	7

4.2.1. The students' individual questionnaire

The individual questionnaire collected information specifically to answer research questions one and four, and it was also a warm-up activity for the focus group discussions that would follow in the next lesson. The questionnaire is listed in Appendix B, Table 2.

Research Question One: What meanings of development and North/South relations do individual students make from visual images of the poor produced by NGOs for campaign purposes?

Research Question Four: What impressions of the developing world do students have from studying these places in the classroom?

The intent was to allow the students the space and time to think through some of the issues and offer their own opinion before the group discussions. It was also an opportunity to compare individual impressions against those expressed in the group discussions. In the analysis there were some differences between individual responses and ideas that were socially negotiated.

The questionnaire had fifteen questions and special care was taken to ensure it did not resemble a test of their knowledge. Specific images alongside open-ended questions stimulated thinking about the topic and the students recognized that their subjective opinion was required, not their knowledge about the topic. As part of the research process, questions nine, eleven and twelve were altered at different stages. The decision to use static visual images as stimuli in both the questionnaire and focus group activity is a significant part of the research methodology. Harper notes that: "The photo-elicitation interview is really a completion of the empirical and narrative efforts, the critical point being that the meaning supplied is from a cultural insider. This is in recognition that what constitutes a 'fact' is culturally defined" (Harper, 2000, p. 727).

In using visual stimuli, the intent was to allow the students a chance to critically appraise the images which they often see. This power of the image – that very same power that postdevelopment critiques argue is often hidden or taken for granted, was

examined by the students. Photographs define their subjects, but also their viewers. In the case of NGO imagery, they are markers of relationships, of cultural systems and expectations as discussed in the literature review. Echoing Hall's concepts of decoding an image, Harper notes "The power of the photo lies in its ability to unlock the subjectivity of those who see the image differently from the researcher" (2000, p. 729). To this it can be added the image producer as well. In choosing to put NGO images under the spotlight in this research, the students were given the space to articulate their feelings concerning these images.

The physical deployment of the activities in the classrooms began with a short introduction to the topic and a reminder of their anonymity. I introduced myself and explained that I was once a teacher and was now a researcher and that I did not work for an NGO. On two occasions I was asked by the students if I worked for an NGO. I also reminded the students that it was their opinions which counted and that there were no right or wrong answers. The written questionnaire format privileged those students with good literacy skills and some students wrote many sentences and even a paragraph or two, while others wrote two to three words for an answer. This limitation is acknowledged and is a key reason why the focus discussions are treated with more weight than the individual questionnaires.

4.2.2. The focus group activity with the students

Research questions two and three specifically sought the meanings that the students made and their emotional response when situated with their peers, so the discursive account was privileged and a focus group method to collect students' opinions and ideas was employed.

RQ 2: What discussions and meanings do young people have concerning the roles of NGOs when situated in groups?

RQ3: What emotions and attitudes are identifiable in the students' discursive accounts of meanings of visual images of development, and around what themes do they occur?

Focus groups are commonly used to serve distinct purposes, such as gaining insight into the range of views people hold on a topic and also for insight into the nature of

the discussion or interaction of those people on that topic (Conradson, 2005). Focus groups ask people to discuss and debate ideas around a topic that they may not have selected themselves and to discuss the topic in a directed manner. This is part of the rationale in focus group research “that understanding social phenomena is not undertaken in isolation from each other [but instead] occurs in interaction and discussion with each other” (Bryman, 2004, p. 348). As the students answered the questions in the focus group activity, I was able to discern not just what their views were, but also why they held them and the level of interest around a topic as they discussed and defended their ideas.

This supports the view of social constructivism that holds that knowledge is culturally defined as discussed in section 3.3. My own epistemology holds that knowledge is constructed by individuals and that as they interact with others and their environment their knowledge of the world is modified. By placing the students in groups, I am arguing that knowledge can be identified as a group construct. The information gained from this method may be different from another method, such as individual interviews with the students. I do not see this as a weakness of the methodology, but a potential strength, bringing together the group constructions with the individual thoughts. As the students discuss their thoughts with their peers they may have to justify them, support other’s ideas and perhaps come to new ways of thinking about the issues placed before them. During the focus groups this is often what happened.

A key aspect of this research is exploring the different interpretations and negotiations of the intended messages of the images. One of the traps of questionnaires or interviews is the respondent answering (falsely) to please. The researcher holds a position of power and for various reasons, (such as cultural expectations, pride, embarrassment etc.) people may not share their honest opinions. The focus group activity was chosen carefully to allow the students a platform in which I as the researcher was slightly removed, and a freer discussion could take place. For this research, the focus groups were moderated by the students themselves and voice recorders were placed in the centre of each group. As mentioned in the literature review, hegemonic narratives or ways of responding to images of development are often negotiated and rejected in private. It can become a case of ‘this is what I say (to impress you), but this is what I actually think’. This method aimed to encourage

divergent voices and critical viewpoints that may be less forthcoming (Conradson, 2005, p. 132).

Bennett (2004) maintains that sociologists have shown how emotions are “interpreted, experienced and expressed differently according to the social and cultural context in which they occur” (p. 416). Research question three focuses on exploring the emotions and attitudes that the students held in regards to the NGO messages and this is an important component of the questions for the focus group activity. Bennett (2004) highlights the importance of the emotional account to research: “Emotions expressed by the researched provide information about their (changing) social worlds, their relation(ship)s with others and the ‘rules’ and structures that permit specific behaviour, allowing/disallowing individuals from expressing particular feelings” (p. 417).

An important element of this student-moderated approach was that the students decided for how long they wished to discuss certain topics or if they went down a tangent. I only gave very general time-related guidelines as they were discussing. Question eight in the activity was designed to allow the students to distinguish between what they thought and how they felt about the NGO demand to ‘make a difference’, to try to capture some of this emotional data. This proved very valuable as this question generated much data from the students, shedding light on their emotions as they viewed NGO images and responded to the appeals. It is also significant that it was a clip art of the ‘lone decontextualised child’ genre and the students’ recognised the genre.

Focus groups can differ by whether they are one-off events, multiple sessions or whether they are audio or video recorded, and can differ in the location and composition of the groups themselves (Barbour, 2007; Krueger & Casey, 2009; Litosseliti, 2003). I chose to operate the focus groups as self-moderating by the students. Three A3 sized sheets (see Appendix B, Table 3) had 14 open-ended questions, some of which asked the students to comment on a generic type of NGO image. Using ideas from the work by Brown and Isaacs (2005) on the ‘world café’ style of discussions, the students were instructed to discuss the questions that were on the large sheets of paper and ensure that everyone in the group had a chance to state

their opinion. From the outset I did not wish the students to have to work through a linear list of questions. I designed the questions in an attractive format (with clip art etc.) to keep interest level high, and although there was space to write answers, this was optional. I also told the students that there was no strict time limit (except for the end of the lesson) and they could skip questions if they wanted to, although in practice this rarely happened.

The questioning pathway allowed discussions to generate data to answer the research questions. The open-ended questions built on those in the individual questionnaire and there were some deliberate repetitions. For some of the questions, there was a second part which asked them if they all agreed on the answer they had given. This encouraged discussion and provided insight into why students held certain views as their peers often asked them questions beginning with the word 'why'. The focus group activity is given in Appendix B, Table 3, with a detailed rationale for why each particular question or image was included and any changes that were made. It is important to stress that at the beginning of both activities I reminded the students that the images were representative of certain types of NGO images. They were not to comment specifically on the images in the activities themselves.

The composition and size of the groups was changed after the pilot school. Originally I proposed to place the students in groups of similar cultural exposure, decided by how much they had travelled to, or had an affinity with, the developing world. The rationale for this was Morley's (1980) seminal study on audience research which showed that meaning resides differently in different audiences and this research sought to specifically isolate the different groups to explore if the level of cultural exposure produced different meanings. Conradson (2005, p. 131) notes that one of the key features of focus groups is that they can enable the researcher to see how different views (and interactions) may differ by social grouping.

In the pilot school this proved logistically difficult and in the end was abandoned. It became clear that the students preferred to sit in groups of their friends, rather than be placed by an outsider into potentially uncomfortable groupings. So for reasons of pragmatism the decision was made to allow the students to choose to sit with their

friends. Returning to the literature at this time I came across Kitzinger's (1994) dilemma with this:

Although the practise of using existing friendship groups is discouraged by standard market research texts such wariness seemed unjustified in our case. By using pre-existing groups we were able to tap into fragments of interactions which approximated to 'naturally occurring' data (such as might have been collected by participant observation). Above all it is useful to work with pre-existing groups because they provide one of the social contexts within which ideas are formed and decisions made. (Kitzinger, 1994, p. 105)

By asking the students to choose their own natural groupings, the data revealed very informal interactions between friends. They were able to debate and agree quite openly, and in some cases with humour, as they discussed the questions. It also created a less structured atmosphere for the students, in that the focus group activity became fun, rather than a chore. Less control over the groupings produced another logistical dilemma. In the pilot study there was one group of just two students. This created more work in terms of the transcribing, so a minimum group size of four students was actively sought in the remaining schools to reduce the transcribing work. I was still interested in the level of cultural exposure of the students and how this affected their meaning-making. Informed by some of the recommendations by Tisdall et al (2009), I modified the activity after the pilot school to include an opening question that allowed the students to identify for themselves in a fun and non-judgmental manner how much they had travelled and/or identified with Southern cultures. The question was:

Has anyone in your group travelled to countries in the Developing World or lived there? Give a brief description of your group's experience of the Developing World.

I verbally explained this question at the beginning of the activity to allow the students to understand that I wanted to see if there were any differences in their opinions based around this cultural exposure. It is important to stress that the students identified their cultural exposure themselves and in doing so, some interesting value judgments occurred about places they had travelled to which was important for the analysis. I did

not intervene in the groups unless I was asked to clarify a question. I walked around the classroom, writing notes about the interactions of each group, noting any signs of a heated discussion, laughter, boredom or any students not taking part. Every now and then I would give out a time-related comment, such as ‘you should be onto page two around now’, to keep the groups on track.

There were a number of foreseen and unforeseen limitations with this method as well as some practical problems that arose during the data collection. Using visual images as stimuli in eliciting conversation in focus groups is not without its shortcomings. Spyrou (2011) cautions that the selection of the images used cannot be “authentic depictions of social reality” (p. 154) and this applies here. The images used were carefully chosen to encourage the students to discuss the general concept of NGO marketing and what meanings they make from these *types* of images. For some students, particularly in the lower literacy band classes, there were some conceptual difficulties concerning this. I therefore doubled my efforts to remind the students verbally that the images in the activities were *symbolic* of the general images that they see.

There is a risk with having the students moderate themselves, in that the power of the researcher to control and direct the group is greatly diminished. In one school a group was clearly dominated by one student and the voices of others were barely heard as she directed the conversation and shut down dissenting voices. I did consider research assistants, or a different scheduling arrangement, or simply treating the whole class as one big group, but this approach was chosen partly for pragmatic reasons, but also for cultural reasons. Many of the diverse cultures represented by the schools may not have suited the ‘question and answer’ form in the class setting. Raising one’s voice and offering an opinion to an outsider who represents some form of authority may have been inhibiting and culturally inappropriate for some of the students (Nairn, Munro, & Smith, 2005:228). So at the expense of control over the process I opted for student-moderated groups.

It is important to be aware of the institutional contexts, including the relations of power in which young people are asked to voice their thoughts. Some classroom teachers may foster a sense of distance from NGO material in order to critically

analyse the messages, while other teachers may not encourage such criticism. The social studies classroom in New Zealand is one in which discussion and exchange of ideas is generally promoted, and although I anticipated rich and frank discussions, there were some unforeseen issues that may have inhibited some students from engaging fully in the discussions. In Appendix C, Table 1, the various practical issues that were considered prior to the data collection and how these played out in reality are listed.

Overall, the questionnaire and focus groups proved to be effective methods, with the group discussions in particular providing rich material for analysis. While each specifically answered certain research questions, together they both gave information to answer research question four, which concerns what impressions of the developing world the students have from studying these places in the classroom. The information gathered is only a snapshot of what these participants thought and felt at the time of this research and yet the insights gained are very useful for this field of inquiry. On reflecting how future research may be considered with this age group and in this context, I would consider individual interviews with students who show a particular interest or involvement with NGO activities. A handful of students commented to me after the activities had finished that if I had personally interviewed them they would have a lot to say on the subject.

4.2.3. The semi-structured interview with the teachers

The decision to involve the teachers in the data collection has been discussed previously. The semi-structured interview method was chosen because it has “a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as some prepared questions” (Kvale, 2007, p. 65) but is also flexible enough to allow changes to the questions and the structure of the interview. The aim of the qualitative interview is not just to elicit answers, but to encourage discussion on a topic. The social interaction in the interview is just as important as the actual questions as Kvale notes. Several other methods were considered, such as a focus group discussion with all the teachers in the selected schools’ social sciences department, interviews with both the head of department and the teacher, and a questionnaire form for the teacher to complete concerning the issue. The semi-structured interview allowed the teachers the space to express their own

opinions, away from their colleagues. The interview questions were designed to answer research question five.

Research question five: What is the influence of the teacher in students' understanding of development?

5a) How do the teachers use this material with respect to the classroom?

5b) In what ways do the teachers evaluate and use this material critically?

5c) What meanings do they consider their students are making from the visual images?

5d) What reflections and concerns do the teachers have regarding visual images in their teaching of development-related topics?

While the questions are significant and they point the way towards considering the themes, I was mindful of the premise suggested by Fontana and Fey (2000, p. 668) in that to learn about people, we must treat them as people, and then they can work with us to help create accounts of their lives. This method was chosen to allow the teachers space to ask their own questions and for any side tracks to be encouraged, not dismissed.

The qualitative interview provides the basic data for the development of an understanding of the relations between social actors and their situation. The objective is a fine-textured understanding of beliefs, attitudes, values and motivations in relations to the behaviours of people in particular social contexts. (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000, p. 39)

It was intended that the interview would enable me to identify the critical awareness of each teacher with regards to the various issues surrounding representation of the developing world and the placement of NGO activity in the classroom. It should be noted that with a limited sample size of seven teachers, the focus of the research is to explore a range of opinions and different perspectives, but cannot represent all teachers. Exploring in depth a few individual perspectives is of more significance to this study than seeking the opinions of many more teachers in a more quantitative manner. The interviews were conducted in a quiet room or empty classroom at each

school at a time that was convenient to the teacher. Most interviews were approximately 30 minutes in length.

The interviews with the teachers were carried out three to six weeks after the initial data collection with the students. This allowed time for the students' voices to be transcribed, the information in the questionnaires summarized and an 'initial impressions' summary to be collated. This summary included aggregated comments and gave the teacher some insight into how their students responded to the questions. This summary was between two to three pages in length and mentioned some unique aspects of their students' responses to the activities. An example of one is in Appendix B, Article 1. Student responses were not able to be individually identified. Approximately two weeks prior to the date set for the interview, the teacher was sent this summary along with the interview questions.

There were some limitations and problems encountered in seeking the teacher's voice in this manner. Firstly, narratives are a re-telling of lived experiences and as such, are open to personal re-interpretation (Atkinson & Rosiek, 2008, p. 178). In this study the teachers were not videotaped at work in the classroom, nor did I ask to see their lesson plans, so the information gained is a personal interpretation, an account of *what they think* occurs. I was asking them how they considered their students saw the developing world and their evaluation of NGO activity on their students' learning. Secondly, a significant logistical issue arose with one school. Being a long distance away, I opted to hold the interviews via video-link with the two teachers involved, mostly to save on travel costs. As it transpired, one of the teachers was leaving the school and about to start a new job and was very busy. The other teacher was having technical computer problems. I decided that to avoid adding to their workload and creating unnecessary stress, these two teachers could answer the questions in a written manner and email them to me. They both agreed that they would prefer this option and their written responses, although shorter than the other five interviews, were very candid and offered valuable insights.

4.3. Summary of the methods

The three methods proved very suitable for the purposes of providing information from the students and teachers to answer the research questions. The same three

methods were repeated at each of the five schools, with only some minor changes to the questions after the pilot study and after the third school. To expand on this, at the end of the third school, when the data had been compiled and some initial analysis had taken place, some gaps and trends in the knowledge were identified. Many of the student comments were 'negative' in tone, particularly towards the end of the focus group discussions. After thinking this issue through with my supervisors I decided to change a few of the questions to directly ask the students to offer their advice to the NGOs concerning how they market the issues of the developing world. This proved to be worthwhile for the remaining schools as the students were forthcoming in offering ideas about what they would like to see.

4.4. Ethical considerations and gaining consent

There were two distinct groups from whom consent was required for this research. Firstly, within the site of each school, consent was required from the principal, the teachers involved, the students and the students' legal guardians. Secondly, permission to use photographs in the activities was sought from various image providers, including individual photographers and NGOs. The Standing Committee of the Human Ethics Committee of Victoria University of Wellington approved this research¹⁶, requiring all participants and image providers to sign a consent form (these are in Appendix A). Within the forms, several items were made clear to all the participants:

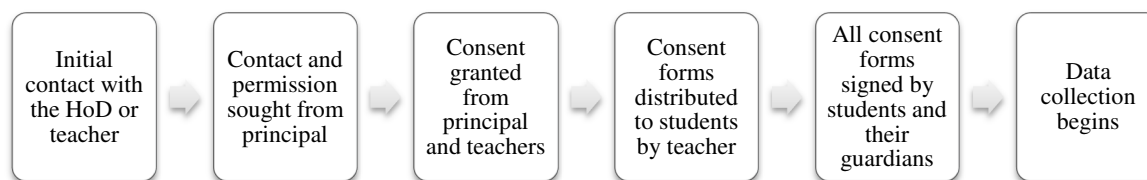
- Information about the research
- That their anonymity would be assured by the research process (the image providers were allowed to choose the level of recognition for their images)
- That everyone had the right to withdraw their consent to the research before an approved date.

Following guidelines set by Victoria University of Wellington, which require participants under the age of 16 to have parental consent, I developed a linear process

¹⁶ Reference number RM#18840

for gaining access to all the participants at the schools as detailed by this flow diagram:

Figure 2: Consent process for each school



Overall, the consent process for both groups worked well. From the pilot school it was determined that a minimum of two weeks was needed for the turn-around time for the teacher to have the forms collected in. In the fourth school, with a lower band literacy class the issue of parents not fully understanding the consent form became apparent. The teacher concerned solved this problem by ringing around all of the parents in the class to explain the form to them. Academic forms are difficult to read for those whom English is a second language and/or literacy is difficult and the standard university format and language may appear quite daunting. Reflecting on my relationship with the participants, I refrained from coercing the students into participating, reminding them that their participation was optional. In this manner I consider that most of them enjoyed the experience and the opportunity to express their opinions. For the teachers and principals, I sought to work around their timetabling.

4.5. Data management in preparation for analysis

The most crucial aspect to defining the analysis is attending to how our ideological and philosophical orientations structure what we do as analysts. (Baptiste, 2001, p. 6)

Field work began in November 2011 with the pilot school and continued through until July 2012. The students' questionnaires were typed up onto a computer and the voice recordings were transcribed. There were two key stages of data management that was part of the data analysis. For each school, the first stage was to give the teachers feedback on their students' responses. I summarised the responses into a document called an 'initial impressions' (Appendix B, Article B1). This summary of what their students thought allowed them to reflect on their students' responses prior to their

interview. For the second stage of analysis I used the software program *NVivo* to organize all the data and code text to themes that I identified. From this second stage, the ongoing process was a circular one of refining the coding and identification of themes and patterns in the data, periodically revisiting the questionnaires and transcripts. An outline of each of these stages of data management is given in this section.

4.5.1. Stage one: The initial impressions

After entering the data from the questionnaires onto the computer and reading all the transcripts from the students in the pilot study a matrix was developed for research questions one through to four. As I read the student accounts I answered the questions, by giving specific examples then summarising the key points for each question. From this matrix I was able to complete the initial impressions for the teachers of each class, usually within two weeks of carrying out the activities at the school. In Appendix B, Table 5, I have given an example of this matrix completed for one of the schools. Taking an interpretive approach I heeded advice from Berg (2004, p. 266) who points out that it is important to resist reducing the data in the first reading, allowing instead the ‘essence’ of an account to be captured and from this, themes to be generated. This was significant for this first stage of analysis. Richards (2005) warns against the idea that themes ‘emerge’ out of some primordial mist. The researcher is responsible for identifying and choosing them.

4.5.2. Stage two: Utilising NVivo

From the pilot school, after I had completed the matrix and had completed the interview with the teacher at the school, I left the data for a month and then came back to it, reviewing the focus group transcripts in particular. From this analysis I identified six specific *topics* and three *themes* that the information could be categorized by. This initial framework was as follows:

Topics about which talk was centred:

- 1 Impressions and descriptions of the developing world.
- 2 What the students thought of the people there.
- 3 New Zealand’s level of development.

- 4 Questions concerning development that the students had.
- 5 The students' critical analysis of images and NGO marketing.
- 6 The students' appraisal of the NGO sector in general, and NGO associated celebrity activism and volunteering.

Themes that came through in the discussions, across the various topics:

- 1 Their relationship to the developing world and the people there.
- 2 Their emotional reactions to the images.
- 3 Their responses to the NGO appeal or demand to take action in some way.

The information from the questionnaires was useful in assisting some, but not all of these topics and themes. Using the computer program *NVivo* I developed a system for coding the transcript text into these categories. This was the beginning of mapping the students' impressions and meanings. For example, in a discussion the students might be questioning the intent of a celebrity to do aid work and the emotions or attitudes present might be admiration for the celebrity or scepticism about their intentions. Over the course of the data collection process, these categories expanded and were modified slightly, but the overall framework of specific topics and more general themes from the pilot school remained broadly the same. This second stage also involved transcribing the interview with the teacher, which was a fairly straightforward process. In *NVivo* I was able to code the responses to all the questions and to general themes which I identified as being significant for the study. These themes were in direct response to research question five.

4.5.3. Issues regarding the transcribing of the student discussions

Baptiste (2001) stresses that the researcher's epistemological understanding of the nature, sources and processes of knowledge inform what data is counted as important. I determined that a carefully selected and defined approach to the voice data would allow for greater transparency and a more holistic picture to develop, recognizing what Holstein and Gubrium (2003) refer to as the "indivisibility of methodological issues (such as transcription) from theoretical and epistemological ones" (p. 275). The act of deciding what and how to transcribe data such as voice recordings is an act of analysis, and the decisions that I made in considering what transcription process and

coding system to use for both the focus groups discussions and teacher interviews are significant.

This research is interested in the discursive responses of the participants, not just what they say and the words they use, but *how* they say it and *what happens when they say it*. In this regard I took into account Berg's (2004, p. 269) recommendation that content analysis should be inclusive of both *manifest content*, those elements that are physically present and countable, and *latent content*, the deeper more nuanced meaning(s) conveyed through the text by several means. This latent content needs defining: what are these deeper meanings and how are they captured through conversation in either the group setting or the interview? My interpretation of both these forms of content needed to be well-defined for purposes of validity and reliability. For this research, the topics are those elements that are physically present and quantifiable; the themes are those elements that are deeper and very significant for this study, and they can be conveyed through the text through several means.

In the literature on voice as data, Mazzei and Jackson (2008) caution against the researchers who often "seek that voice which is easily named and categorized" (p. 4). They argue that the decisions the researcher makes in what words to privilege, what interpretations to make accounts for, can fall into the trap of reifying the vocal, at the expense of the unsaid and how and why things are said. In other words, manifest content is privileged over latent content, because it can be easier to reduce text to a numerical count of significant words. MacLure (2008, pp. 97-98) argues that voice always evades capture, something is lost in translation, and she calls for a "poetics of insufficiency" which would not evade the brokenness of speech, the silences, the pauses, the laughter, shyness, the irrelevance, the mockery etc., but rather views these natural parts of speech as resources that mark out authentic speech. This causes difficulty for analysis as she admits, but to be fully reflexive the researcher needs to be aware that probing into a person's voice-recorded speech is an act of power and consequently, of distortion. Mazzei and Jackson (2008) agree that voice is problematic and that researchers need to tread carefully if they are to avoid the "too easy" conceptions of voice such as just the words that are heard (p. 3).

The data that was collected involved more than just voice. St Pierre details this concern with data: it is much more than just the voice, the words of the participants. The data may or may not reveal body language, emotion, or obscure knowledge that may hide behind the recorded voice (St. Pierre, 1997, p. 179). The students used aspects of their voice, such as questions, tone and laughter to express different meanings and understandings of the issues and this latent content in the discursive account proved to be significant in the analysis. Sometimes it was not just what they said, but the way in which they said it. I developed a simple notation system for identifying this latent content, listed in Appendix D, Table 4.

To illustrate this difference between manifest and latent content that was specifically for the focus group transcripts, text was coded to topics as well as the themes. The following extract illustrates how this distinction was made in the transcribing process. The comment is from a girl in response to question 8b of the focus group activity, *‘What do you feel when you see an image like this?’*

G1: like...I feel like I should do that and it's not just how I feel like I want to do, I actually WANT to take action, I WANT to donate, I WANT to go over and help out but the thing is, I can't, like I'm not made of money, I CAN'T like, like I...this may sound selfish, but I need the money for myself...¹⁷

[Cameron Heights College, group A]

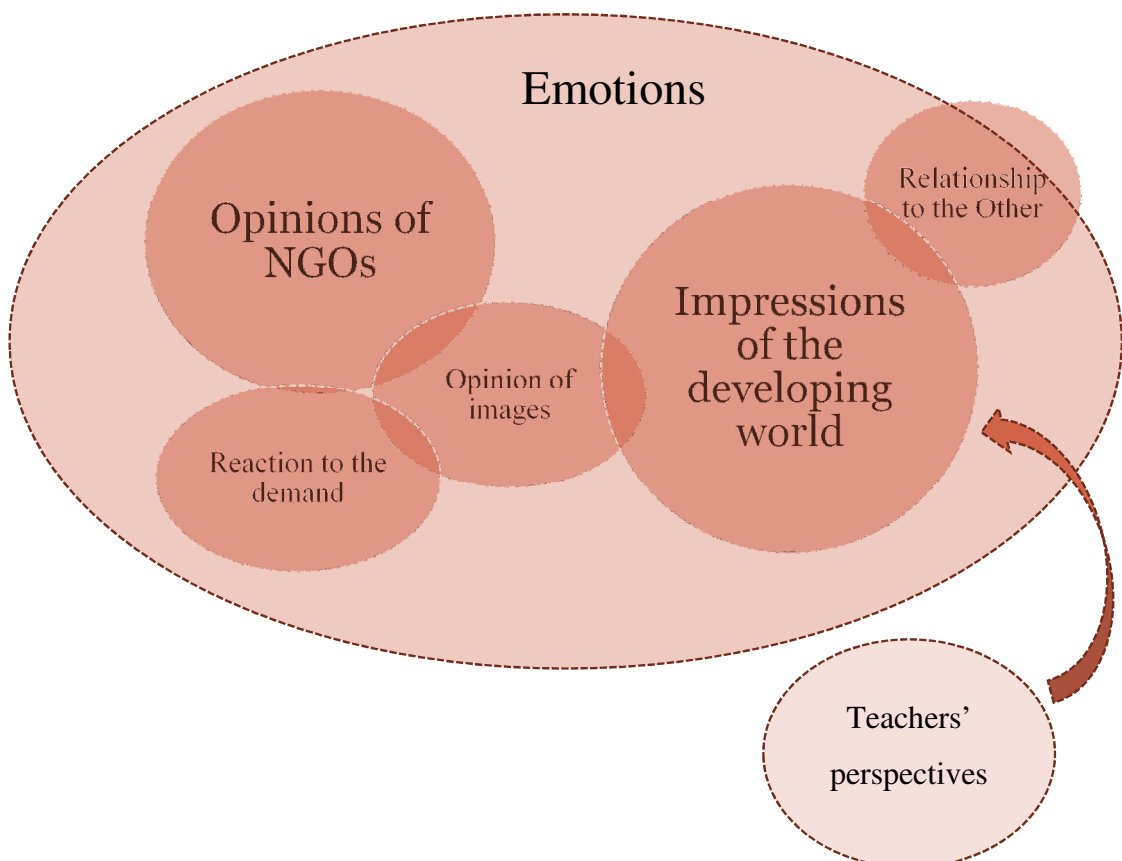
This text was coded under two themes, the NGO demand to take action and the emotional response to the demand. The capitals signify that the girl has raised her voice and stressed certain words. The desire to help is in the text, but guilt can also be identified, through the phrase ‘this may sound selfish’. The *annoyance* with being asked and not being able to fulfill the demand is largely through my interpretation of her voice.

¹⁷ I used ‘...’ to signal a pause in the student’s voice. In terms of identifying the extracts, [School name, group] indicates a spoken exchange from the focus groups, with B referring to a boy, and G, a girl. [School, student number] is a written response by a student from the individual questionnaire. [Teacher, School] is the teacher’s spoken or written comment. All extracts from the data collection are in italics in this thesis.

4.5.4. Initial analysis framework

From the pilot school six topics and three themes had been identified from the student discussions. As the coding progressed after each school, I took Barbour's (2007) suggestion that a framework is useful for focus group data as it "allows you to see at a glance the preponderance and distribution of comments on particular themes" (p. 131). I decided that there were two overarching *topics* around which talk could be identified: The students' impressions of the developing world and their opinions of NGOs. There was one overarching *theme* that was present throughout: their emotional response. In reality, instead of expanding the categories, I collapsed them and was able to organize them under these broad headings. In visualising this conceptual leap I mapped the categories into the following diagram:

Figure 3: Framework of the main topics and themes:



The students' opinions and impressions are not exclusive from each other as this diagram may suggest. Three main sub-topics developed from the two main topics and

are in the diagram as the smaller circles. The theme of the emotive account is not separable from the topics, but is there as a background. For some topics there was a greater display of emotion than for other topics, but overall, emotion in some form is present throughout the data collection (the list of emotions that text was coded to is given in Appendix D, Table 2). The teachers' perspectives sit outside the student accounts (both group and individual) but are useful as a further complement to understanding the students' responses. This framework established from the data management allowed an easier and better structured analysis of the data. The reader is reminded that the research inquiry began with an exploratory nature with five guiding research questions. There was no predefined structure into which data could fit. It was not known how significant emotion was, nor around which topics it was to feature. This mapping of the data into topics and themes was a significant conceptual and organizational step in the data management. In effect, this structure supersedes the guidelines of the research questions.

4.5.5. Reflections concerning validity in data management

Qualitative researchers have for some time begun to question the ethics of representing the choices of others, interpreting narrative accounts, and the privileging that occurs in the decisions that we make in the questions that we ask (or fail to ask), interpretations that we map onto (or miss) and the ways in which participant voices are portrayed and presented. (Berg, 2004, p. 2)

Several issues arose in the stage of data management which cannot easily be categorized as either pragmatic or ethical. Firstly, the outward simplicity of data collection, in that researchers collect all forms of data, but then yield them to textualization in order to analyse is problematic (St. Pierre, 2002, p. 404). St. Pierre questions this inference and this process of re-describing the world by the researcher. I am acutely aware that as the sole listener to the recordings and the sole transcriber and coder, that the topics and themes that I have identified may be different to those someone else may identify. Thus, this research cannot be a comprehensive nor objective account of the constructions of the young people in this study. Taking Berg's concern, I am therefore making it clear that these processes that I have used were carried out with the best intentions to represent the voices accurately, but that they are my interpretations of the lived reality of the participants. My interpretations

are informed by the literature and my theoretical approach and so this study can only be a partial and selective view of the participants' voices.

Tensions around representation exist when we try to understand how other people make sense of the world, especially young people (Skelton, 2008). A reflective point occurred in the coding process in evaluating the tone of the students' voices. Were they being sympathetic or did I detect some gentle mockery? Making those calls often involved listening to sections of the recording several times and then approaching it afresh the next day. Different tensions presented themselves with the interviews with the teachers. In two out of the five recorded interviews, the teachers talked about interesting pedagogical and professional issues that they themselves struggled with that were not directly related to the research topic. In both those situations I found myself in a different type of tension, one that meant that I had to stay objective and not offer counsel, yet I empathized with their concerns.

4.6. Chapter summary

For the qualitative researcher, Merriam (2002, p. 22) lists several aspects of credibility with a small project. Firstly, the data collection process needs a detailed audit trail with rich, thick descriptions of what happened and why. The size and diversity of the sample need to be sufficient and the researcher needs to have spent enough time engaging with the data to know when they have enough information. The researcher needs to present an open and critical account of the actions taken as well as providing continual critical self-reflection of any personal world views and bias. I believe in this chapter I have addressed these concerns and given a detailed account of what happened and why. There is one more area that needs further explanation. Merriam includes member checks and peer review as good strategies as they bring in added checks to the data and also encourage reflection on tentative interpretations. In this research, it was not practical for the transcripts to be returned to the students. The teachers, however, were able to see their transcripts and all agreed that they were an accurate account. They were also able to comment on the initial impressions from the aggregated student accounts and in some cases they expressed surprise at some of the findings, but did not disagree with them.

Finally, as part of the doctoral program, my three supervisors provided opportunity for reflection and discussion, as well as my peers. Other ideas and thinking around issues concerning the fieldwork, the use of *NVivo* software and other aspects of data management influenced decisions in these early stages. The cumulative effect of this on-going dialogue with peer and experienced researchers meant that the steps taken in this research were rarely carried out without outside consultation and discussion.

This chapter has described the participants involved in this study and the methods chosen to collect information from them to answer the research questions. Aspects such as the logistics of data collection, gaining consent, validity and data management have been discussed. The chapter has given the reader an overview of how a selected group of young people and their teachers in five schools shared with me their thoughts and opinions about a topic. In total, there were over 20 hours of taped recordings to transcribe and 98 questionnaires to enter onto the computer. The literature and my own experiences had given me some direction and these formed the guiding research questions, but it was still a largely unknown field. The initial framework that organized the data into topics and themes was refined through the data collection process. Bringing the data to this point ends this first part of the thesis which set the questions and sought data to answer them.

The following three chapters take this framework as their structure as opposed to the research questions. This highlights a significant finding in itself: that emotion, rather than being answerable to one research question is addressed in a more holistic fashion. It became a significant aspect to this research, foregrounding how the students perceived and interacted with NGO media. Taking this framework, Chapter 5 outlines the students' impressions of the developing world and distant Other and Chapter 6 looks at the students' perception of their relationship towards the NGO sector. My interpretations and analysis of the students' accounts through both the questionnaire responses and the focus group discussions is presented in these two chapters. Chapter 7 brings in the teachers' perspectives. Chapter 8 discusses the findings and reflects back on the literature and Chapter 9 concludes this study.

Chapter 5: THE DISTANT OTHER

I get a sad impression because my life in New Zealand is great

[Beaufort College, class A, student 16, individual questionnaire]

For the students in this study, there were distinctive impressions that they gained from NGO media which took on certain patterns. Firstly, they expressed shock or disbelief at the chaos of life ‘over there’, followed by a feeling of sadness or pity. Secondly they held a reflective sense of gratitude that they were not in the same situation as the extract above illustrates. This confirms that they saw the developing world largely through a framework of deficiency in ‘they lack what we have’. By this process, this accentuating of difference, I argue that the young people have begun to construct their identities, as superior, lucky and as possible benefactors. This is the power of development in its choice of selective imagery at work on these young people. The NGO media provides stark comparisons reinforcing the distance between themselves and the Other, supporting Smith that “The reality of the construction of the ‘Third World’ through charity defines an uncritical notion of difference; the ‘self’ is empowered in relation to the deficiencies of the ‘other’” (Smith, 1999, p. 493).

Escobar’s claim that the image of the humanitarian campaign of the starving child is “the most striking symbol of the power of the First World over the Third”(1994, p. 103), is about a construction of the Other. Taking Smith and Yanacopulos’s (2004) reflections, it is useful to consider a Gramscian¹⁸ notion of hegemony, as power can be conceived of less as a structure and more as a process. This chapter presents an argument that supports Edward Said’s claim that the construction of the Orient was less about the Orient and more about the identity of the West (as discussed in Gregory, 1994). The students saw not just the Other, but themselves as ‘not the Other.’ The NGO image presents a world that is far removed from theirs, but this helped them to construct their own world and their place in it. What my findings shed light on is that the young people recognized this power at work and questioned it. Although they lacked the language to identify this process, they showed a questioning spirit.

¹⁸ I am referring here to Murphy and Augelli (1993) who refer to Gramsci to describe international development institutions who reinforced industrialisation through civil society in a coercive process post decolonisation.

This chapter answers research questions one and four, analysing both forms of the students' responses to entail a mapping of the students' meanings and impressions.

RQ 1: What meanings of development and global relations do students make from visual images of the poor that are produced by NGOs for campaign or educational purposes?

RQ 4: What impressions of the developing world do students develop from using NGO material in the classroom?

The responses from the young people are mapped out according to my interpretation, as detailed in the methodology and from this mapping I build the case for my argument. The chapter is structured with three broad classifications of the students' responses: section 5.1, impressions of the developing world; section 5.2, their connectivity to the Other and section 5.3, questions around what constitutes development. I also discuss outliers in the dataset and comparisons across the schools that are relevant. Throughout the chapter, I present examples from the students' responses and discuss how the findings support many of the concerns voiced in the literature, particularly those of postcolonial and postdevelopment commentators.

5.1. Impressions of the developing world: Chaos and difficulty

From the student responses in both the individual questionnaire and focus group activities, the overwhelming impression of the developing world was that it was a place of difficulty and technological backwardness and it experienced a lack of basic infrastructure. At least a quarter of the students responded with very stereotypical impressions. For example, in the individual questionnaire, to the question 'what do you think of when people say the words 'developing world'? *Young black kids with torn clothes* is one answer. These stereotypes and generalisations about regions and people were often challenged in the group discussions, but generally the students saw the developing world through a negative deficit framework, supporting the concern of many critics as discussed in Chapter 3.

This negative framing is often focused on economic reality and physical hardship. In exploring geography textbook images of the developing world, Robinson (1987) found that a negative framing was prevalent. He noted that in 1987 little had changed over the past twenty years in terms of stereotypes of the developing world, despite significant changes in many places. Poverty was a ‘catch-all’ image. A good proportion of the developing world does struggle with infrastructure and many do live in poverty, but this is not the case for all. The grim images are often backed up by the statistics used in development discourse that place countries and people in an order of development progress as discussed in Chapter 3.3 The NGO images tend to highlight economic need and so in many ways the developing world is portrayed through a specific framing of need and ‘catching up to the West’. The students had a basic understanding of development as technological progression.

Before seeing any images, the opening questions in both the data collection activities asked the participants what they thought of when they heard the term ‘developing world’. Chaos was the term I eventually used to group together their words about the lack of infrastructure that caused life to be difficult. Coupled with material poverty it was clear that the students specifically viewed a lack of technology and infrastructure as key elements of developing world conditions, and in their talk, the developing world is often described as ‘catching up’ in technology to the West. For most of these students, the developing world was several steps behind a Western standard of material development, as these extracts illustrate:

B2: I reckon the term developing world is used to describe countries...like for people who are not as technologically advanced as Western countries like Britain, New Zealand, Japan, and America.

B1: Yes, I was thinking of that too, as well as poor and stuff.

[Treeview College, group A]

I am stunned at how poor their quality of life is/how hard it is to live

[Cameron Heights College, student 3, individual questionnaire]

Many comments indicated that technology was key to development when they were asked to consider who or what was the ‘developing world’:

Someone is struggling to make a living, and feed their family. Their technology isn't as advanced as ours.

[Northern Plains High School, student 6, individual questionnaire]

I think of countries with a slight lack of resources that struggle with population. Not as advanced technology

[Cameron Heights College, student 13, individual questionnaire]

People in Africa and places where there is very little technology

[Treeview College, student 6, individual questionnaire]

The difficult living conditions produced strong emotive reactions of disbelief and incredulity concerning the lack of basic amenities. The students found it difficult to comprehend how and why things were so bad 'over there'. In the following extract a student is recalling the topic they studied in class, using NGO material about water issues in Niger. The student cannot fully comprehend the situation and in this discussion the distance travelled to fetch water becomes hyperbolic in his memory of it.

B1: However, if you go further into it out of the main cities...it's like all poor and stuff and where you have walk for half a million kilometres by the sound of it just to get like two litres of water...like...seriously, that's just dumb [whispers] yeah, really dumb.

[Treeview College, group A]

In this response in the questionnaire, the effort required to live in these places seems very high to this student, from the same class.

The places look dry and hard to live there. A lot of work to put in everyday just for a drink or something that only takes us 30 seconds to get

[Treeview College, student 8, individual questionnaire]

For many people in the developing world physical hardship is common, but by becoming the only lens through which they are shown, they can be reduced to ‘unfortunate types’ that struggle. Through these images, critics have argued that the people portrayed become frozen, voiceless and passive. Their culture and historic struggle for their own identity is reduced to the current issue of deprivation, according to critiques such as Alam, (2007), Bell (1994) and Mahadeo and McKinney (2007) amongst others. Within education, critics of geography and NGO texts as discussed in Chapter 3, are cautious of images that stereotype and reinforce the difference of the Other. Many note that even when changes are made, critical analysis of images can still point to underlying messages that stress the importance of economic development, denying or limiting other ways of knowing about people (Bryan & Bracken, 2011).

5.1.1. The shock that generates sadness

The students’ expressions about the lack of infrastructure or economic development did not lead to many accusations of laziness or stupidity on behalf of the people. In the first instance, they led to feelings of pity and sadness and the students felt compassionate towards the Other. They generally did not dismiss the developing world in a callous manner, but felt a sense of sadness on seeing these people in these places. This supports Manzo’s (2006) critique that NGO images often produce emotion first, rather than questions of the causes of inequality. The students frequently expressed their sadness and then reflected on themselves. The causes of poverty were not the first item of interest for most of them. As this extract below illustrates, seeing the images often led to a feeling of being lucky or grateful for their own circumstances:

B4: I said it’s very sad, it’s unfortunate

B2: My impressions of the country are...it’s a shock...really, really shocked...cus when you like think about us...

B4: How fortunate we are...

B2: Some people in our country think that they’re poor, but they’re not really poor compared to the people in South Africa...

[Topaz High School, group A]

This sense of feeling lucky or grateful for their own circumstances has been identified as a common initial response upon viewing images of poverty and these students were no exception to this (DfID, 2002; VSO, 2002). Critics argue that the NGO image works to produce an emotion of guilt in order to elicit funding as discussed in Chapter 3. Aside from direct campaign messages, within the formal setting of the classroom, the developing world is studied and often represented by NGO resource material. Thus, there is a dilemma between the emotional pull of the NGO appeal and the educative aspect of the NGO material. This study found that an emotional response features first and it generates a reflective moment on one's own circumstances.

In evaluating what words the students used in the written questionnaire of what their impressions were from studying these places, the most common word is not a descriptor of the place nor the people, but an emotion they feel. The word cloud in Figure 4 is a graphical representation of the frequency of words greater than three letters in length in all the responses to question 7a, 'What impressions did you get from those pictures?' This question on the front page was asked before they had seen any images in the questionnaire.

Figure 4: Word cloud from responses to the question 'What impressions did you get from those pictures?' The larger the word, the higher the count of the word in the text.



The most frequently used word is sad: the impression is that they feel sad from seeing these images. The developing world appears to them as primarily a difficult place to live, and people do suffer, resulting in their sadness at witnessing this. This strong linkage of an emotion with understanding places and people is important. The difficulty of life that is presented to them in the NGO images is linked with poverty and lack and this leads them to feel in a certain way. Images that might show protestors or business people talking at meetings are the minority in NGO campaign media, and yet those types of images could arguably elicit a different response, possibly one that is emotional, but not from the altruistic family of emotions. NGO images that rely on producing an emotion in their viewers are at work and as critiques have argued the work they do is less than well-known and that greater research is needed (Dogra, 2012; Joffe, 2008; Orgad, 2012; Seu, 2010). As will be discussed in the next chapter, these students were aware of this power over them.

What these findings support is Manzo's critique that "dominant media images of the majority world promote emotion without understanding, charity without structural change" (Manzo, 2006, p. 11). The students gain an emotion, predominantly sadness, from the images they see. This leads them to charitable thinking, to be open to a benevolent course of action. But this journey from image to emotion to charity is not always smooth and there are questions and tensions along the way and it is important to recognise that for these young people they did not accept 'wholesale' what they were shown. They also questioned the subjectivities that were being offered to them, in terms of being a benevolent actor. The research methodology allowed them to distance themselves from the media and approach it critically and this meant that they voiced their doubts over the choices and status of people in the images. These elements of questioning show that the desired emotions of sadness and empathy were not always forthcoming, and for some they were surface emotions.

If the main impression of the developing world was a sense of chaos, this was followed by a very negative impression that much of the developing world was dirty, dangerous and inhospitable. This talk often centred round deserts and urban slums, two frequent conceptualisations of place, although desert featured in some of the images in the activities. There were many generalisations and comparisons to their own living conditions in New Zealand. Despite some negative comments dominating,

the students did question whether all of the places in the developing world were like what they saw in the NGO pictures. These extracts show some questioning of the standard image that is presented to them:

G3: You know, Africa. That's a very dry country. Why do people even live there?

B3: Cause they don't even have money to buy plane tickets to go to another country

[Beaufort College, class A, group C]

B2: There's always like the desert background, like the desert dirt

B1: Desert, dirt, explains a lot [laughter]

G1: Why do they all have shaved heads?

B1: They always have desert dirt in the background

[Northern Plains High School, group B]

B1: My name is J, um...my impressions about the places and people...is that they are pretty much the same, like, they all have the same general looking place, they've got the same looking people, they're all in rags, pretty much and there's generally lots of them in very small places, spaces.

[Cameron Heights College, group B]

Many of the accounts indicated a sense of the 'Wild West' in that they concluded that the developing world was often dangerous and inhospitable, but had mixed feelings about travelling there. There was evidence of a sense of exoticism about the developing world and curiosity, most of which centred around a form of poverty voyeurism – to go and see how they can survive on so little. Discussions and thoughts of going to these places was an outcome of two direct questions in both student activities and give insight into how the students saw travelling to the developing world – the two most prominent options were as an aid worker or as a tourist. Firstly, as these two extracts show, travel to the developing world was a dangerous undertaking:

B3: Feel sorry for them

B1: Yeah

B2: I feel sorry that the governments, they don't really help and that they don't really care

B1: Makes you feel like you never really want to go there, like you'd never want to go there

B2: I won't be drinking their dirty water

[Treeview College group C]

G3: Well, yes and no, like to be honest I would want to go there, but I'm scared of like, the diseases or like getting caught or something...that's really, really mean...but like I'd like to go over there and be really nice to them and give them food and water and stuff

[Cameron Heights College, group A]

The extract above is a typical one in which the student acknowledges that she has transgressed a line of politeness, and said something mean about someone else's country, so she corrects this by offering her assistance to them. These instances of acknowledging their own negative framing and consequential thinking about the Other were not uncommon. This next extract is more positive, but there is still a need for caution if travelling there.

G2: I'd like to help them

G3: Yeah, help them, sponsor

G1: Well, I would have to get an injection so, no, but I would help them here if I could

G4: I'd go over I guess 'cus I want to travel the world but still, I guess I'd go over and...

G2: I would take all my stuff and I would give it to them

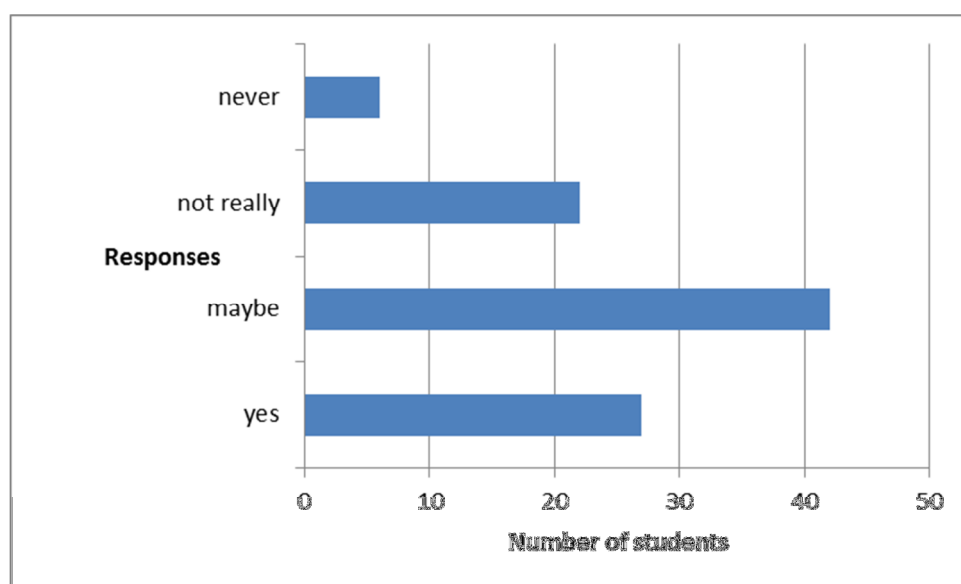
[Topaz High School group D]

None of the students indicated a desire to emigrate permanently to a country or region in the developing world. The implication in their talk was that they would go to visit

or to help, but just for a short time. Critics who seek a more balanced representation of the developing world have argued that the exoticism of poverty is a by-product of NGO marketing and can become a form of easy touristic voyeurism (K. Diprose, 2012; Hutnyk, 1996). In this research, the findings specifically point to a perception of travel to the developing world as a means of safely viewing and experiencing poverty and helping out. In the process, the benefits to the traveler are a greater appreciation of their own situation and personal character development. Critics have argued that the combined effect of NGO media is a form of branding that excludes other forms of tourism marketing and concentrates on the negative (Simpson, 2004; Versi, 2009). This has the effect that was evident in this study: in the students' conceptualisations, travel to the developing world was possible, but best if for a short time only.

In the individual questionnaire, there was a direct question, 'would you like to travel to these places?' and this graph shows the response.

Figure 5: Student responses to Question 7b 'would you like to travel to these places?' in the individual questionnaire (n=98).



In the group discussions a few students were adamant they would not travel to such dangerous places, but they acknowledged that these places could be interesting. In considering these findings, and also considering New Zealand's geographical isolation, travel to the developing world for better job opportunities or a more enriching lifestyle did not feature in the student responses. Many countries, often via

their national airlines advertise their countries as ideal holiday destinations and tourism is a key income earner. These touristic images offer an oppositional image to the NGO image which many of the students recognized. In this extract, the students are summarizing their thoughts about NGO images towards the end of the focus group discussion.

G1: Or could be...so we don't know for sure if they're exaggerated but then we don't know for sure if they're even exaggerated or how much exaggerated they are. For all we know they could all be 100 per cent true because you see some photos of this poverty, then you see other photos where it's like a holiday country, like how do you know what to believe?

B2: Yeah, like you've got sort of two different....like ideas, they're pulling off...

[Cameron Heights College group F]

This scepticism about the accuracy of the images was present in most discussions and I discuss this further in the next chapter. Their questioning shows clearly that they know the NGO media is designed to show need, but there are other places and realities that are not shown. Some of the discussions discuss how when you arrive in a place that could be classified as part of the developing world, like Fiji, you may see poverty, but it's not all bad. This next extract is about the merits or dangers of travelling over there, as the group respond to the question 'would you like to travel to these places?'

B1: First, I'd want to learn the language...

B3: Was that a 'No' Antony?

B4: Oh, you're sad

B5 You can get disease or something...

B3: Yeah true...but you think about David Beckham and like Angeline Jolie and stuff went...why

B5: But they have protection and stuff

B3: They didn't bring protection, they were not wearing masks...is that why you wouldn't want to go?

B5: It's also the rest that could affect you and the rest and also if you really want to help out the people and other countries, you should go

B2: Yeah, I'd go....like give me a new outlook on the thing

B5: Like it's an option if you really care about them

B2: I'm kind of in-between on this. I don't know if I would go or not

B5: Make up your mind [laughter]

[Beaufort College, class A, group D]

The concept of disease was present in nine of the 28 focus groups, but the overall theme of being a dangerous place was present in all the schools, although not in all the groups. The main impressions that these students made from the media was that the developing world was often in chaos, life was difficult there, but it could be interesting to visit. These findings support the findings by others in the literature suggesting that a picture of need dominates in conjunction with a sense of exoticism (Bryan & Bracken, 2011). Certainly, difference is accentuated and a material way of thinking about development and progress dominates.

It is worth considering why a spiritual frame was not present, nor a perception (with the exception of China) that the developing world might be rapidly growing in technological prowess, culturally diverse and historically interesting. In making a tentative deduction it can be argued that for these students the NGO image that evokes pity had come to be a metonym for the developing world as Paech (2004) argues it can so easily become. The people in the images represented the developing world, but they did question if it was 'all like that'. The difficulty of life there and the obvious poverty dominated their understanding and perceptions. NGOs do not seek to represent all of a culture or people; they focus on need. The more comprehensive coverage is assumed to be via textbooks or other media, but this is also problematic as analysis of non-NGO texts have shown similar issues arising concerning a narrow perspective (Myers, 2001; Rigg, 2007; Schuermans, 2008). Aspects of human existence beyond the material, such as culture, religion or human rights did not feature prominently, but it was present and this is discussed in section 5.4. For some of these students, not having an iPod was seen as backwardness, so their understanding of development was limited and focused on technology.

The students primarily understood development in terms of a linear form of economic and technological progress. The developing world was in the process of catching up to the West. One student summarizes this totality of economic progress by stating that

for her, the developing world is not really ‘in with the world’, it sits outside what is really going on. She is expressing this statement after discussing the Kony 2012¹⁹ campaign in her focus group. This campaign flickered briefly on the media scene in March 2012 in New Zealand and for the focus group of which this girl was part of, it was evidence that every now and then you hear of these atrocities, but they are really part of another universe. A universe characterized by chaos and difficulty. That universe is so far removed from life as these students know it that it becomes objectified and exotic, a way of thinking about the world that sets up binary lines of those who are in and those who are not. Students saw this world as needing Western intervention.

Sharp (2009), Power (2010) and Tinker (2007) among others, have called for new ways of conceiving the geographies of the global inequalities. Often, with reference to Doreen Massey’s seminal work about rethinking space and place and they call for a move beyond a simple state classification based on GDP and literacy rates to measure what it means to be human. The key issue exemplified by the young person’s observation above, was that the developing world was a dark and unknown place, totally different to her world, but that at certain (perhaps regular?) intervals, largely through the efforts of Western intervention, problems or issues were illuminated and she and those in the West would be called upon to assist. This intermittent negative newsfeed of the developing world appalls critics who argue that it denies normality and only reinforces a despairing outlook, structured to maintain certain global relationships (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006).

5.1.2. It’s mostly their fault

The initial sense of shock and sadness gave way to mixed feelings and further questions about the people in these places: how do they survive there and are they irresponsible? Do they cause their own situations? The main impression was that corruption or bad governance was endemic in the developing world and a leading cause of the problems. This quote sums up many of the references to bad governance:

¹⁹ This campaign by the NGO, ‘Invisible Children’, supported a film to raise awareness of issues in Central Africa. The campaign was largely spread by social media including You Tube video clips which these students had seen.

B2: But also the problem that they could be in poverty is because their country is filled with dictatorship and that's one thing that hasn't been covered. Or they have one man in charge or either a government that doesn't work or no government and that's how they're struggling.

[Beaufort College, class A, group B]

This view of corruption was not solely generated by NGO media:

B: On the news you hear of all this second world, third world, I don't know, their corruption and that, like Libya, they've got their government

G3: Yeah, they just take all the money and leave everybody to deal with their own shiii...

[Northern Plains High School group A]

B1: I reckon one of the main causes of global poverty is the fact that some governments in some countries...Shut up [laughter]

B4: Choke on that

B1: Don't know what they're doing...They're greedy mother-fuckers, they're corrupted.

B3: Oi, stop swearing

B1: They're corrupted, like in Mexico

B2: Just say it's not very good,

[Northern Plains High School, group E]

Darnton and Kirk (2011) found that the UK public believed that internal corruption was a leading cause of poverty. This was also the case for these students, in that it was a conviction they expressed in their discussions. There was also a discrepancy between the individual responses about the causes of global poverty and the group discussions. In the questionnaires, the dominant causes for poverty are listed as money, people and food, followed by government, resources, water access and war. The words 'corrupt' or 'corruption' are only mentioned twice in all the 98 questionnaires. This was quite different in the focus group discussions, where talk about corruption in the developing world featured often. That there was a difference between individual thoughts and group meaning-making supports the research that in

group settings people call upon cultural repertoires or tropes, a commonly held idea or meaning in their cultural world and, supported by each other in the group, these become 'factual' or common knowledge. Radley and Kennedy (1995) and Seu (2010) refer to these general repertoires that people call upon to justify or refute claims. In the group discussions it became an acceptable common idea that developing world governments (and possibly the people) are inherently corrupt. There were very few students who contradicted or challenged this line of thinking in the discussions.

NGO images were not the sole sources of this, as the students also called upon general media in their referencing to corruption. Talk of Mugabe's Zimbabwe dominated one group, while references to gangs in India vis-à-vis the movie *Slumdog Millionaire*, were part of general media that confirmed to many of them that the developing world suffered from bad governance. One of the key elements was that they could not comprehend how governments could allow their people to suffer, it seemed very unfair. The strength of the students' comments in the discussions on corruption indicates that developing world corruption is a common and well known 'fact' that they are aware of and can use as part of their talk on reasons for global poverty.

One group recalled that they had studied colonisation as part of learning about poverty and in their group discussion they consider this as a possible cause for inequality today:

B1: Q 2...um some of the causes of poverty in the world. It could be not enough money...

B2: I reckon it's more...because most of the people you see pictures of poverty are darker-skinned people and

B1: yeah

B2: And so ages ago...the British colonising everyone and so they always thought that white people were better so they would give the white people better jobs and stuff putting the other people, so therefore putting the conquered people into um...basically just shutting them.

B1: yeah

B2: not allowing them to do anything.

B1: Yeah...and it's just...yeah. Maybe some of them just don't want to get jobs.

*B2: I don't think it's more they don't want to get jobs, they do want to get jobs
- cause they really do want to get jobs*
B1: Or there's not enough jobs.

[Treeview College group A]

In this discussion B1 starts to ascribe a form of dispositional laziness to the Other, but this is counteracted by B2. In some discussions, several instances of disagreeing with a negative comment about the Other indicated that, on some level, the students seemed to be aware that poverty was not a desired state and that the Other was not always to blame – there could be wider historical and structural reasons for poverty.

There were some references to global greed but overall, the central causes of problems were attributed to corruption or bad governance in the developing world. Trade, natural disasters, unemployment, war, cultural differences regarding human rights, such as equality for women, and other possible causes of poverty were further down the list. In one questionnaire response, a student describes in detail, her belief that the cause of global poverty is because people turn away from Christ and are seduced by the Devil into thinking that technology is the answer to everything. Her response revealed some variance in the thinking behind causes of poverty, but the overall dominant causal explanation was corruption in the developing world followed by overpopulation and harsh environments.

The causal explanations did not differ markedly across the different schools or between the boys and the girls, except in one regard. In the school with the highest multicultural ratio, Beaufort College, in both classes at that school, structural reasons more than personal were given. This contrasted with some comments in the other schools that sometimes people were lazy or irresponsible. Beaufort College had a high number of recent migrants to New Zealand either by parental choice or as refugees, and there was less blaming of people. It is likely that some had firsthand experience of overseas poverty and were inclined to consider that people had to face difficult circumstances beyond their control to avoid poverty.

Considering the literature on attributions to poverty (Campbell, et al., 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001), the students across all the schools generally

attributed a structural reason, government corruption, as to why people might be poor. This was not the case for overpopulation, as the students clearly thought individual actions were the cause of this issue and that it is a chief cause of poverty. In over 20 of the 28 groups there is a remark or a discussion that the NGO images commonly show lots of children, reflecting other research that has been carried out relating to content analyses of NGO imagery (Dogra, 2007; Parameswaren, 1996). Overpopulation as a leading cause was present across the dataset but was most prominent in two schools, Northern Plains and Cameron Heights. At Northern Plains the students had studied China as part of social studies in their previous year and there was some recollection of the One Child Policy. A critical attitude towards the irresponsibility of developing world people alongside talk around population was identified in these two schools. Having too many babies was seen as a specific developing world issue and a major cause of their problems. Some of their emotions and attitudes are linked to a certain disbelief and annoyance that people who live in poverty continue to have children. The following discussion illustrates this general sentiment:

G1: And with all the kids and how they show all the children on the posters and stuff, why can't they just stop having kids?

B1: That's true

G1: Contraceptives, I think that the government should provide them with condoms

B1: You know, he's put it into a bit of context, if you were a parent and you had one child and you couldn't afford to have another

G1: Yeah well, you wouldn't have it

B1: And if you had it, you knew that life would really have to change, so why do they? Is it because they know they would go down the drain anyway financially

G1: Do they do it on purpose, or what?

B1: Do they do it because they want to have kids or is it done accidentally? Is there not enough help there contraceptive-wise? Just for fun? So, yeah.

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

One of the tendencies with these focus groups was for the talk to either ascend or descend in a spiral that was neither reflective nor constructive. In the extract above,

the students seem to be in a downward spiral of negativity. Although they appear to be almost egging each other on, it is important to recognise that they see the developing world as having youthful populations and that is largely the reality in many cases, and they find it difficult to understand why parents continue to have more children when clearly they cannot give them all their daily needs. Much of the talk that led to this impression was in answering question 12 in the focus group activity. In this question, the students see a picture of a young woman and a child. The image was provided by someone who is interested in issues of representation and the image is actually staged so that the people look pitiable. In answering what they think and feel when they see an image like this, all the students recognized the 'Madonna and child' genre of the charity image and comment that it is often so sad, but why do they have so many children? The image only shows one child, but the assumption the students make is that they have lots of children, although the poor cannot really afford to. In several discussions concerning this image, there is debate about whether or not women choose to have so many children. Often the students conclude that you can never really tell if they had the choice, except that one thing's for sure - they lack education regarding contraception.

In many state schools in New Zealand, sexuality education is part of the curriculum, although it is not mandatory. It is likely that condom usage, safe sex and reproductive choices would have been part of these students' learning program at school. They would have been taught these important 'facts of life' and so they are questioning why people in poorer situations than themselves, continue to have many children, often at a very young age. Social or religious reasons did not enter their discussions, indicating that for these students, their paradigm was that 'if only they could have sex education, these people wouldn't have so many babies and that would help their countries'. Any thoughts concerning their own consumption, or the Western world's greed was not present, with the sole exception of a group that discussed Americans and made a link to New Zealand in this response to the 'Madonna and child image':

G4: Sometimes you see the parents are giving away their own food to their own children where that's sad...

G1: Yeah, the kids are just skin and bone. They don't have any fat or anything

G4: And look at the Americans...fat...fat...

[laughter]

G2: It's not just the Americans. It's like other places as well

G3: Even New Zealand...some New Zealand's...

G4: But, highest obesity rates is United States...

[Beaufort College Class A, group A]

In this extract there is no direct stated link between Western consumption and global poverty, but it is implied. These causes of poverty given by the students support the concerns that in teaching or learning about the developing world, the fault is primarily placed with the developing world. The gaze and the blame is outward-looking. There is little reflection on Western practices or global histories, the misery or need of the developing world is isolated and de-historicized leading many to argue that what is not told or shown is as significant as what is shown (Alam, 2007; Carr & Rugimbana, 2009; Chouliaraki & Orgad, 2011).

5.1.3. Summary of their impressions

For most of these students the developing world was not a place of pleasant interest, diversity, strength or innovation. Nor, however, was it a place of continual war and famine. Instead what was signaled to them through the NGO media and what they learned in class was that life was difficult 'over there'. There was a lack of infrastructure and technology and this difficulty in life for the Other generated a sense of sadness in them. They saw a place that was difficult and people who were amazing to have survived and stayed there, when it seemed so dangerous. Their shock and sense of incredulity led to some criticism of the governments and the people in the developing world but this was not, in my interpretation of them, borne of malice or disrespect. These students genuinely wondered why the governments were so poor and why people would live there when it was so harsh. Physical images of deserts, a lack of access to basic amenities and lots of children were prominent in their recollection of NGO images. Taken collectively, they signaled a place of harshness and a lack of good government to develop infrastructure and help the people.

There were outliers in the dataset, in that some other comments and ideas were present but they are not representative of all the groups or students. The first of these were

derogatory comments concerning the people of the developing world. Racist comments, negative stereotypes and a mockery of the Other were few and far between. Overall, a sinister undercurrent in terms of their attitudes was not detected. There were a couple of comments like this one but they were not typical.

G2: Just lack of things [referring to poverty in Africa]

B1: The people are too stupid to become doctors, so they hire like British people and stuff.

[Northern Plains High School, group B]

The second outlier was on the colour and racial identity of poor people. The impression that poor people are usually coloured was not seen across the dataset, but it was present in at least thirteen focus groups and several questionnaire responses around two ideas: firstly, that most people in the NGO images are black and secondly, that you rarely see poor white people.

B1: You could say the most people are coloured. That's what I wrote on the thing yesterday. Most of the people I see are coloured, that are in trouble.

[Cameron Heights College, group C]

In one comment concerning skin colour, assumptions about parenting and family values are made with respect to the NGO images. A student noted that if shown an image of a lone white child, he asks 'where are the parents?', and yet if the same image is of a black child, he assumes the child is an orphan. The family is assumed alive but temporarily absent with white children but assumed to be permanently absent with black children.

5.2. Their connectivity to developing world people

In the previous section, the students' key impressions of the developing world that they received from NGO images and messages were mapped. But what of the people in the images and how did these students relate to them? One of the strongest criticisms of the NGO presence in the classroom is the creation of an artificial relationship between the student and the distant Other – an encounter mediated

through the NGO, that creates certain subjectivities, mostly that one is superior and the Other is inferior (Bryan, 2011). Critics have argued that the relationship can be focused on a financial transaction, mediated or constrained by the development industry and underpinned by neocolonial power relations (V. O. Andreotti, 2011; Pardiñaz-Solis, 2006). Learning about the Other through an NGO framework can reduce complexity and position developing world people as homogeneous, as part of a 'topic about poverty' that is covered in six weeks and then forgotten about.

In considering these concerns, the student responses that referred to their relationship with the Other revealed findings which both confirm some concerns and also provide positive examples of how the young people think about the Other. During the analysis I pursued the concept of connectivity with the Other in detail: did the NGO sector improve or encourage a sense of oneness or connectivity with the Other or was distance accentuated? I followed this line of inquiry, particularly asking the teachers about this sense of connectivity. Here, with reference to talk relating to the Other, I identified two key conceptions, one that supports the critiques that the NGO sector can increase distance and objectify the Other and one that shows students identifying very personally with the Other.

5.2.1. The helping imperative

The first key attitude towards the Other is the helping imperative whereby these students saw a possible current and future relationship as being a helper to the poor. The majority of the students sincerely wished to assist in some manner, as they saw themselves as in a privileged position. There were many discussions about wanting to go and help the people 'over there'. Often connected to the photo of the student volunteer, in the focus group activity, these comments were about doing something for the poor. The students saw themselves as potentially able to go overseas and help improve the lot of others, as that was what they saw NGOs doing. There was an assumption that their lifestyle was superior, they had more goods and knowledge to help the Other to improve, as this comment demonstrates:

B2: I reckon they're good, [the NGOs] they help out the poorer countries that can't afford the luxuries that we have over here

B1: And they sort of take our way of living over there and are helping to improve their way of living

[Northern Plains High School, group F]

Sometimes the talk went into an upward spiral of altruism as they encouraged each other with their ideas of what they would do for the Other. Less than a dozen voices said that they didn't want to go overseas to help others, but overall the desire to help was strong. Much of the talk was very innocent in nature and not intended to be patronizing, which on reading the transcripts without hearing their voices, it can appear like the students are demeaning the Other as this extract shows:

G2: Cause like, you can ask them how they feel about all his happening, you can help them, you can help...help them somehow, even for the little basics

G4: Provide them with food water, shelter, basic needs of a human being

G3: You can't bring them a house

G4: You can't bring them a house. You BUILD them a house for goodness sake! Use your common sense.

G2: A simple house, or build them a well, provide water.

[Beaufort College, class A, group A]

Absent from the discussions was how they could learn from the Other. Most of the aid was conceived as micro-level village-well type assistance. The relationship of helping was primarily one-way. The agency of the Other was perceived as being very limited and there was no discussion about the Other that acknowledged that assistance may not be needed or appreciated. The underlying sentiment was that they could do something for the Other who passively awaited this action. Nor was there talk of the Other coming to New Zealand. Heron's (2007) work on the desire to assist is significant here as these young students have already begun to see themselves as potential helpers, particularly short-term aid workers. These are the options presented to them by the NGO representation.

The sentiments centred on the benefits to their personal experience, something Jefferess (2008) and Chouliaraki (2011) have argued as being a narcissistic turn in

humanitarian discourse, whereby the intended main aim of altruism is self-improvement. In the following extract a student recalls another young person's experience as a volunteer (they are talking about the student volunteering image in the focus group activity) and the location overseas is not recalled, nor the reason why the volunteer went, but the volunteer's experience is remembered.

G2: Yeah. It makes me feel proud too. I used to know this girl sort of through um...this church I used to go to and she went overseas and she had like the time of her life like yeah. Ok

[Cameron Heights College, group A]

The feeling of being proud to be a New Zealander who can help out and the possibility of an exciting and useful experience foregrounds these students' understandings of the relationship that they may have with the Other. This is not to say these young people are unduly inward-looking or selfish, but it is to point out that what is not mentioned is any conceptualization of how people in the developing world might relate to them visiting in some manner. The desire to help and the assumption that they can and should, as well as the reward of the experience, is a central concept of their relationship with the NGO sector which is discussed further in the next chapter. Overall, other more equal ideas of relationship, such as sporting or education exchanges did not feature, although it could be argued that there were no images in the activities of this type of encounter to promote discussion on those ideas.

In this next exchange, a group of students recall a speaker from an NGO that specializes in volunteer work overseas who had spoken to the school at assembly. They are responding to the question asking them to name as many NGOs as they can.

B1: Red Cross, UN, Tear Fund, Tears,

G1: Volunteer ones. We heard of, a lady came to our assembly yesterday and described to us about a volunteer teaching thing um, that she did in Fiji. What was it called?

B1: Tears, I think?

G1: No...it stated with 'L'

B1: Just to build on that, um another one of ...what she was saying...she was helping out in a country, um Fiji

G1: was less fortunate

B1: was less fortunate than us, she was supposed to be the assistant teacher. She ended up being the teacher because the music teacher couldn't even read music and they only had one piano keyboard, no guitars or anything like that so that does made us feel more fortunate

G1: And thankful that we have a goverment that can control and you know respect our all of our stuff

G2: Even though we may not agree with them all of the time, they do provide us with good learning and we're lucky at X college here

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

On cross checking this experience with the teacher, he was not sure that these students would study Fiji specifically in either year 9 or 10 at his school, but they may do if they take senior geography. This raises the concern of the immense influence that a single visiting speaker can have on young people's formations of the developing world. It is not likely that the visiting speaker meant to paint Fiji in such a lens of deficit, but this had occurred. The teacher also noted that the speaker had visited Fiji just after some devastating floods, so it was an unusual time. The voice of any Fijian is not remembered. The active Northern aid worker is reified through the misfortune of the Fijians. In stark contrast, the Fijians are remembered as hapless and less fortunate.

5.2.2. They have feelings

In contrast to the desire to help, improve them and fix things up, there was a strong element of admiration for the resilience of the Other, in that they survive in adverse conditions. Overall, the relationship towards the Other, particularly those living in poverty was one of compassion. The students frequently used the words sad, feel sorry for and unlucky to show their feelings towards the people in particular. There was a sense in which the poor were objectified and 'out there' but not in a negative manner. In this extract the students are responding to the question 'what do you like about these images?' G1 below describes the passivity of the gaze of the developing world

person in these images and notes that a more active engagement would be more authentic.

G1: Nothing

B1: What is there to like?

B2: Their clothes [laughter]

G2: They don't have smiles on their faces

G1: Yeah they could at least...um...they could talk, even if they talked in their language. It's not as though we're not gonna know what they're saying. I just think they just stand there and get told what to do. Like if they begged for money or something that is some...people are gonna feel bad and give more money...but yeah, I think that yeah, they should probably make a difference to themselves. They are the ones wanting this money so they need do something in return or...

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

There is a lot which could be interpreted from this student's comment. Is she arguing that the poor should sing and dance for their supper or is she saying that they remain an impassive wall of faces to her and this does not stir up any feeling? Finally, does she see them as puppets or alien stick figures told to move in the camera frame to elicit sympathy? Considering all these possibilities in this instance, it is sufficient to surmise that she considers the Other to be portrayed passively; they do not speak to her. The limitations of the research methodology are seen here as it would have been useful in a moderated discussion or one-to-one interview to further question this student, to ask her what she really means by her words. What is clear is that already at her age, she is able to articulate a range of emotions and has identified the relationship between her as the giver and the Other as the receiver, and yet she is calling for the Other to speak.

This ability to move beyond a distant form of compassion, to a form of deep empathy and almost indignation on behalf of the Other resulted in the expression of some very poignant comments. A handful of students critiqued the insensitivity of NGOs in photographing people in misery while at least a quarter of the students actually thought about being those people over there. In the first exchange to illustrate this

empathy, the students are responding to a question asking them what they like or don't like about the images.

G2: Yeah...don't like rather

G1: Some of them are quite negative...they make you feel

B: That is their thing, they're trying to make you feel bad so you give money

*G1: If they aren't actors, if they are like actual real people, that could be kind
sad to them, you know what I mean,*

B: What do you mean?

G1: Like taking a photo of people that are really, really sick...like

G3: Yeah that's like an invasion on their privacy

G2: Yeah but like

B: They've probably

G3: They'd have to get permission and stuff like, like that

*B: But they'd almost want you to take the photo to get money to help raise that
kid*

G3: That's true

[Northern Plains High School, group C]

This move from the self to the Other, includes understanding the complexity of privacy, and of the Other who perhaps forgoes privacy to raise awareness. The students were aware of the person in the image as being someone with dignity and choices. That someone is a person with real feelings and the NGO sector is critiqued for objectifying the Other for the purposes of fundraising. The second example is of one comment from a student that comes after a long discussion about whether or not Fiji is a developed or developing country.

*B1: Yeah but I went to this village on a tour and it was like really poor and
they had no streets and the ...it was all dirty*

B2: Yeah it's all scummy eh?

B1: The houses were like...

B2: The children lying everywhere

B1: Well they had cool carpet, the carpet was

G1: Imagine if they send this to Fiji...

[Northern Plains High School, group B]

G1 in this exchange understands that if their conversation is read by a Fijian it could be perceived as offensive. She makes the move from descriptor to the one being described. In this school, the decile rating is medium and the multicultural ratio is low. It is a rural school and their teacher describes these students as not very exposed to other cultures. In this extract there is the example of a New Zealander on holiday and taking a tour. They see the poverty, but that is the extent of their relationship with the Fijians. It is significant that the students were able to appreciate that the people in the images were real human beings, subject to the same emotions as them. In the literature review mention has been made of the work on emotion in education and the idea that feeling for is different for feeling with. In particular, Todd (2003) has raised concerns about the true purpose of empathy and asks if we can ever be sure if empathy is altruistic.

With the majority of student talk that moved beyond pity towards a deeper engagement with the Other, it is hard to be sure whether these students were being self-reflective or were engaging with the radical difference of the Other. Again, the limitations to this methodology meant that a deeper exploration of such aspects did not take place. Spaces for liminal thinking of the relationship were present in the discussions, but for most of the students in this study, the Other, as a person, was an object of pity, at arm's length. Some sympathy was generated for them by virtue of the fact that they were on the other end of the NGO relationship. There were also discussions that showed a sense of affinity with people in the developing world, by students who had travelled there or students whose wider family were from the developing world. These discussions were most common and robust in the school with the highest multicultural ratio, Beaufort College.

5.2.3. Equal or inferior?

A minor theme arose in a few instances concerning what activities were charitable and what could be classed as business. In the exchange below, the students are debating the status of a visiting African choral performance to their church. They are

responding to question 7, asking them to list any NGOs they have heard of. They debate the charitable status of the choir.

G3: What are those people called that we watched at church?

G2: Missionary ones

G1: Greenpeace

G3: Remember they danced and they told us their stories...

G2: Oh I remember that but...

G3: And they made me cry

G2: Oh it's like Y something...

G3 and G2: Watoto Choir!

G3: Wow, we got it at the same time!

G2: No, they're not helping, they're in poverty...

G3: No, but we give...but they're a charity like them [referring to World Vision] and we help them...

G2: They're not a charity

G1: No, they are a charity and we help them

G3: Yeah

G2: No they're not.

G3: Yeah, no like we help them, so they are the charity, we help them.

G1: Like for cancer

G3: And we fundraise and we give it to them

G2: No, they sell their stuff...we don't give them anything

G3: Yeah we do

G2: No we don't, we buy off them, we don't actually fundraise for them

G3: Yeah, but they [unclear]

G2: We don't fundraise for them

G1: OK, next question!

G2: I've been in that church since year seven and I've seen them three or four times...[cut off by the others]

[Topaz High School, group D]

The discussion became quite heated as G2 argues that this performance group is not a charity. This disjunction between charity and enterprise has implications for how these

young people perceive of the Other – as an equal partner in trade, or as charity. Effectively, the students are querying the value of the performance. Commentators have called for less passivity and a more interactive relationship with the developing world that moves beyond the charity framework, but how well placed are NGOs to do this? As this extract illustrates, these young people do define relationships through financial transactions, and in what ways we help them or benefit from them. The girls' argument is about equality, how we relate to these people.

5.3. Understanding and questioning what is meant by 'development'

The third key finding is the questioning by the students about what constitutes the term developing. The literature suggests that the old ways of viewing the world are under threat and that NGOs should consider new ways of presenting global inequality (Baillie Smith, 2008; McCloskey, 2011; H. Young, 2010). Bourn (2011) has argued that development education organisations need to carefully consider their approach, as a one-sided monolithic approach does not suit all contexts. Above all, he argues that development education pedagogy should open minds to recognize and question different viewpoints about the world. In this study the students exhibited a fair sense of questioning, both of the way the developing world is represented and the role NGOs play in constructing these representations. These expressions of doubt may not be the students' usual public response to NGO media. For many of the students it was a novelty to express their opinions through this research as discussed in the methodology chapter.

Just who is in the developing world and who says so and why? There were some interesting discussions about the definition of the terms in the data collection activities. In a few cases, the students' own personal travel experiences and connections with people from the developing world allowed them to articulate their disagreement with the general group discussion. These personal accounts acted both as a challenge to the generic NGO imagery and provided them with a sense of status insofar as they had travelled or met people from the developing world and could report to their peers what it was really like.

G1: I think that they over-exaggerate the whole concept of what the country's actually like

G2: They probably show that the whole country's like that but it's not really...

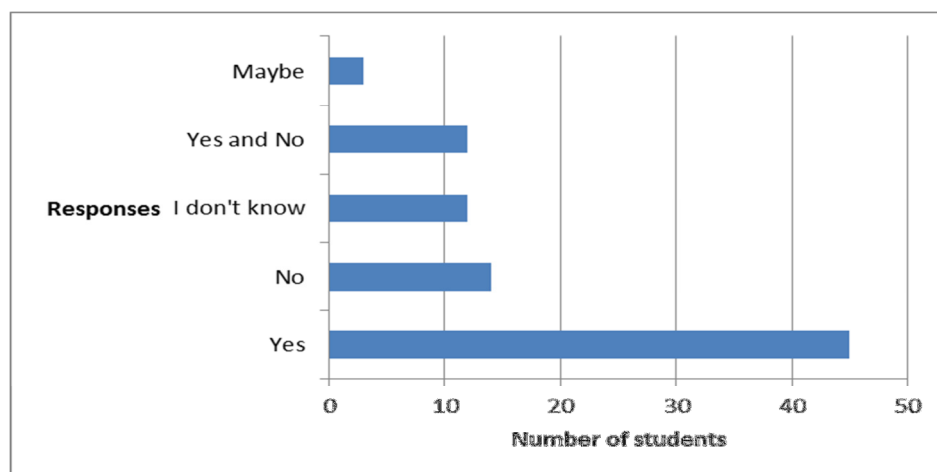
B2: Where most of the country wouldn't be in the whole poverty just like the small areas that they show on the ads on TV

B1: Um, Just to use an example there...I have a friend from Africa....and when she said she came from Africa ...um...I sort of...couldn't quite make the connection...because she had nice clothes and she you know, didn't look like the people you see on television and I can remember talking to my parents and saying 'Did she come from South Africa, because all the people on TV, look like they come from a different place?' And she said, 'Well, no, there different parts of South Africa, there places in poverty, but then there's towns and cities and that are like quite normal.

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

This extract clearly shows a challenge to the dominant view of the NGO imagery. It is also significant that NGO television advertising is identified as a key informer of what people are like. This cannot be under estimated, as before any formal studying of the developing world, the students have been exposed to such marketing for all of their lives. In the individual questionnaire there was a direct challenge to the students in the form of question 13: *'Do you consider the countries of the South Pacific to be developing nations?'* Figure 6 shows the spread of answers.

Figure 6: Student responses to Question 13 *'Do you consider the countries of the South Pacific to be developing nations?'* of the individual questionnaire (n=98)



Responses in the affirmative generally started with the word yes, followed by their reasoning, such as this example:

Yes, because there are a lot of countries over there like Fiji, that have poverty.

[Northern Plains High School, student 2, individual questionnaire]

With the responses that were a mixture, a maybe or yes and no, words like ‘but’ or the actual phrase ‘yes and no’ came at the beginning. For those that answered no, they also gave reasons:

No, because these countries are so small they don’t have as many resources as, say, America, but mostly they live in good conditions.

[Northern Plains High School, student 10, individual questionnaire]

A number of students queried the term and sought different values to be used around what constituted ‘development’:

Yes and no. Depends on what you call developing. Some islands have a rich and a poor side. They are all developed; just not highly.

[Northern Plains High School, student 8, individual questionnaire]

I think every country is developing in its own way.

[Beaufort College, student 5, individual questionnaire]

I don’t know. They may not have the same technology, but murder is unheard of, so I don’t know.

[Treeview College, student 2, individual questionnaire]

These individual doubts over what constitutes ‘developing’, and what one is to believe from NGO images carried over into the student discussions. Countries like Zimbabwe were undeniably chaotic and developing, but what about India or China? At least a third of the focus groups questioned the North/South divides opting instead for a more complex picture. In one group an interesting debate about the status of India took

place that illustrates the influence of general media on the formation of quick and easy stereotypes.

B1: Yeah kind of like your point, like take India for example...there so many like dying...people of like hunger and like

B2: That's the most people...

B1: Yeah, it's like pretty much all of India but that's because like a lot of the leaders are really corrupt and they'll take all, most of the money and just pocket it and they won't give it back to their like the actual country or anything

B2: Yeah, India has the most millionaires in the world

B3: Yeah, and doesn't India they have...I'm not saying... I'm not trying to be racist...people like...um like...get kids from slums and then they like injure them and make them look real cripple and they make them beg for money and like... [the others agree]

B4: Slumdog millionaire...that's not racist

B3: Like in the movie

B2: It's just dickheads taking advantage of shit [all agree]

[Cameron Heights College group D]

New Zealand often prides itself on being a member of the OECD, and this grouping would be what constitutes the developed world for most of the students in this study. References to the Third World or developing world are regularly seen in general media and ninety per cent of the students were familiar with these terms. Simplistic binaries are also challenged by many teachers of the social sciences in New Zealand and many would concur with Young (2010) that the two-worlds system is too simplistic and a leftover of colonial times. While teachers may present a more diverse world, the NGO image by and large, does not and this creates the problem of a simplification of the developing world²⁰.

Challenges to a one-size fits all classification of a country was most prominent in the school with the highest multicultural ratio, Beaufort College. Many of the students in

²⁰ NGOs that have a wider remit than fundraising or campaigning in schools for specific events do create educational material that attempts to balance this.

this school had travelled or had been exposed to a greater diversity of cultural experiences and so were hesitant to ‘lump everyone into the same basket’. The following extract shows a girl making this differentiation.

B2: Well, I have been to India....where there are slums everywhere you go

G3: No, No, there are different parts of India. Listen, there are different parts of India where there are most developed different parts...so, in Mumbai (or Bombay) that's where like most of the Bollywood people live, that's also the place where the most poorest people in India live.

[Beaufort College, class A, group C]

A lack of travel and experience of diversity can mean that the only picture a student receives of a country is through the NGO prism that may label that country as developing, applying a broad brush when the picture is much more complex. Even if the students have travelled, this does not necessarily mean they have interacted with people in the South on equal terms. The teacher from the school that was representative of a wealthy community remarked that her students are very well travelled, but she noted that:

...the way in which they travel is in five-star hotels with mum and dad taking them out on tours and to theme parks and it is so...their understanding of the world is from that experience, it's certainly not an experience of just wandering through the streets and just looking at people, it's a very protected experience that they've had.

[Teacher, Cameron Heights College]

This teacher had lived in the South and made an extra effort to ‘de-exoticise’ the Other, by portraying images of ordinary life in other countries. Travel in itself does not necessarily broaden people’s minds as this teacher astutely noted. This study found that the students had questions around what or who is developing in the world. They showed a readiness to embrace complexity and to challenge terms about who or what was developing, particularly those students with a reasonable level of literacy, a point discussed in the next section.

5.3.1. Variation towards development and representation across the schools

Over ninety per cent of the students had something to say about the way in which the developing world was represented in NGO media and what this representation signaled to them. The NGO sector is an important global actor in international relations and individual organisations can be seen as institutions that work for the poor and so criticism of them is not always forthcoming. In the next chapter there is evidence that the students in this study raised doubts and criticisms over several aspects of the sector. What is of interest here is whether differences in their impressions of the developing world can be attributed to their different socio-economic and gender groupings. No clear differences were observed between the girls and the boys in the study. The following are the two main observations of difference across the different schools.

The first and most significant observation was that at least a third of the students in the lowest literacy band class (Beaufort College, class B) struggled with the concepts of developing and developed. They had a very limited knowledge of the sector, and they were not inclined to critique the sector. The other low literacy band class (Topaz High School), also had at least a quarter of the students who were not inclined to criticize the images or the sector to the same degree as the students of a higher literacy rate. The lower literacy students may have had some deeper thoughts regarding the developing world, but they did not share them. This may have been due to their language or literacy difficulties, but the methodology may also have constrained their voice. The group exchanges were a contrived setting and may not have suited these students as discussed in the methodology chapter. Their exchanges were often shorter, simpler and in a couple of cases, they took on a more philosophical note, such as thanking God that they were not in the same situation as those they saw in the images.

B1: I am thankful for this opportunity that me and my family isn't one of these people and that God just bless them.

[Beaufort College, class B, group A]

In this same class, a boy who identified himself to me as being of African origins and a refugee from war, was not shy in critiquing the NGO sector. In helping his group stay on task, as they had difficulty reading the questions, I asked him a direct question:

RT: And what would you say to those charities over here, when they do all those ads on TV and things?

B: Oh...they're just like concentrating on the negative things.

[Beaufort College, Class B, group E]

In the same school, in the other class which was of a medium literacy band, the students understood the concepts and had no problems articulating their opinions and freely critiqued the NGO sector. In one instance in this class a student of Pacific Island ethnicity confronted me personally with some criticism about the corruption of aid in the Pacific. In my field notes I recorded that she got up out of her chair from her focus group and walked over to me. She explained to me that her father had personally seen NGO funds go to the wrong people after the tsunami that affected Samoa in 2009. Her view of NGOs and her ability to critique them was markedly different from the students in the other class in her school. The methodology to discuss and debate the work of charity institutions may have suited students of a certain literacy level and disposition towards debating and arguing such topics in a group setting.

The second observation was that connectivity with the Other was higher in schools with a higher multi-cultural ratio and these naturally included students who had traveled more in the developing world, as either refugees, economic migrants or as tourists. At Beaufort College all reasons for travel were present, while at the other schools, the dominant travel reason was for tourism. Students at Beaufort College, which had a higher multicultural ratio and a greater diversity of people who had travelled, were able to call upon their different cultural experiences and question or challenge NGO messages. For Beaufort College, class A, in the medium literacy band class there was a distinctly higher level of robust argument concerning what was accurate or fully representative in the images and what was not, compared to the other schools. Students who had travelled or lived in the developing world argued that it

was ‘not all like that’ with conviction as opposed to the other students who queried the accuracy tentatively.

The demographic question in the individual questionnaire asked for religious affiliation, but no discernible correlations could be made regarding the students’ responses and their association with a religion. Further research could look at the intersections between religious life and NGO work and consider the interrelationships between the sectors and how they influence young people’s conceptions of the Other. Sponsoring a child through church and again through school may be a powerful lens by which to see certain places and people. The data in this research was insufficient to draw any conclusions regarding this. In Chapter 7 concerning the teachers’ influence, the question is raised as to how much the teacher’s perspective towards the NGO sector influenced how their students received the messages. In this aspect, there were some significant observations and these are discussed in that chapter.

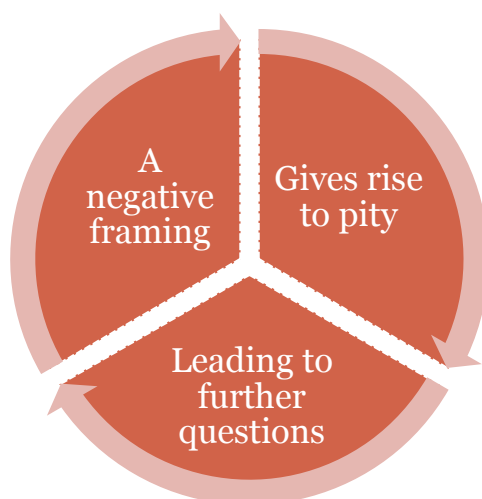
5.4. Chapter summary

The findings show that the primary meanings about the developing world that students are forming from NGO material and classroom instruction are largely that life in the developing world is difficult, there is a lack of good governance, good environments and technology and the people there are in the process of catching up to the West. The cause of much of the poverty was seen as due to bad governance and some irresponsibility concerning population control. Further down the list were difficult environments and global greed. The people themselves fared better, being viewed as resilient although in some cases lacking in education or self-restraint.

Taking both the questionnaire responses and the student’s discursive account, and evaluating this mapping of their impressions, a certain cycle of disbelief or incredulity is identifiable. The students imagined a difficult place which led to feelings of pity and these led to questions around survival and why some things are the way they are. A sense of negativity still encapsulated these questions, leading the ideas and thoughts to continue to remain in a negative framing when thinking of the developing world. Attitudes and emotions of incredulity, pity and compassion wove into this and yet contributed to a negative framing. This cycle is illustrated in Figure 7 below.

The relationship between these students and the developing world was largely one-way, with many students seeing themselves as possibly able to assist and help improve the living conditions of Other. For these students, NGO images largely constructed a dusty and dirty world that was at the same time dangerous and interesting. There were mixed feelings about travelling there. The findings clearly showed the students saw the developing world through a negative framing and to balance this, they called upon personal experience, tourism images and general media. They did not refer to classroom material or NGO media as showing them a different side of the story, when it is likely that some NGO resources and their teachers would have done so.

Figure 7: Cycle of disbelief the students formed on viewing NGO images of need



I began this chapter by putting forward the argument that the power of the development discourse, in this instance, the mediated images, do not create just a vision of the Other, they also craft a space in which the viewer can place themselves: as superior, as a possible helper. These findings confirm Smith's (1999) findings and Dogra's (2012) argument that NGO media inadvertently accentuates differences, and that the predominant NGO information about the Other leads to a lens of deficit by which the developing world primarily comes to be known. This sets up an unequal relationship, whereby the student in the North is 'active', the Southerner is 'passive'. The students' agency in questioning their superior position came from various angles: personal knowledge; scepticism of the image accuracy and knowledge that need was specifically chosen as a frame in NGO media.

Research question one asked what meanings of development and global relations students make from visual images of the poor that are produced by NGOs for campaign or educational purposes. In considering this, to summarize their overall impressions, the word 'distance' encapsulates how they saw the people represented in the NGO media. I use this term as an umbrella term. At times, this geographical and cultural divide was overcome but this required more work than to accept the narrative that they are just so different from us. The word distance is not used in a negative or derogatory manner. It is my interpretation of how the people in the NGO media that they recalled appear to live very different lives, very different realities to that of the students. Despite the intentions of many in the NGO sector to bring the daily lives of people overseas closer to young people in New Zealand, the evidence here shows that the conventional image of need was dominant and this image outweighed any others that try to show a more balanced and normalized picture of life in the developing world. For the students in this study, the dominant image they were most familiar with was the child sponsorship advertisement on television. Having grown up with seeing those images as possibly their first depiction of life in the developing world, other images struggled to replace it.

These findings also show that young people, aged 14 are aware of the power of media to place them in certain roles, to craft identities for them. They may not be able to completely identify what those roles or subjectivities are and how they affect their worldviews, but they showed a surprising amount of agency in questioning the power behind NGO imagery. One of the strongest roles is that of the individual benefactor. Moving from their impressions to their negotiations, the next chapter explores how the students interacted with the image, when it became active, when an appeal was made for them to act, to become that benefactor.

Chapter 6: **THE STUDENTS AND THE NGO SECTOR**

G1: I think that I think the words on the poster 'Donate Now, you can make a difference' are all bullshit really.

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

When NGO resources move from educational to a demand for action, a shift occurs in the reception process: the viewers are called upon to respond in some manner. The difference between an educational resource and an appeal is not always clear for student audiences. The tension between education and charity is at its most prominent at this juncture. This chapter presents what the students in this study thought of the NGO sector, and how they felt about its collective demands for action. I present evidence that the students used rationales or excuses similar to those found in other research, and other rationales that were unique to their age and situation to negotiate the NGO demand. What is significant is that a fraught relationship with the NGO sector had begun to develop with some of the students, creating some anxiety that may have future implications for their conceptions of the sector and the Other.

I argue that the mediated relationship between the developing world Other and the young person in the developed world may be constrained through the NGO format and that this has consequences for how people view the Other and the sector itself. Financial assistance vis-à-vis an NGO is understood as the most common way of knowing people overseas for many young people and emotion is a significant factor in beginning and forming that fragile relationship. This constraint and demand to help causes a tension to develop in young people and this study provides clear evidence of this occurring with many students expressing an anxiety about the demand. I argue that young people begin with a largely positive and empathetic outlook, with a strong desire to help, but through the constraints and pressure of the NGO relationship they are placed on a narrow pathway. Pushed further and further along, campaign after campaign, poster after poster, some start to build walls of defense to protect their integrity. Evidence of these defense mechanisms are presented here.

The first section of the chapter begins by outlining the significance of the emotional account to talk around the NGO sector. The remaining sections explore the students' impressions of and relation to the NGO sector. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 cover the two areas that the students were most critical and vocal about: NGO expenditure and marketing. Section 6.4 looks at their response to NGO activism and volunteering and section 6.5 maps the students' responses to the demand. These findings show how young people are very aware of the demand to help and this chapter presents a mapping of their responses that arguably has not been seen before in the literature.

6.1. The significance of emotion

Emotion is a key component of NGO marketing to their Northern constituents and is seen as a two-edged sword (Orgad & Vella, 2012, p. 5). The NGO sector frequently seeks an emotional response from students and enters the classroom to do so. Taking into account the concern of education critiques of the employment of altruistic emotions in the classroom as discussed in Chapter 3, the emotive account is significant in this study and I see it as a form of coercive power. That people should feel a certain way when shown images of misery or that they should feel compelled to act is often wanted and assumed by NGOs. This assumption is part of Hattori's argument that there is an ethical hegemony at work as discussed in Chapter 2. NGOs would certainly like people to feel and think in a certain manner, but people's negotiation of this needs exploring not dismissing: not everyone feels pity and some do not wish to help the distant Other either in the offered manner, or at all.

The most noticeable pattern in the findings was the difference between emotions expressed towards the developing world and those towards the NGO sector. Analysis of the focus group discussions showed that emotions and attitudes towards the developing world and towards the NGO sector were very different as well as the intensity of their expression. Applying a web diagram to my *Nvivo* coding of student talk, the differences can be seen in Figures 8 and 9. The numbers refer to the actual references coded to that emotion, with zero being in the centre. The emotion 'rejection' refers to the students' rejection of the demand to assist or respond in the expected manner, such as feeling sad. A full explanation of these is given in Appendix D, Table 2.

Figure 8: Emotions coded to talk around NGOs

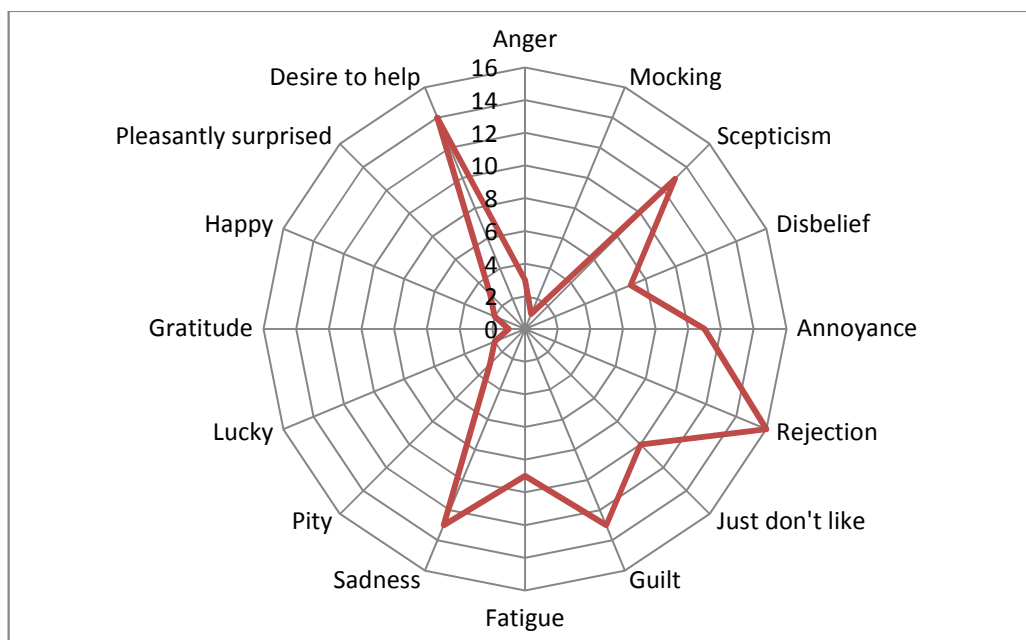
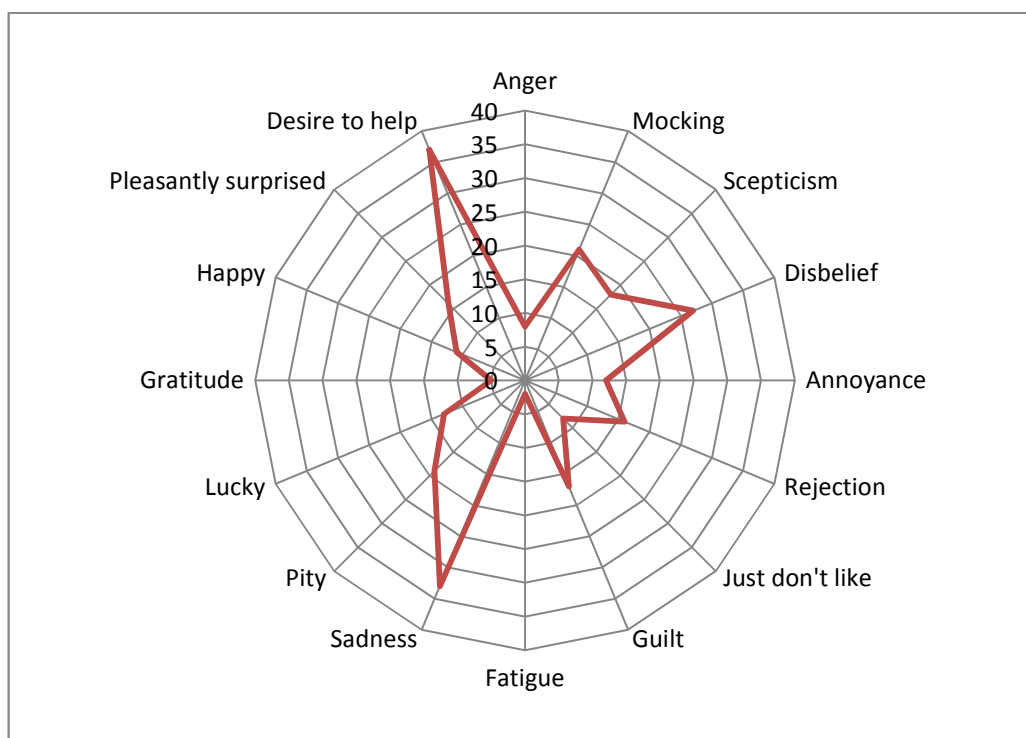


Figure 9: Emotions coded to talk around the developing world



This graphic display shows that on the right of the web circle the negative emotions, and they are proportionally dominant for talk concerning the NGO sector. Considering the emotions concerning the developing world, beneath an altruistic front of wanting to help out, there were many other emotions. This was not the case for talk concerning the NGO sector. Discussions were often more animated with students expressing more

scepticism than doubt. If their conceptualisations and attitudes towards the developing world was a sense of chaos, followed by sadness and distance, the same cannot be said for how they viewed the NGO sector. The sector was much closer to them and offered them a pathway to help the Other, but also made demands on them. The NGO sector was not pitied; it was negotiated with.

The findings support Seu (2011), in that emotional energy is largely expended on dealing with the demand, not the people portrayed. The NGO becomes a barrier to thinking about the people. This occurred in this study, with the students becoming much more animated and opinionated when talking directly about the NGO sector. In particular, to counter the NGO sector's demand a negative aspect was incurred which was not present around the encounter with the Other. The mediating effect of the NGO sector had the potential to place the relationship with the Other under strain. With talk concerning the NGO sectors' demands, voices were often raised or aspects of their conversation were stressed by the students into the microphone. There was a sense of the confessional with some of the direct responses to the NGO demand.

6.2. Initial positive response to the NGO sector

The main finding is that most of the students thought NGOs were a positive aspect of global and local society and that they 'did good in the world'. There was limited knowledge of what NGOs actually did, with over three quarters of the comments indicating a micro-development view, of the 'they build wells' variety. Only one group mentioned advocacy for fair trade as a key activity for NGOs, adding that they should do more of this work. Question seven of the focus group activity asked the students what they thought of NGOs and these expressions are typical:

B4: Me personally, I just think they're just done some good work, they're all happy

B3: Yeah good on 'em, good on' em I say.

[Northern Plains High School, group E]

B2: I reckon they do lots. They make wells and that, in those countries.

[Topaz High School, group A]

As the students progressed through the activity, they warmed to the topic and the discussion became deeper and in some cases more critical around specific aspects of the sector, but overall it is important to stress that they had a favourable view of what the sector purported to achieve overseas. Questions around the effectiveness of aid and where NGOs were actually doing aid work arose in various discussions. This extract illustrates this:

B1: And what about New Zealand?

B5: And like why don't they donate anything to the Islands eh?

B2: I know... they don't show anything in Rarotonga or...Samoa or mean...

B3: Because they look for where there's more help...

B2: Maybe cos there's like hardly any people living on those islands so they feel like....a few people...so rather sending HEAPS over to Africa, they could spend like...

B5: I mean I like that it portrays something that would like help others to support them but you know yeah, it's not portraying everything...

[Beaufort College, class A, group D]

In the following comment the student remarks that aid efforts are possibly not working and his question is not said in a negative manner:

B2: Yeah, my question was um...like every year we have more people entering our world famine [referring to World Vision's 40 hour Famine fundraiser] but like...with all the money they raised and it goes to all the resources...how come there's more people still out there with hunger?

[Beaufort College, class A, group E]

The question that this student raises is the never-ending story of aid, in that the campaigns seem to continue but fixing global hunger seems like a bottomless pit. Real answers and other ways of thinking about aid and development are not present. The student does not appear to have been given (or remembered being taught) contextual information about global hunger either by the NGO or his teacher. This confirms concerns that event-style charity options may be fun, but they can leave questions

unanswered for participants. A cosmetic engagement with development issues may result in short-term action and long-term disappointment, a key problem that many argue is the outcome of when charity overtakes education in the classroom (Bryan, 2011; McCloskey, 2011). Andreotti (2011) has also raised concerns that promises to end world hunger can result in disappointment and cynicism and possibly a view that this failure is the result of the poor themselves: “In the long run [the failure of eradicating poverty] works to sustain and reify the idea that poor countries and peoples have a cultural deficit that is either beyond repair or in need of more ‘fixing’ through more tutelage and control” (p. 167).

The students’ knowledge of the sector was limited. Question six in the focus group activity asked them to list any NGOs they had heard of. World Vision and UNICEF were given as two examples and most groups struggled to come up with more than five. They knew what the sector was, but had trouble naming specific NGOs. Both NATO and Cigna Life Insurance got a mention in one group, although they were dismissed quickly by the others in the group. At least half the groups debated what constituted an international NGO, with the likes of the Salvation Army, Greenpeace and local opportunity shops discussed. When they referred to NGOs they used the word companies most often, with the term charities a distant second, despite my initial introduction and brief explanation of the terms. The most common media image or recollection of NGOs was of child sponsorship advertisements on television, followed by visiting speakers to their schools and posters around the classrooms and those they saw in public places, such as bus shelters. At least a dozen students had parents or relatives who sponsored children, so child sponsorship featured prominently as a signifier of the sector.

Generally the young people had positive discussions around the actual idea of international NGOs and while they did not really know much about what NGOs did, they thought they were reasonably effective, but there was room for improvement. This extract shows how they saw NGOs as giving them an opportunity to assist.

G1: And they give it a way for us to help them as well because of some of them are clothing stores, op shops, then other ones where you can donate money

and so it gives us the opportunity to help out the country and know that we're doing good for the world.

B2: And we can also sponsor a child over in those countries which helps like that family out....we had to at our primary school...we had one there...

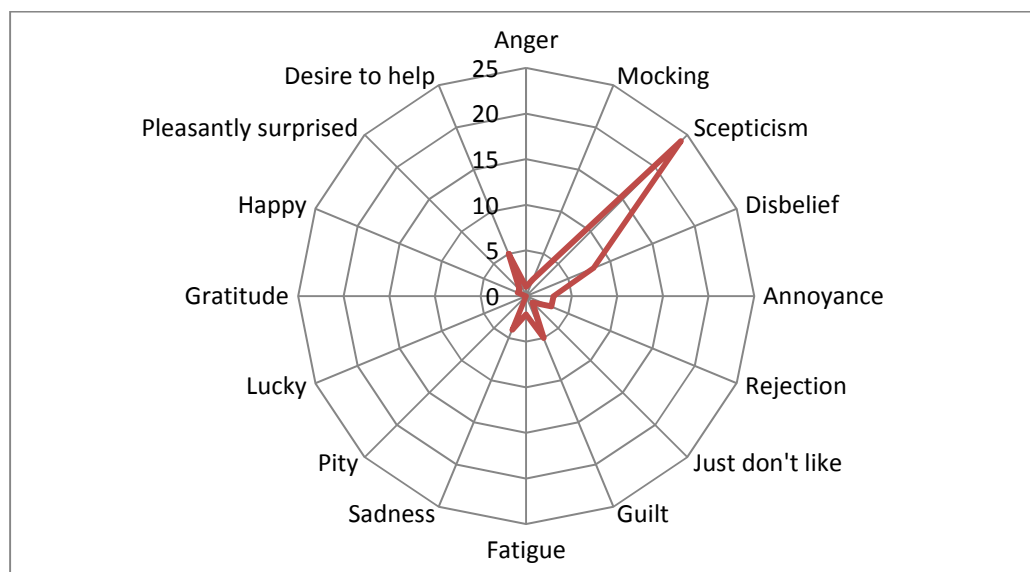
[Northern Plains High School, group F]

If their overall impression of the work of the NGO sector was positive, then their critique of certain aspects of the sector is interesting. The following three sections on NGO expenditure, marketing and celebrity activism show that the students had doubts and were not afraid to criticize the messenger's activities.

6.3. The first critique: NGO expenditure

Expenditure as an aspect of NGO activity was not specifically mentioned in any of the questions the students were exposed to. Despite this, it was discussed frequently across the focus groups in answering various questions, although it did not feature in the answers for the individual questionnaires. Reflecting once more the observation by commentators that distrust of NGO expenditure is a convenient argument, a *repertoire* that circulates in common knowledge and is used as a defense mechanism (Cohen, 2001; Seu, 2010). There were many heated discussions around 'where all the money goes'. I did not mention NGO expenditure in my introduction to the activities, but it was the first critique concerning the sector that the students' voiced. Using *NVivo* a clear pattern of scepticism and incredulity can be seen in Figure 10 on the next page with the emotion references coded to talk around NGO expenditure.

Figure 10: Emotions coded to talk around NGO expenditure (zero in the centre and each line represents two references coded to that emotion).



Drawing upon general tropes of distrust around NGO expenditure, the students did not hold back in their querying of NGO expenditure, with one exception, the lower band literacy class of Beaufort College did not critique expenditure to the same degree. Evidence from two groups illustrates this scepticism. Themes include expenditure on marketing, how much money from donations is actually spent on aid, how they could see if they were getting value for their donation and NGO corruption or misuse of funds.

B1: Um also, another thing is, I wonder if they spend more on advertising than they do in actually helping.

G1: Or they get in return, from the advertising if they're actually making anything out of it, or if it's just useless stuff. They imagine oh, there's usually probably one a week [NGO advertisement on TV] you could say.

G2: Nah, way more. Like if you watch all the different channels there'd be four [advertisements] that come in out of two hours, and they go on for ages.

B1: They need to spend less on advertising

G1: And I think that they need to show us what they getting out of um begging for money

B2: And a weekly or monthly updates that least to show what they're actually doing in the country

G1: And what a difference it is making

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

The students' sharp sense of accountability for their donated funds raises some interesting questions around altruism and aid. They need to see if their money is making a difference, perhaps viewing aid as less a donation and more as an investment. In doing this, they have turned the power of the demand back to them: they are putting the sector under examination, demanding accountability. The next extract is typical of the students' referring to an adult's encounter with NGO expenditure issues.

B1: I heard about one of them from Africa was actually was set up by one of their governments and all the money that was done like.

B4: Just going straight to the government.

B1: Like 90 per cent of it just going straight to the government.

B4: It's like with these ones though...with some of them, what they do is, yeah they raise money for say things like...and they give like 80 per cent of it away and the rest of it goes to them.

B2: Well, we were actually gonna donate some money to a company, um...not a company, an NGO, and um... my dad rang up and we found out that only 50 per cent.

B4: Actually gets to the place you're donating.

B2: Actually only gets...[unclear]

B4: It goes straight to them to keep them going.

B3: All their flights to get over there and stuff.

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

This next extract is one of three in which the term scammers is used to describe the NGO sector:

B2: I reckon some of them are scammers, I really do, cus they say 'Oh, all the money will go to them', but to be honest, how much actually does go towards those who need it? Because they probably spend about three quarters of it on

themselves and only a quarter of that goes to the people who need it and that's quite sad because that means there's less for them but more for those... for those who say they're gonna give the money to someone else.

[Cameron Heights College, group B]

Discussions such as these showed that the students were very capable of critiquing a range of aspects of NGO expenditure. They also showed that once 'on a roll' in making their point, they were sometimes not critiqued by others in their group. It seemed that questioning expenditure was just something one did as a natural suspicion of NGO activity. It is very unlikely that any of them had read the budget sheets of NGOs. NGOs often spend considerable time and effort communicating to their constituencies their expenditure, but these efforts were largely lost on these students who seemed ready to pick up on this fault. At this age, the students were readily able to criticize this aspect of the sector, despite having limited factual knowledge of NGOs. Hearsay and 'common knowledge' sufficed as a defense mechanism with which to find fault with the sector.

Due to this stress and critique on NGO expenditure, the extent of which I had not expected, I made a special reference to it in the 'Follow up information sheet' that the students received after the activities (this sheet is in Appendix B, Article B2). I deliberately explain in this handout that NGOs have guidelines about how much money can be spent on administration.

6.4. The second critique: NGOs marketing and imagery

Several questions in both activities centred round different genres of images. This section covers the students' discussions around the standard campaign poster or advertisement they see on the television, in general media space and in school. Specific discussions around the celebrity and student volunteer images are also discussed. These two images were chosen for their typical portrayal of a Western giver and non-Western receiver. In the findings, there were few challenges to this 'two actor play' (D. Kennedy, 2009, p. 9) and the students seem to accept this very simplistic version of what constitutes development or aid.

At the beginning of both activities and sometimes during the activities I reminded the students that they should not concentrate on critiquing the actual image in front of them. I explained that each image was a ‘type’ of typical image that NGOs use. The students had no problem with this, bar one exception: the picture of David Beckham (question 9 in the focus group activity) caused some consternation as he was shirtless and at least two thirds of the groups discussed ‘his abs’ in a jocular way before getting back on track and discussing the celebrity-style image. Three of the classrooms had NGO-supplied pictures on the walls and these were referred to by the students. The open-ended questions without images at the end of the focus group activity asking ‘*what do you like and what do you not like about NGO images?*’ were very useful for promoting discussion. As this question was towards the end, any veneer of pleasantry had ceased to exist and the students often spoke their most intimate or critical thoughts around this topic in response to these questions.

6.4.1. Attitudes towards NGO images: Six key themes

Four negative themes and two positive themes were identified in the talk that mentioned images. This critical analysis of imagery reflects a postmodern approach that destabilizes images: these students have been schooled in *Photoshop* and do not believe everything at face value. The first and most prominent negative theme was that they suspected the images of being one-sided. Secondly, they thought that in some cases images are staged to look worse than the actual reality, in order to cause an emotional response. Thirdly, at least half of the discussions included a complaint that the images were always the same in their general composition. Fourthly, for perhaps a quarter of the students, the images were too shocking, in that they were hard to look at and forcibly made them feel bad, which they did not appreciate.

These negative themes were not always centred on their experience as a viewer, some comments concern how they do not always show the Other in dignity. The students knew that the images were designed to work. The positive themes included appreciating that the images tell them what it’s like over there and that some images, especially of the student volunteer make them feel proud. The reader is reminded that the students had an overall positive view of the work NGOs. Their critique is on specific aspects.

A) The four negative themes

The emotions are broadly divided into two camps: those of a sceptical nature towards the reality of the image and its intentions to force feeling and those of sadness toward the subjects in the images. Talk surrounding these negative themes was often very animated and some heated discussions resulted. After the third school, I wrote a research memo about the sense of relief that the students felt in being able to express their feelings in this research. There was a tangible sense of ‘we can say what we like, it’s OK’. To illustrate this, the following is a comment right at the end of the focus group activity:

G1: The most important thing to me is to know that I’m not the only one that feels bad for another country but also that I’m not the only one that also thinks that sometimes the photos are over-exaggerated.

B1: Yeah

G1: That I’m not putting a wrong foot forward, I’m just saying my opinion.

[Northern Plains High School, group F]

This confessional sentiment by G1 above is evidence of student recognition that critiquing the NGO representation is morally dubious. This awareness of the power of the NGO is discussed later in this chapter through the exploration of the word ‘make’.

These examples from the transcripts illustrate the four negative themes:

i. The critique that the images are one-sided and do not show the whole picture.

The idea that NGO images do not show the full picture and focusing on the negative was very prevalent as these extracts illustrate.

B2: But ads are advertising World Vision and stuff and always they get the worst

B4: Yeah they always show the worst things and make you...and then they make you think it’s like that all around the world.

[Northern Plains High School, group E]

B1: It's kind of like...it's kind of showing the negatives around, whereas I enjoy seeing the videos of the children in school learning, like everyone enjoying school, whereas I don't like seeing the people who are really struggling, I just feel like that's kind of...ah... focusing on the negative and that just makes you feel kind of annoyed, but I'd rather them show...

B2: Some positives

B1: Like the positives and how much improvement is going on between them from us helping, so that they like showed how much they're improving. That would probably make me want to donate.

[Beaufort College, class A, group B]

The comments concerning the narrow view coincided with the view being largely negative. These comments illustrate a criticism of feeling annoyed. The intent of the images may be to elicit feelings of compassion, but these have been subsumed by annoyance. B1 in the exchange above is clearly arguing that for him to donate, the NGOs need to consider his needs. Several students made comments that showed that they had moved beyond pity; they were not going to automatically capitulate to the demand. The underlying sentiment was that there are a lot of NGOs, lots of poor people, and advertising and the action proffered has to be attractive to them as potential donors for them to take note.

ii. The sense that the images are staged

There were many comments concerning how people are made to look poorer and the students were sharply critical of this form of manipulation.

G3: OK, I always wonder if it's staged or not? Like how do you know that it's not just set up?

G1: Yeah like a...

G3: For them to take a photo

G1: Like active make up on and stuff

G2: Like to actually get money

B: And I reckon they get like the worst looking kid in the photo...to make it look really sad.

[Northern Plains High School, group A]

In one classroom in a World Vision poster on the wall, the subjects in the images are clearly showed as being active and some are smiling. The overall effect however is still a constructed gaze towards people who are less well-off materially. This confirms the critiques of NGO images who argue that the subjects are portrayed in ways that do not disrupt the expected discourse (Dogra, 2012). They are shown so as to meet the expectations of the viewer as to how they are used to seeing them, a critique that Smith and Donnelly (2004) explored in their research.

In this next extract, the students talk candidly about how they see images at their face value, and yet in their minds they question the authenticity and the work of the images. They are responding to question 12a: *What impressions do each of you have about the places and people in photos produced by NGOs?*

B3: I reckon it could give quite a negative impression, like I mean not like not negative, but like you see like a dying or starving kid and you're like back to what we were saying before...like is it the worst they have there...or is it like you know, sort of like negative. Oh yeah they're all gonna be like this, but they're not all like that...I dunno what I'm saying.

B4: Yeah I sort of get what you mean like um...there's this sort of debate going on in your head...'Is that the worst or are they trying to make it look sadder than it is?

B3: Yeah

B4: I mean it is sad when you see them like that but are they trying to sort of over exaggerate...to make you...

B2: Yeah like...like it's really extreme negative part

[all: Yeah]

B1: Like the most negative thing there....

B4: I reckon we sound a bit like dickheads saying that.

[Cameron Heights College, group D]

For many NGOs the reliance on the emotional pull of feeling empathy for the Other is a given. This evidence shows that young people are engaged in a cognitive questioning process about both the accuracy and intent of images of compassion. These young people are media-savvy. They are not callous towards the Other's plight, but they have begun to query the representational work of the NGO sector.

iii. The critique that the images are all the same

Several students commented on the similarity of images within NGO imagery and the fact that they were used to them and in some cases, bored of them.

G2: But like when they send the money over is it actually going to the right places, that's what you wonder, cos you always see the same types of photos

G3: Yeah, always the same ones. Yeah, always the dying kid with the ribs sticking out.

[Northern Plains High School, group A]

G1: Some organisations always use the same pictures of the same places and it gets kind of old and...outdated...

B2: They don't really show the difference that they making

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

In the next two extracts, several other themes are identifiable, as well as some conflicting ideas that the students articulate concerning images. The students did not always agree, but they generally did not admonish each other if a negative comment about either the NGOs or the images was made.

G3: It does make you more interested, but like I've seen the pictures over and over...I mean shut up...

G2: It does get me interested in this situation, but it does focus more on the negative and not on the positive. There we go.

[Beaufort College, class A, group C]

G: Like everyone know what's going on over there, like what shit's going down and stuff but

B1: But I reckon we don't know the half of it, but just focusing on certain things

G: Yeah, and it's like always the same things though, like,

B1: It's always like 'em starving kids, lack of water, give us money and we'll try and figure it out

G: Yeah

[Cameron Heights College, group C]

This comment by B1 above sums up in many respects the overall impression of the demand by many of the students: a simple relationship of misery and lack, give us money and we'll solve the issue. With these comments the NGO has the agency, with the people being represented relegated to a minor role. These findings support the study by Dalton et al (2008) that young people can describe that the images all look the same and the demand is all too familiar. The distinction here is that as Campbell (2012) points out, compassion still exists, the fatigue is about the ever-present, on going, never changing demand. It seems relentless, and for many of these young people, most of them aged 14, it has already become 'same old, same old' which the 18 year olds in Dalton et al's research reported.

iv. The fourth negative theme: the emotive difficulty of looking at these pictures

While images of bloated bellied children are mostly a thing of the past, largely due to changes in NGO policies around images (CCIC, 2008; Manzo, 2008), the students in this study felt that the emotive work of some of the images was very strong. Two extracts illustrate this emotional dilemma that the students comment on:

B: They used to have those guilt posters, where they have like kids with no eyes, flies buzzing around.

G3: It's still ugly kids

G1: Some of them could be quite graphic

G2: Yeah some of them are quite graphic And they always go...

G1: Some of them could almost put you off, like you take one look and go aww

G2: Bleah

B: Too hard to look at

G1: Puke in the rubbish bin

B: Urggggh

G1: Too hard to look at

[Northern Plains High School, group A]

B2: I don't really like them. It's good to see what's happening over there, but I just, just can't bear them.

G: Um, it's actually really good to see photos like that, because [then] you actually know what's going on in that country.

[Northern Plains High School, group C]

This last extract clearly shows that the students' can identify this tension: they know the point of the marketing, it's just that they find it difficult to respond to. The following exchange is interesting in that the students agree with each other and then refer back to a critique about the NGO manipulating them to feel bad. My field notes record that I was physically near this group at the time and noted that one or two of them nervously looked at me, as if to check what they were saying was permissible. They are answering the open question at the end, '*What do you like or not like about these images?*'

B2: Nothing

B4: I don't like anything

B3: I really don't like them. I just don't

B1: Don't enjoy looking at them

B2: I like that fact that they're

B3: I don't enjoy looking at them

B4: No, I don't enjoy looking at them

B2: But that's the impression they're trying to give

B3: Yeah that...yeah

B4: They're trying to make you feel bad

B2: They're trying to make you feel bad and do something about it

B1: Is that what they're trying to do?

B2: Having a psychological effect. They've probably got someone sitting in an office, fully air conditioned thinking 'how else can we make these poor suckers in NZ feel bad for their skits?'

B4: Rich suckers in NZ, not poor suckers

[Northern Plains High School, group E]

B1: I don't really like these photos cos they're all kind of depressing and they kind of make you feel guilty and bad and that's not very nice. But they work, but otherwise they're gloomy to have around in our classroom.

[Cameron Heights College, group B]

These critical comments and discussions demonstrate that the students are very perceptive about NGO marketing and actively negotiate the messages in many ways. They know that the images work and that they are the chief target of this work. Their agency is present, they are not passive audiences. B2's comment above, of someone sitting comfortably in an office with the intention of making people in New Zealand feel bad, is a crucial and telling indication of a perception of the NGO sector. For some of them, they have begun to see the NGO sector as out to get them and this may cause them to feel like they have to protect themselves. They neutralize the appeals and the sector by critiquing the images. What arises from this is a sense of defense when they think about the sector.

B) The two positive themes

The negative comments were complemented by positive talk about the images and also commentary about the difficulty of marketing poverty and motivating people to donate. The main positive comments about the images came from discussion around the image of the student volunteer. In the focus group activity for question 10 a young person is shown as a volunteer. This image generated many warm feelings, including a sense of pride. The students comment that this type of image makes them feel better. The two key themes that indicated a positive response are discussed here.

i. That the images show them what it's like over there

In at least half of the discussions that talked about the negative impact of the images, there were comments by others in the group to balance this, by pointing out some of the positive aspects of NGO images. This did not always mean they liked the images, but they could appreciate their intent as this extract shows. This theme has appeared in the extracts above. Here three extracts show when they are mentioned without any negative criticism attached.

G1: I like how it shows us what's happening.

G2: Yeah, I like how it shows us what's happening, and it's sort of getting us to think a little bit, yeah.

[Cameron Heights College, group A]

B3: Like I get a 'wake up call'.

[Topaz High School, group A]

B: I think it gives you like an insight, like knowing what's happening...I dunno.

G1: I like the photos that have pictures of people helping.

[Northern Plains High School, group A]

The positive remarks were often that these images let them see what was happening over there and that without them, they wouldn't really know. They also gave the students a better appreciation of their own life situation.

ii. That there is opportunity for them to assist

The most positive comments were with regards to the student volunteer, indicating that when they viewed the image, they identified with the volunteer: the others in the image barely rate a mention. The following is an interesting extract in that the students have been discussing what they do not like about the images, but then they recall the image of the volunteer from the individual questionnaire:

G1: That one just makes you feel sad.

B: Guilty.

G1: I mean it encourages you to get out there and help and stuff.

B: But they're not good to look at.

G1: Yeah, I think it's better to have photos of people out there rather than the people.

G2: Like the one in the survey [adult volunteer image in the questionnaire]

G3: Then people think, Oh, she's doing it, so I can...

[Northern Plains High School, group A]

A few students also complied with the intended NGO response, and did not raise any questions, they simply saw the images as a prompt for taking action as this extract illustrates in response to the question 12: *what do you like or not like about these images?*

B2: Kids don't get that education when I see the ads...and when I see them I feel like I want to sponsor someone from the poor countries and help them to get a better future.

[Topaz High School, group E]

In a handful of discussions there was debate about how NGO marketers *have* to use these pictures to publicise the plight of others and generate aid. In talk on images in general, there were active debates concerning empathy towards the plight of the people and on the other hand, a sense of annoyance at being emotionally manipulated. This dual emotional tension was a frequent component of many of the discussions. At least three quarters of the students were aware of the marketing aspect of the images and felt confident enough to articulate their opinions. This was not the case for all the respondents. At least two groups in the two lower literacy classes did not critique the images nor the activities of NGOs.

The key findings from the students' discursive account of NGO images can be summarized as follows:

- a) The students expressed doubt concerning the authenticity of the image.
The images do not always represent reality, and that in some cases the 'worst' is shown. The images may be staged, as a marketing technique, to force an emotive response from viewers.
- b) The students showed some fatigue of the style of image.
The images are very similar and some students expressed fatigue with the 'same old, same old' image.
- c) Appreciation of the positive image.
The students comment that they feel better seeing people they can relate to who are helping, rather than the generic image that calls for pity.
- d) Awareness of the power.
The students were aware of the emotive work of the images and they discussed their response to this very openly.

These findings support those by Dalton et al (2008) and Smith and Donnelly (2004) concerning the fatigue over the same old image and doubt around NGO activities. They also support findings that people respond positively to images that show people in the South being active, not pitiable (Ferguson, 2011). What they illuminate is that at this age, these young people show some scepticism towards representation and most of them know and appreciate that the images are meant to work on them.

6.5. The third critique: NGO activism and the celebrity versus the student volunteer

Two questions associated with two images in the focus group activity generated a lot of discussion. During the focus group activity the students were reminded that the photo of David Beckham playing soccer in Africa was a representative image of celebrity activism (question 9). The photo of the young person was also symbolic of New Zealanders who go and volunteer in aid projects overseas (question 10). The main difference in the talk surrounding these two images was that with the celebrity photo there was debate, primarily about the authenticity of the intentions of celebrities when they do aid work. At least a dozen students even updated me with their knowledge of recent, more current celebrities who have 'been to Africa and that'. There was debate about the genuineness of the student volunteer, but critique of the intentions or actions of ordinary volunteers was minor. Overwhelmingly, the students

liked the student volunteer image and what she was doing and that if given the chance, many of them would also like to volunteer in an aid project.

These images portray a distinct role of aid worker or celebrity activist which many in the literature find problematic as people on the receiving end are marginalized as the grateful Other. What the images suggested to the young people was that a role for them to assist the Other was possible and a positive option to aspire to. Commentators are sharply critical of the saviour role that these images imply (Clark, 2004; Dogra, 2011; Lidchi, 1993). Certainly, for these young people, it was an assumption that they had something to offer the Other, (who would be very grateful) not the other way around. Andreotti (2011, Chapter 8) has critiqued the not-so-subtle reinforcement of colonial paradigms through the innocence of benevolence, arguing that the construction of the subjectivity of the ‘dispenser of goodwill’ is reinforced through NGO endorsement of celebrity actions of charity.

Two examples from the transcripts for each type of image illustrate the range:

i. The celebrity activist

G1: Are they actually really doing it, like helping them or just trying to do...for the publicity, yeah? Make them look good or

G5: But you never know.

[Beaufort College, class A, group A]

In this extract there is some disagreement about what celebrities are meant to do.

G1: I disagree.

B1: What? Why? What do you mean? Disagree about what?

G1: I think he's like just going to get the fame, make him have a good name, so

G2: Yeah, popular

G1: So it doesn't always have to be a positive thing that he's going

G2: Well, it's like some celebrities. Who's adopted...I've forgotten her name

G3: Angelina Jolie

G1: Yeah, Brangelina

B1: Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt

G2: Yeah I know. Haven't they adopted like quite a few kids who are in their family now and they're trying to make them feel better, like they've picked one from every struggling country. But sometimes adopting them may not help them and the celebrities just going there for a week to zoom around and may not help, but if they stayed there for a month, like building like water wells and cleaning parks that would probably show them that they're wanting to help.

[Beaufort College, class A, group B]

The key critique regarding celebrities was their possible intent to generate publicity from doing their good works. Most discussions concluded that on balance it was not a bad thing that they were doing, but you never knew for sure. An 'off the record' field observation is relevant here. After one group of girls had finished the activity and turned off the voice recorder, one began talking to her friend about Lindsay Lohan and some other minor celebrity whose name it was not possible to hear. They cynically commented that both Hollywood starlets had been in court for minor offences and had recently spent two weeks in Africa doing good. I wrote in my field notes that the two girls were highly critical of this form of celebrity activity, calling it an 'image make up' saying "That's what they do [the celebrities] when they've been bad". One of them turned to me, and said "It's true Miss" as she had noticed my presence and that I was listening and making notes.

ii. The student volunteer

These two extracts show how the student volunteer is seen as morally superior to the celebrity:

G1: Like the celebrity one makes you think that oh well, does he actually wanna be there, and then this one, she wants to be there, she's actually making an effort and stuff

G2: Yeah she wants to do something, she's not sitting on her ass complaining or um, how, sorry

[Northern Plains High School, group A]

B: And I think that it's really good that a student is getting involved as well 'cos they're like helping out people when they're like just a few years older than us, and they're helping out these poor young children. I think that is really, really, nice of them, they're really good people

G3: Yeah, it's really good because since they're probably volunteering and since it costs a bit money to actually go over there and then to buy food for themselves, and stuff to provide for themselves and then they're probably just volunteering.

[Cameron Heights College, group A]

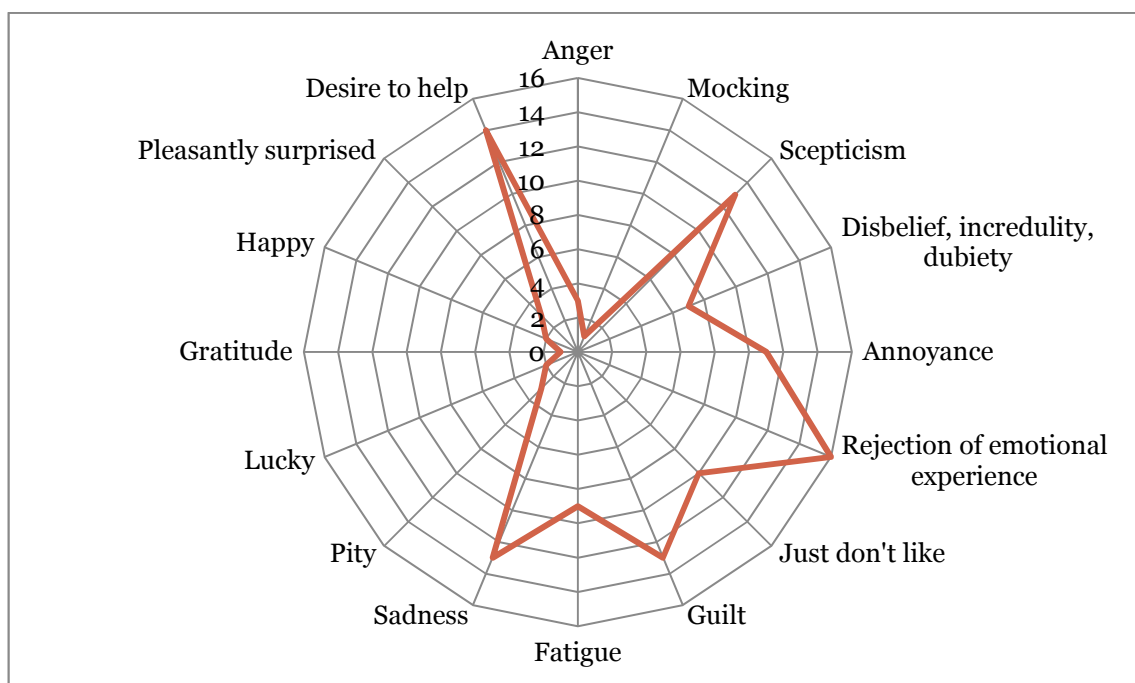
The key findings from the discursive account surrounding these two images and what they represented are that the students had a high level of scepticism towards the intentions of celebrities involved in aid work, but an appreciation that celebrity activists can be useful in raising awareness and funds. Finally, they were inspired by seeing images of ordinary people, particularly young people volunteering and could imagine a role for themselves in the future doing aid work. A further observation can be made with regards to the response to the student volunteer in particular. Students at the high decile school Cameron Heights College, and the medium decile rural school, Northern Plains High School, spent much longer discussing the young person volunteering. Many of the students in these two schools were quite taken with the idea that they too, could go and help. This was not so prevalent in the two lower decile schools, Topaz and Treeview.

6.6. Student talk concerning the NGO demand

Vestergaard (2008, p. 472) notes that the main aim of NGOs is the “arousal and maintenance of public social awareness” and this awareness can lead to action. This action can be spurred on by an emotional reaction to the need that is being portrayed by the NGO. At the outset of this study it was unknown how the students reacted emotionally to the portrayal of need by the sector and the appeal or demand to make a difference. This section is a key part of this study as it maps how these young people interpreted and negotiated this demand adding to the literature concerning audience reception of NGO messages.

In examining the findings, particularly the discursive account of the focus group activities, early analysis showed specific segments of conversation that was on what they thought and felt when called upon to assist in some manner. Over seventy references were coded specifically to talk concerning the demand and were cross-coded for any emotions expressed. Figure 11 shows that there was no clear or dominant leading emotion or attitude associated with talk of the NGO demand. Instead, two oppositional emotions were dominant: the rejection of the emotional experience to feel empathy and the acceptance of the demand, the desire to help. Guilt and sadness featured highly and were often together in the same reference and both were used for either acceptance or rejection. Key themes were identified in the student talk and this resulted in more detailed mapping of the various responses to the demand. Three main responses were present: acceptance, negotiation and rejection. These comply with Hall's analysis of audience reception (Hall, 1980), but they deserve closer exploration.

Figure 11: References of talk concerning the NGO demand coded to various emotions and attitudes. The numbers refer to the references coded, with zero being in the centre.



Many of the responses came from the discussions that answered question eight in the focus group activity that showed this clip art (Figure 12) of a poster with the words ‘Donate now, you can make difference!’. The question asked them what they thought and felt on seeing this sort of poster. It was the only question in the activity which specifically addressed the demand and yet it generated more than its share of discussion. All of the students recognised this type of campaign poster and in one classroom there was a poster that was of this type with a close up of an African child’s face.



Figure 12: Clipart from Question 8 of the focus group activity

6.6.1. *Acceptance: Empathy and action*

As with the talk associated with the image of the student volunteer, at least half of the students commented that if given the chance they would like to visit other places and do voluntary work. These were largely positive exchanges. In many cases the students agreed with each other that it would be good to go and help. These sentiments are part of the students’ perception and relationship to the Other. There is a strong overlap between how they perceive the developing world (in need) and their role, as possible alleviators of that need. There were some very compassionate feelings towards the Other as this exchange shows:

G: And it isn’t really right because we have like...proper resources and they don’t

B1: Yeah I think that

B3: They need to

B2: I just want to pick them up and have a beer with them.

[Northern Plains High School, group C]

The students also had some ideas of how to improve the situations:

G1: Shh...I feel sad but...like I feel really sorry for them and I feel like why...why doesn’t their government help out or why doesn’t all the money that we donate like...change the difference to all of them. Like why don’t we just get

a giant orphanage, put them in it and then people can like, yo! I'm gonna take 10 children

[others laugh]

G1: Y'know like an orphanage if their parents have died. But I feel really sorry for them and like knowing that it's not their fault that they're born there and like it's not their fault they live in this life, this cruel world.

G2: Um, I feel whenever I see photos like that I feel like I should donate money or like go over there to help something...

[Cameron Heights College group A]

In considering the debate around compassion fatigue (Campbell, 2012; Cohen, 2001; Moeller, 1999), these findings agree with Campbell as they did not indicate that the students were callous or lacking empathy. The students did not have *compassion* fatigue, in that they were not 'over it' as the students in Dalton et al (2008) study seemed to be. Most of the exchanges showed that they felt deeply for the plight of the Other, but felt restricted in what they could do. The two key aspects of their acceptance of the NGO demand were that they were empathic to the plight of others and felt that they would assist, if given the opportunity. Approximately a quarter of discussions talked about events such as World Vision's 40 hour Famine that students had been involved in. All the talk around these types of events, mostly fundraising in nature, was of the benefits to them, the fun and the experience. The solidarity of the experience was solely with their peers. There was no recollection of who the beneficiaries of these events were, and very little critical appraisal of the success of such initiatives.

In this next extract, there is a clear sense of feeling grateful and compassionate at the same time. These students are directly accepting the intended emotional path offered to them by the NGO sector. It is also interesting to note that one of the students has firsthand knowledge of the resilience of the Other. These students are not dismissive of the poor; they have a compassionate respect for the Other.

G1: Actually I am interested in this situation because we should be like thankful for what we already have.

G2: Yeah, but at the same time...feel sorry for them.

G3: Exactly.

G1: We take things for granted that they would be happy to have.

G4: We have the basics.

G2: Like chucking food away...they could use that just to survive.

G4: Like every single...like even it's a scrap...we chuck it away they can be like their dinner for the whole day, at least keep them alive for another whole day.

G1: And they can feed more than one person as well.

G3: Yeah, I've seen people eating leaves and like....dirt...to keep them alive...when I went to A...when I went.

[Beaufort College, group A]

6.6.2. Negotiation and rejection of the demand

In work concerning how audiences use rhetorical methods in their discussions to “effectively neutralise appeals and justify inaction” Seu (2011, no page) identifies three common repertoires that audiences use. These enable viewers to turn the moral gaze from themselves back onto the agencies, by critiquing the agency or their methods. These are: attacking the way the message is conveyed, attacking the recommended action and attacking the messenger themselves. All three were in evidence in this study, but I have mapped them slightly differently into two broad responses. First, the students attacked both the way the message was conveyed and the messenger through a prism of guilt and being manipulated into feeling like they should do something. Secondly they critiqued the recommended action that was offered to them.

A) Attacking the message and messenger: cries of manipulation

Section 6.3 discussed some of the doubts and criticisms concerning the images, but bringing them to a more personal level, the students expressed that they did not appreciate the manipulation and forced guilt that came with these images. The students knew that NGOs called upon them, assuming a state of affluence and because of this, they should help others. Often the process followed a pattern: first a feeling of sadness, followed by guilt, then by a negotiation of the demand. This extract illustrates a clear sense of being made to feel the guilt of having more:

G3: You always feel guilty

G1: Guilty yeah

G3: Cause you're so happy and they're so NOT happy

B: And I suppose they put it in a supermarket and thing where you're buying something and so you're thinking...oh I'm buying all this stuff and this kid's got nothing...

G1 and G3: yeah

B: So it makes it feel you more guilty

G3: Yeah

G1: So it makes you donate. So like they always have donate boxes.

[Northern Plains High School, group A]

The word 'make' signals that they feel a certain pressure. In at least three quarters of the focus groups the students comment at some stage that they are often angry or annoyed at being made to feel guilty. Quantifying this pressure in this study proved to be difficult, but I explored their use of the word 'make'. The word occurs 134 times in the focus group transcripts and 66 times in the individual questionnaires. Focusing on the transcripts, used in the context of the NGO sector *making* them feel something or do something, the word is used 29 times. These two extracts demonstrate this:

*G3: Like, and it sort of **just makes me feel bad**...cos I can just go to a tap and get a drink of water, sweet, I'm alright yeah*

[Cameron Heights College, group A]

*G2: And sometimes **it makes you feel bad** like because you're not doing anything to help them*

[Northern Plains High School, group F]

In this next extract, the comparison between 'them' and 'us' is strong and it leads to a very empathetic desire to help, with one of the students saying 'it is our thing to help them':

G2: I thought they were really sad...like seeing them, how they are and

B2: And how we are

G2: Comparing us to them it's like...

G3: It's kind of sad to compare....

B1: Makes you feel like...

G3: Yeah...

G2: Yeah, comparing to people could make that person feel sad, so we could say

G3: They're not, that like...

B1: It's not their fault that they're struggling, and the parts

G3: But it is our thing to help them

B1: But we are helping with bringing them resources but they're struggling to make their own, but it's not their fault, it's the fault of the structure they live in, like the land

G3: We could like send them seeds, like and they could like plant them and like by the time it grows, they have food and they're like they can keep on farming

B1: Yeah, but that's what they tried to do but lets' say, Africa, they don't have the water to keep it going but if they do have water, it's polluted and um even aid, so I feel like the aid centres are struggling to keep that up

[Beaufort College, class A, group B]

In many ways the word 'make' and its usage by the students is at the heart of this inquiry. This is the power of the development discourse upon these young people in a very tangible sense. The emotional trajectory of sadness, a desire to help, guilt and anger is not clear cut. Supporting Heron's (1999) work, the beginnings of the desire to help has begun with these students. There is an assumption that with wealth, either earned or inherited, comes a responsibility to help the other. Heron argues that the discourse of development manifests itself in various ways and supports this subjectivity of the Western aid worker who is able to act internationally. In doing so, self-reflection or the West's complicity on injustice is marginalized. With the students in this study, they perceived themselves as lucky, and NGO images affirmed this, as well as showed them a future role for them to help the unlucky.

The students know that they are placed on an emotional pathway but how each of them negotiates that pathway is still unclear. Crush (1995) argues that it is in the self-evident assumptions, that is the power of development and here the students identify

that there is an assumed path of feeling that one should take when seeing images. Considering this, these students have voiced their recognition and negotiation of that power, showing that they are not passive receivers, they have agency and most importantly they can articulate that pressure or a certain coercive force is at work.

Feeling guilty, and as a result annoyed, was by far the most dominant form of the rejection of the demand. They just did not like being made to feel guilty. To justify why their guilt did not translate automatically into action, they used excuses or *rationales* to defend their position. The four most common, in order of their occurrence were:

1. We're just poor students.
2. What can we do?
3. It's not our fault.
4. We need to look after ourselves.

They are a combination of their youth status and self-protection. Beyond their descriptions of the developing world and their sadness at the plight of Others, they knew that the NGO messages were asking something of them and this demand was usually for money. In my interpretations of these students' accounts it was clear that they felt they had to defend their character, their moral integrity if they chose not to take action. That they could not give often or very much eroded their sense of who they saw themselves to be (as possible alleviators of misery, as good people). They *would if they could*, was a familiar refrain, so rationales were employed to explain why they could not. In effect, they turned the gaze back on themselves but gave reasons for their position. The following extracts show clearly that defensive emotions are raised:

B3: Like I wanna help, but how can a kid help like us, we're at school, we do homework, doing sports, what can we do?

B1: Yeah, that's weird eh?

B2: We can't just get up and go help

B3: Yeah, like we can't go over there and help them can we? We're kids and

we have to attend school, it's stupid how they target kids with it as well

[Treeview High School, group C]

The tone of their talk was both angry and confessional in nature. In the following extract the capitalization of the girl's words indicate a raised and emotive voice, as she stresses them to the voice recorder. In hearing this she is arguing that she can do no more, but she is not a selfish person.

G1: like...I feel like I should do that and it's not just how I feel like I want to do, I actually WANT to take action, I WANT to donate, I WANT to go over and help out but the thing is, I can't, like I'm not made of money, I CAN'T like, like I...this may sound selfish, but I need the money for myself.... I need the money for my own food my own clothes, my own shelter and... I like...if I had the spare money...I would do it without like. Without even thinking about it, but it's just like I'm not made of money...I need the money.

[Cameron Heights College, group A]

In presenting this evidence in September 2012 to an audience of NGO education and campaign officers, a comment arose: "Isn't this what all young people say?" The implication was that this was a normal evasive maneuver and not to be worried about, and in fact, was in need of correction. From my perspective, informed by postdevelopment critique, I take the opposite argument, by saying that no, this attitude, this defense of moral character is worthy of greater scrutiny, it is evidence of power. It is important not to belittle their feelings as a result of an encounter with a very powerful sector. Cohen (2001) argues that 'guilt tripping' causes a reflexive reaction: "The more intrusive the message, the more likely you are to project your resentment onto its senders" (p. 182). The demand is strong and it is tied in with your relative security and safety. Coercion can produce an effect opposite to that intended.

The NGO demand is a conflation of ethics and consumerism, which implies that if you don't buy into this project, you're morally suspect, an issue Jefferess (2002) has raised before. This young girl's response is not a form of social deviance, but a natural outcome to intense pressure. She is not lacking in compassion or empathy but despite this, being unable to give and take action causes her stress and anxiety. This presents

questions as to whether this student's experience is common and what long-term effects may result from such defensive and anxious thoughts. At this age she is already building a wall to protect herself from the demand: how does this affect her future actions and attitudes – not just to the sector, but to the Other? Most importantly, she is strained. In this exercise, she is answering question eight, with a clip art image, there is no actual demand on her, but she knows what that demand is and it causes her stress and she is not happy with this state of affairs. '*Why don't they just go away?*' may be her underlying sentiment that follows this defense.

This study presents clear evidence that supports the concerns that interacting with the demand can be stressful and may cause several different reactions, none of which should be dismissed as deviant or negative (Hibbert, et al., 2007; Kennedy & Hill, 2009; Seu, 2010). These young people were able to articulate that a certain power is at work, and were aware that by experiencing the pressure and ensuing feelings but refusing to capitulate to them, they are implicitly in the wrong and need to give reasons for their inaction. Studies with adults as referred to in the literature review (Darnton & Kirk, 2011; Alan Radley & Kennedy, 1995; Seu, 2010), frequently find less apologizing and personal excuses and greater critique of NGO activities in order to deflect the demand. These young people took most of the blame onto themselves.

My argument is that the student above is negotiating and confessing in order to maintain a sense of moral integrity. She has being pushed to this point. If she 'falls off' at the end of the slope, she may disengage entirely with the sector. At the age of 14 a powerful barrier has come between her and the distant vulnerable Other and to protect herself from its accusations of selfishness, she is building a wall of defense. These actions must surely affect not only her future relationship to the sector, but the ways in which she views global inequalities and people who are distant from her. At what point will the suffering child, the face of the NGO sector, become a nuisance to this young girl, a reminder of her inadequacies and a signal to start building defenses? As an adult she may quickly turn the page to avoid the NGO appeal as her memory of early encounters with appeals have not been positive.

Returning to the evidence, this extract is a direct response to an NGO poster of a typical lone, decontextualized African child with flies buzzing around his face on the wall of their classroom:

G3: I have question - why are they asking us now?

G2: Yeah, we're kids, we can't do anything major we can't

G3: Yeah, like how can they hang those posters in our classroom? We can't do anything.

G2: Yeah, like what we gonna do? Stop what we're doing and all start crying...well let's do something as a class, shall we walk to Africa? What can we actually DO?

[Topaz High School, group D]

There is some exasperation with the mocking suggestion of 'shall we walk to Africa?' The students are aware of the required response, yet they argue they can't do anything. In the previous extract the student is pleading her inability. Here the students mock the whole idea. The demand to assist is strong and to reiterate the difference between this chapter and the previous one, the NGO sector and its demand drew a much stronger emotional response than talk around the state of the developing world. The NGO sector makes a moral demand; the developing world did not make those demands. The final extract is in a similar vein and from the same group but sums up some of their dilemmas concerning the images.

G1: I like the fact that they show what it's like

G2: They're trying to raise awareness but I don't like the fact that it's kind of like peer pressure in a way, like pressuring us and it's like a guilt trip, making us feel guilty

G3: When there's not much that we can do, we don't have the money and they don't ask us to help in another way

G2: Yeah, us 14 year olds don't have the money

[Topaz High School, group D]

In exploring this last comment further, an NVivo query was completed to see if students from high decile schools felt pressured to give more, or if students from low

decile schools simply shrugged off the demand with good cause, as they really didn't have the spare money. From the data there was not a strong correlation; in effect, in all the schools in this study this argument that they are just too poor to give was present.

Finally, with the sense that their poverty is not our fault and that we should take care of ourselves, the students expressed exasperation at times. They recognized inequality and the role of NGOs to rectify this, but in deflecting the demand, many asked why they should give, when those in difficulty were not taking care of themselves. There were also discussions concerning looking after New Zealanders and fixing Christchurch²¹ first.

B1: What impressions?

G1: I think they're guilt trips as we've already said...um...

B2: They are helping people

G1: I guess they do help cos people are feeling guilty you know about this

B2: Where it's not exactly our country's fault, so why should we paying for them?

B1: Why should we be paying for their mistakes? Like yeah

G1: We have to pay for our own consequences here in our own country.

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

Collectively, these four rationales show a positioning by the young people towards the NGO sector. While they applaud the sector in general, there is uneasiness and evasion concerning the demand. At the age of fourteen, they are well-versed in the familiar tropes of distrust of the sector and yet they have also seen saviour-like positions, as either a philanthropist or volunteer made for them. This latter identity is a positive one, but it comes with a certain responsibility, to take action and be responsive to the NGO call. Negotiating whether or not one *wants* to do this is a moral and ethical challenge. In these discussions, they were often fortified by the expressions of doubt that the others in the group had. Feeling guilty for non-action or critiquing the sector is

²¹ Christchurch suffered from a series of earthquakes in 2010-11 and so featured in this study. In some cases the students put Christchurch above the needs of the distant Other, but there were a couple of statements that indicated that some students had tired of all the media coverage of Christchurch.

lonely, tiresome and emotionally exhausting. On a personal reflection as I wandered the classrooms, I noted that the students could be considered to be having an 'apathetic students anonymous' group discussion. They knew that non-action or critique was negative, but they did not see themselves as apathetic, by choice. Instead, to account for their apathy, their non-action, they attacked the sector that made them feel guilty, but mostly, they described their own difficulties in meeting the demand.

B) Attacking the recommended action

The students queried the recommended actions, but to a lesser degree. The students felt that their money often disappeared into a big, black, unaccounted-for hole and that it simply did not add up. The girl in this extract demonstrates her rejection of the actions taken by NGOs:

G1: I think that I think the words on the poster 'Donate now, you can make a difference' are all bullshit really. I think that we can't make a difference as one person to one person. They say that if you provide \$40 a month you're going to make a change to the whole community and yet they only have one person showing on the poster. I don't think that anyone can make a single difference to the whole country, there's probably a million people that are in poverty in that one single community...yet they're only showing one person that looks the worst and I think that's unfair not only to the person but to everyone else in their little village

B1: I um...also agree with that opinion, but then, there's another way of looking at it...if you are helping um...one child, one community, one town or city that's one less that you'll need to help in the future, or hope that you won't need to help. But also, um that there may not be as much money as we think going into it.

G2: Yeah you can help one person, but you have to keep helping them

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

Related to this is talk on what is on offer for them to actually do, beyond fundraising. In at least three-quarters of the group discussions there was critique that there are limited options that the NGOs offer for them. In one group there was reference to the

Shoebox Appeal to the Pacific Islands which occurred in one school community a few years ago. In this appeal organized by a variety of NGOs, people were encouraged to buy toys, stationery items and clothes for either a girl or boy and fit them into an old shoebox. These were then delivered as Christmas presents to needy children in the Pacific. The students were very positive about that appeal, commenting that it felt like it was a more personal exchange than just giving money. At least a dozen students referred to their efforts in the World Vision 40 hour famine, which they found fun, but a few had a resigned sense that it seems to continue every year without improving much. One reflection on past involvement in the fundraiser is solely about what they did, there is no recollection of who the money was raised for:

G2 I don't really know what to think when they show like, I wanna be like 'Oh I should totally help them, but then it's like how?' and then like oh yeah I could donate to a charity like , I like doing the 40hr famine with my friends cos I find that really fun and yeah.

G1: Um...I feel like what the basically, the NGOs all they say is 'Donate money'. They don't say 'fly yourself over here, help out'. So basically they're only giving one option to help. Why can't they think up other solutions for us to help, y'know.

G3: Yeah, especially for like young children who want to help, because y'know like I said before we can't really do anything, [it's] really up to our parents?

G2: And why can't we donate food or something like, tins of things

[Beaufort College, Class A, group D]

Several students commented that there seems to be just one way they can 'make a difference', to donate money via an NGO. Many NGOs have trialed other methods in the past, such as letter writing, video exchanges and so forth, but when relationship is favoured over donating money, the work for the NGO is increased, for less financial gain. It could be argued that humanitarian NGOs are not really in the business of creating international friendships and neither are they part of the tourism industry. Some would argue they compete to show a different reality (Versi, 2009). NGOs need a support base of donors to fund their activities. This study gives evidence that while NGOs structure primarily a financial relationship with the Other, young people may be wanting something more.

6.6.3. *Summary of students' response to the demand*

The findings show that the students were very aware of the demand or appeal to help Others that the sector makes on them. I have mapped their negotiation of the demands and shown how many of them were keen to help, but they had ready responses to why they could not fulfill the request. The students expressed several sentiments simultaneously, such as wanting to help and being tired of being asked. The students could articulate that they were tired of always being asked for money but there was also another fatigue present. This centred on being emotionally tired of always defending oneself from not accepting the demand. This was not always articulated as such, but it was certainly present. The cognitive and emotional effort to refuse the demand, when they really did not want to, was exhausting. Much of the negativity was directed at the NGO sector itself, and the effort of explaining why they were not able to do much in their present situation, supporting Seu's (2010) claim that much emotional energy is spent in self-defense.

In considering the findings, when the students talked specifically about the demand, there is little negative reference to the actual recipients of the aid, the people in the developing world. What is evident from this study is that for this audience, they felt a pressure from the NGO sector and that this often made them feel guilty. They were fully aware of this pressure, calling it by terms such as 'guilt-trip' and using the word 'make'. They saw this pressure as a form of manipulation to feel a certain way and this annoyed them. In response they gave reasons to be excused from the demand. These center less on the NGO and more on their position as young people with limited means. Certainly these students critiqued aspects of the NGO, the message and the action required, but mostly they tried to excuse themselves. They maintained that as they had limited financial and political means, it was wearying to always be asked to contribute. These findings are significant because to maintain their integrity some students were developing a way of thinking that *defended* themselves against the demand, placing themselves in a certain relationship with the sector.

6.7. Chapter summary

The students were generally positive towards the activities and intent of the sector. They did have criticisms concerning various aspects but on balance they viewed the

sector positively. When it came to the demand on them, it was a different story and it is clear from the accounts that they felt pressured to do something. They used the word 'make' in their talk about the NGO demand, signaling that they felt a certain pressure. They appreciated the NGO need for the demand but their discussions clearly showed negotiation of the response. The main impression from listening to these young people was a sense of sadness, followed by guilt and then a complex negotiation of how they 'would if they could', meet the demand. Second to this were outright rejections of the demand, by critiquing the message, the messenger and the action.

NGOs often call upon them as individuals, so they did not have a sense of solidarity, beyond say, their class or school raising money for a cause. Solidarity with or knowledge about the Other was non-existent, except that they were pitied for being poor. The Other's cause was generally seen as 'poverty' in general, not political or environmental. There was no observation or recollection of developing world activism or action. Political activism of themselves or New Zealanders did not feature, with the exception of one group who discussed how the New Zealand government should promote fair trade. The evidence indicates that the students saw the NGO sector as a viable and possibly the only means by which poverty could be alleviated in the developing world, and the main way for doing this was wealth redistribution. They knew they had more than those in the developing world but the students positioned themselves as currently not in a good financial position to help, but they would entertain the idea in the future.

I put forward the argument that these young people were being groomed for a form of narrow philanthropy, as the means for alleviating global injustices based largely around guilt, but that this was negotiated. The students began with a strong sense of empathy and a desire to help but over time for some students, this developed into a tense relationship with the NGO sector. They could see what was expected of them, and for some this was a promising future of helping out, but for others it was already becoming a strain. In this study there was evidence from across the spectrum of attitudes towards this pathway. One girl wants to know if she is able, at her age to sponsor a child, while another girl thinks it's all 'bullshit'. The constraints of the NGO mediated relationship with the Other and the expected subjectivity (as the obedient

donor) were starting to show with some of these young people. In Chapter 9 I discuss how a critical postdevelopment perspective problematizes both the acceptance and the rejection of the NGO demand.

Emotion is a powerful conduit and this study provides evidence not of steady or total conformity to the expected emotional responses and desired action that NGOs would like, but of complexity in the reception. Some of this resulted in the beginnings of an attitude of defense towards the sector, a tangible bristling towards the expectations. This concept will be discussed further in Chapter 8, but it rests here as a summation of the students' relationship to the sector: They knew the demand well and most of them wished to help, but they had begun to form defenses as to why they could not fulfill the expectations.

Chapter 7: **THE TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVE AND INFLUENCE**

Unless they have lived in or visited an LEDC [less economically developed country] for a period of time, these images totally influence students.

[Beaufort College, teacher B]

The previous two chapters have provided answers for the first four research questions concerning what impressions the students were making from NGO media. Research question five concerns the influence of the teacher in the students' understanding of development. In this chapter I present the findings from the interviews with the seven teachers in the study. Although the sample set is small, the participating teachers used various approaches in their teaching of global and development issues where they felt it was appropriate and fitted in to the curriculum. Their comments regarding both NGO material and the NGO sector show a diversity of perspectives. The teachers are an important component in the context of how the students form their meanings from NGO messages, but how important? Four themes are identified around the teacher's perspectives towards the NGO sector and logistical aspects of teaching about development issues using NGO resources.

Standish and Andreotti as discussed in Chapter 3.3, argue that the teacher's approach or pedagogy towards the NGO sector may have a strong influence in how global relations may be taught and learnt about in the classroom. In this research I did not find a strong correlation between the students' impressions and the teacher's perspectives. Instead, the specific logistical problem of the representation of the Other was faced by all the teachers and this issue was key to how they saw the influence of the sector in their classrooms. All of them felt that the NGO sector was very powerful in forming impressions about the world with their students, and that it was difficult to resource other material about the developing world. In effect, NGO representation was identified as limited in view but very formative.

The following sections outline the four themes. The first shows that there was not a strong correlation between student impressions and teacher perspectives, but the diversity of teacher perspectives does raise some points for consideration. The

remaining three themes are more logistical in nature and the support the central finding that the NGO representation is recognized as a powerful and problematic influence by the teachers. What I put forward, based on these findings, is that the NGO presence in the wider school and general community has a greater impact on the young people's interpretation of the developing world than possibly the teacher's approach or what happens in the classroom.

7.1. The first theme: Teachers' perspectives to the NGO sector and material

Within the social sciences learning area, there is a broad guideline in the curriculum that instructs teachers to allow their students to explore different ways of participating in society and to consider taking action as part of being active citizens (Ministry of Education, 2007). All of the teachers canvassed in this study were in favour of their students undertaking some form of social action in their personal or communal lives, whether local or global. Research question five is fundamentally about the degree to which the NGO sector influenced the teaching of development and social action in the classroom. The strength of this influence depended in a large part on the teacher's perspective towards the development sector and NGOs in particular. Another way looking at question five is to ask to what extent the teachers were *within* an NGO humanitarian framework when teaching about development or global issues or *outside* it. The findings enabled a mapping of where the teachers were situated.

With regard to considering pedagogical frameworks from which to approach development education, I have chosen to utilise Andreotti's (2011, p. 94) classification of different approaches (an abridged version of her original table is listed in Appendix E). The different approaches of the seven teachers were able to be located within this classification system. However, I was unsatisfied with this categorisation and returned to the literature and critique surrounding the way in which development education is positioned, not in terms of its practical use or presence, but in terms of its influence on knowledge. Educators have debated who or what controls the curriculum and Standish's (2009) critique that the NGO sector has the potential to 'hijack' subjects like geography is one recent example. Reflecting back on the students' comments in the research I reconsidered this concept of knowledge.

From section 1.4 in the introduction the reader will recall the student who used the word ‘never’ to describe how her class had not been allowed to discuss alternatives to the predominant NGO framework. With most of the students in the study this constriction was apparent, and as they felt the research exercise was therapeutic, they could say what they liked. Young’s (2008) conceptualization of different types of knowledge proved a useful tool for thinking about how teachers may or may not conceive of and present, information. Young argues that there are two types of knowledge, context-dependent and context-independent. The former is associated with practical everyday knowledge, or commonsense, and helps you negotiate your everyday world, while the latter is conceptual knowledge that moves beyond everyday realities and therefore beyond personal experiences. Context-independent knowledge relies on specialist knowledge and links with research and applies theory to reality. In the vignette in the introduction, I had given the students context-independent knowledge concerning NGOs. They had a taste of what Young describes as *powerful knowledge*. Young posits that schools and educators need to consider if their curriculum and the ethos of the school environment fosters powerful knowledge or does no more than reaffirm the experience of the pupils and leaves them there, with their own knowledge.

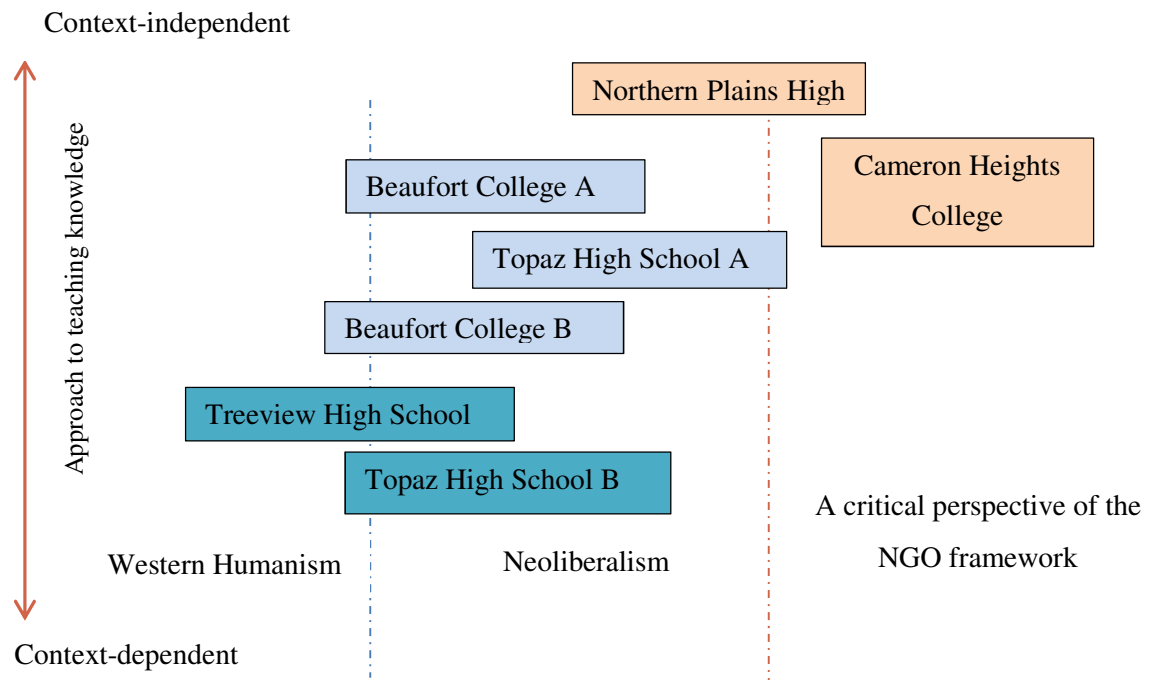
Bringing together an adaption of Andreotti’s classification and Young’s conceptualization of knowledge I created a graph that allowed for a mapping of how the teachers in the study both used NGO material and conceived of development information. The two variables are related and have a causal relationship with regard to development education. The discussion in the literature review referred to a hegemony of development in that ways of thinking about aid, development and the Other can become the norm. They become commonsense, so that the benevolent, humanitarian framework is part of *context-dependent* knowledge. Within this realm, thinking about development becomes thinking about different ways to do development, to fundraise and to work within the humanitarian framework to achieve social justice, much of which is around wealth redistribution.

For Andreotti (2011), a postcolonial approach to development education actively encourages and draws upon social critique and theory to approach issues around global injustice. The development enterprise becomes couched within a critical

framework. The traditional interventionist NGO-style development and representation is scrutinized as a particular perspective. The neoliberal approach posits economic solutions to global poverty and emphasizes ethical consumerism and the potential for markets to even out disparities. A postcolonial approach stresses recognition of complicity in harm and a sense of responsibility toward the Other. For this approach, instead of thinking of new ways to fundraise for the poor, (Western humanism) or changing their shopping habits (neoliberalism) students might instead question the systems that create poverty. Ashmore (2005, p. 1) argues that none of the approaches are unproblematic and each is able to be critiqued. He highlights that a simplistic fundraising agenda or a more critical approach “[both] give insights, both are valid, but the two approaches can give rise to participants’ contradictory understandings”. One of the key findings for this study is that the Western humanism approach was easy for teachers to implement and gave students a sense of achievement. A more critical approach was like opening a Pandora’s box – there was potential for a form of paralysis and feeling guilty as a result of overt introspection and too much focus on the complexities of global injustice.

In mapping the seven teachers in the study, I identified whether or not they were within a Western humanistic framework that did not critique NGOs, a neoliberal stance or a more critical approach, postcolonial or otherwise. In a very broad manner, I was able to distinguish the seven teachers across the two spectrums. I graphed the position of their approaches as shown in Figure 13. On the Y axis there is a continuum regarding context-dependent or context-independent knowledge as per Young’s conceptualization and on the X axis, the three perspectives according to Andreotti (as per her table, 2011, p. 94). Section 7.1.1 discusses the two teachers in the lower left hand corner of the graph who were largely uncritical of the NGO paradigm. Section 7.1.2 discusses three teachers who had misgivings about NGO work to a limited extent, and balanced this with some appreciation of NGO material. The final two teachers discussed in section 7.1.3 were clearly different from the first two teachers discussed in 7.1.1. Their stance towards the NGO sector was quite different.

Figure 13: Mapping of teachers according to their perspectives towards NGOs and approach to teaching knowledge



7.1.1. Working within the Western humanitarian paradigm

For teacher B of Topaz High School and the teacher from Treeview High School, the aim was to educate their students to be aware of their place in the world, their complicity in global problems of inequality, and from this, there was a desire for them to act. This place or position was mostly that of a privileged Western consumer and a possible activist or benefactor. Various actions through NGOs were suggested in class and they were presented largely uncritically. A limited amount of critique was permissible. The actions were not compulsory, and in the case of Treeview High School, they were chosen by the students and became a non-assessed part of a unit on learning about a region. These teachers saw education as a means of enlightenment for their students, so that firstly, they would become aware of, and appreciate, their good fortune and place in the world and secondly, to be persuaded to act on this knowledge if possible. It could be said that all of the teachers had this aim, but the key difference is in the action being tied explicitly to the development sector in an essentially non-critical manner within the classroom for these two teachers.

In this extract from an interview, the teacher from Topaz High School has taught aspects of global trade, with the desired take home message that the students should consider their own shopping habits.

[T] Yeah, Trade Aid rings a bell. I can't remember where I got it [a resource] from, and they picked up on the unfairness of it all and ah, I think, I hope, it made them think of their shopping habits and stuff like that and how it affects other people.

[Topaz High School Teacher B]

In considering her student responses to this topic, it was a different story. The Fair Trade chocolate, bananas and coffee were not really the everyday items in their shopping baskets. In this next extract the students from this teacher's class are remarking towards the end of the focus group activity about Fair Trade and they have obviously learnt about global injustices in trade:

G2: Like we should just make more things Fair Trade...like...everything Fair Trade

G3: I don't get why there's products that aren't Fair Trade...cus there's so many poor people out there in the world and then you see us

G2: If you think about it....we don't drink coffee...we don't eat a block of chocolate a day...I don't eat bananas cos they're all carbs and um, I'm on a diet and so for me I got nothing to buy that's Fair Trade...

G1: For me, I don't like chocolate but I see everyone else eating it...like how can you guys?

G1: But even though, it's still like more money could go to those people that it's

G2: But it is Fair Trade...Cadbury is...

[Topaz High School, group D]

The girls have understood the injustice, but there was a disconnect on the personal level as the Fair Trade products were not the usual everyday items in their shopping trolleys. These students were from a lower socio-economic community and although

they were not dismissive of the idea of Fair Trade, it just did not feature as part of their world²². This is an example of context-dependent information: here is an issue and here is how you can respond. The students recognized that they were a target audience expected to respond in a certain way. These students did not have a match between classroom theory and their reality, but this did not mean they disapproved of the theory; they just didn't apply it to themselves in their current life situation.

This supports findings by Smith and Donnelly (2004) which found that debate around their engagement with development was not prioritized, nor was discussion or critique around the options presented positively. The discussion was around what we can do to help. The emphasis is on the individual response to a global injustice, something commentators argue stresses individualism without questioning structural issues. The options are often centred on changing individual behaviour or causing a small sacrifice of some description. This desire to create an awareness of consumer choice as ethical behaviour was evident in the other teacher who closely mirrored this teacher's aim to create a desire for personal social responsibility and action among her students. In this teacher's teaching plan social action with a child sponsorship activity that followed a topic on water access. In this interview extract she refers to the issue of trying to make her students understand that they are connected globally to the world.

T: [I ask the students] Where does the stuff in your schoolbag come from? Is it worth paying 20 cents extra for the pen you know is not made by child labour all those types of things

RT: So that's good, so going back to that interconnectedness...so that's a good recommendation for World Vision.

T: Yes, yes

RT: So it's not...just that they're out there

T: Yes, yes, so you are connected, because you are buying products that's actually probably made by these kids

RT: Yeah

²² Some Fair Trade products are more expensive than non-Fair Trade items and in the past have been seen as for wealthier clientele although this situation is changing for some products.

T: Of course, there's no way for you to know that...but I need to make you aware that it's there. And until this generation opens up their eyes it's going to carry on. So it's trying to make that connection

RT: And the students. You think that relationship, that I guess it's that globalising relationship.

T: Yes

RT: Trying

T: To make it a global thing that what we do, impacts other people and also we've sponsored a child

RT: Yes

T: And they're raised money for that child and they're written letters. We just did that yesterday actually...so that's again, the attempting...and some kids want to write a letter, want to send photos, want to be involved, want to do more, and other kids are kind of like 'oh well, we did something, we can move on now and not worry about that, cause we've solved that problem.'

[Treeview High School teacher]

The global connection to the Other is through changing personal consumption and sponsorship. For these teachers, cited above, they are not forcing their students to align with a particular form of global action, but neither are they presenting the action, or the very idea of action in an objective manner, as this was deemed too difficult and possibly, pointless or even counter-productive. For the teacher above, she comments that not all her students are enamoured with the letter-writing action, and some of them tire of the requirements to write letters to the child. In the focus group discussions, they are relatively positive and there is a sense of pride in doing something, even though they had questions around the NGO sector. Both teachers are presenting global issues that emphasize individual solutions in a manner that Standish argues is inculcated within a values position, in that the student has the option to feel good through action that may be presented uncritically. He argues that both in the political sense and in the pedagogical outcomes, the subject knowledge becomes linked with a moral position and an emotional aspect is part of this. Learn this and feel this way so you can do this action (Standish, 2009, p. 130). Above all, stay within this line of thinking, it is much easier and a positive, measurable result is obtainable.

Standish claims, that when “the work of Western NGOs is presented in humanitarian terms and above politics” (p. 139), it becomes hegemonic and not just unquestioned but unquestionable. The development or Western humanitarian perspective becomes non-negotiable. There are many critiques concerning the activities of Fair Trade and child sponsorship, but these were not explored in these classrooms, so the NGO options become *the* options. Fundraising in one form or another or changing your consumer behaviour was the way to solve global poverty and injustice. Standish argues that “in educational terms, global issues [that are located in the developing world] turn geography into lessons in self-analysis” (p. 153). The student does not just learn facts and figures, they learn how they are interconnected and that they can make a difference. Geography, or learning about the Other, becomes a slippery slope into what *I can do for the Other*, a slope Jefferess argues maintains unequal power relations (Jefferess, 2008). Returning back to Young’s conceptualisation of knowledge, the context-dependent knowledge that this is, becomes underpinned with a moral authority.

In reflecting on this, I felt that these teachers intuitively knew that a Pandora’s box would be opened if they engaged their students with a higher level of critique regarding NGO activities or Western intervention. This box included questions that could lead to apathy and possible criticism of the humanitarian approach and even a refusal to take part in any action. They both knew that their students did have doubts and questions concerning aid and development, but it was almost the case that these were not to be entertained. If critique did surface from the students it was best if contained within certain parameters, set by the teacher. In other words, criticism of the sector or alternative ideas about aid are not forthcoming from the teacher, but if they arise, they will discuss them. The Treeview High School teacher acknowledges that there are questions from her students:

T: [...] But the kids do sort of say...’oh but if I give my money y’know, how much of that is used in administration and stuff, so we’ll go and check type of thing out.

RT: Right, yup.

T: And I have been honest with them and said, look I don't know if your money for World Vision is better than going to Red Cross any of those other agencies, I just know that it's easy.

[Treeview High School teacher]

She keeps the concerns of the students contained within the paradigm of giving, of doing something. Discussion around the ethics of NGO activity was deemed by this teacher as 'too high a level' for these students. This is perfectly understandable, but the students' discussions show a very critical mind set that was not afraid to open that Pandora's box. In my interpretation, the difficulty is not so much the lack of critiquing, it is the possibility of inaction together with a critical attitude towards NGOs that the teacher understandably fears. The aim of the lessons was not to leave the students in mid-air, with just knowledge, but to point them towards specific pathways of social action and to ensure a favourable view of the NGO sector. Andreotti (2006b) notes that this is a hallmark of the softer forms of development education that seek closure, preferably with action. Both teachers were following the curriculum guideline for the social sciences, which suggests that students should explore ways of participating in society to become active citizens. This also reflects debates concerning the point of education. In geography, critics have argued that unless education leads to action, it is full of empty words (as discussed in Lambert & Morgan, 2009).

These teachers were giving their students relevant context-dependent knowledge of working within the NGO paradigm which included the opportunity to take action. Is this sufficient for their education at this level and what are the outcomes for learning? When does an emotional and obligatory aspect to learning begin to influence what a student is learning? Scheunpflug warns against indoctrinating students into a certain type of development action, that can produce surface solutions that are easily forgotten (2008, p. 21). From my interpretation of the responses from these students, they do not all embrace the social action, but neither do they dismiss it. Most of them appreciated the opportunity, and only for a few does it become a nuisance or burden associated with school work. Arguably, the same distribution of thoughts around NGO charity was found in the other classrooms which had a far less instructive approach. The teachers' placement of the NGO material and their perspective towards the sector,

in this case, largely uncritical, did not wholly shape the student's own opinions. Thus, a student's predisposition towards action is more likely to influence their attitudes than anything the teacher says or does. To phrase this informally, some people like this kind of thing, others don't.

There is cause for considering that the desire to help or even to feel empathy is not uniform across the population (Hibbert, et al., 2007; Sanghera, 2011). People view charity with different perspectives and these help them evaluate their responses towards the demand of charities. Sanghera (p. 26) suggests that individuals interpret charities "in relation to their dominant moral concerns and commitments". They may see charity events as a good way of socialising, or advancing career prospects or as a matter of duty to their faith or family. In the classroom, if social action of a charitable nature is encouraged, it may be a one-size-fits-all approach, which may not fit all. Students may bristle against being encouraged to extend a helping hand to a cause that does not fit with their concerns. They may have other commitments or ideas on charity but these may remain unrecognized within the context of the classroom.

The dictum that some form of action is better than no action at all was present with these teachers in that knowledge for knowledge's sake alone was inadequate. Bryan's (2011) central critique is that NGO's have filled this vacuum all too easily for teachers. Critical thinking about development is diminished. This is also Standish's critique in that there should be an examination of the values [that students are taught] such as consuming less, buying environmentally friendly and viewing Western intervention in the South as a positive thing (discussed in Lambert & Morgan, 2009, p. 150). Has the NGO approach 'slipped in by the back door' and come to take centre stage? In the case of these two teachers I found that the NGO sector maintained a central and uncritical role, but their students did not display markedly different attitudes or understandings about development than the other students in the study.

I have located these teachers at this end of my graph on the basis of a short interview with them. Arguably, this may be an inaccurate portrayal. However, when compared to the other teachers, it was clear that for these two teachers, they had a favourable view of the humanitarian or neo-liberal agenda, welcomed only certain types of criticism from their students and were keen to enact social action of some description.

For the remaining teachers, the NGO presence was far more complex and could and should be critiqued.

7.1.2. NGO material is good, but problematic

The three teachers in the centre of the graph showed some concern around NGO material and grappled with some pedagogical difficulties of having the NGO presence in their classroom. They could see the NGO paradigm as problematic, but they also appreciated its opportunities and strengths in the learning about the South for their students. Firstly, teacher A from Topaz High School in responding to my question about NGO resources responds critically:

T: Success stories are important.

RT: Do you think there is a balance of that?

T: I don't think so, no. I don't think there is. I think they, you need to see some positives. I mean kids would be able to say 'Oh, World Vision we do this and we...why are we doing it? Well to give money to them.' oh, so what's this money doing? What's it done? Why's it...what's happening with it? Has it made a difference?

[Topaz High School, teacher A]

My interpretation of her response is that for her, critical questions should be present and she wants her students to question NGO activity as part of the lesson. Although she is welcoming questions, to some extent they are still largely context-dependent, about the effectiveness of aid. Secondly, teacher A from Beaufort College raises an interesting dilemma concerning how charitable actions, although possibly fraught with difficulties, can be useful for her students:

Patronising can also be empowering

[Beaufort College, teacher A]

The humanitarian turn towards a focus on a soft form of development education that is all about 'me' and what I can do, is salient here (Andreotti, 2006b; Chouliaraki, 2010; Jefferess, 2012). An uncritical approach is about confirming the place of Western privilege and benevolence as cultural supremacy, which may lead to a further

strengthening of the distancing to the Other and no critique of motivation or action. If students in New Zealand classrooms are being enabled to feel superior, almost in a god-like fashion as they are able to help the Other, then this creates an interesting situation, in that as the teacher's comment above illustrates, to be a philanthropist is to feel 'good' power. Action can also absolve guilt or negative feelings quickly. This is Bryan's critique that quick easy-to-do actions brush over deeper political analysis and reflexivity on behalf of the student (Bryan, 2011). This is also the concern that the Treeview High School teacher had with some of her students. The teacher from Beaufort College quoted above also notes that in her opinion, NGO images in particular create certain impressions:

Mostly appropriate, clear, emotive, sometimes one sided and biased. Extreme, patronising, sometimes overused. Also that people are sad cases and that they can't help themselves so we need to help them – 'saviour attitude'.

[Beaufort College, teacher A]

An interesting dilemma presents itself with this teacher. She knows that the NGO material, if projecting a benevolent approach, can be patronising and create a sense of superiority, but despite that, this sense and opportunity of doing good empowers her students. In other words, this feeling of superiority is a form of empowerment. These feelings are not side effects but actual educational outcomes. This teacher has identified an important dilemma: by helping the Other, when we learn about them, we create an unequal relationship. They do not help us, except that they give us opportunity. Do they exist in a form other than as recipients of our goodwill? Within that relationship, the postdevelopment critic asks just how much voice does the Other have, and what is the nature of that voice? If the Other is presented in the classroom as always in need, then radical or accusatory voices are absent, the very argument made by many as discussed in the literature review. And yet, this constraint of the Other can be empowering for the Northern student.

Andreotti (2011) makes this point clearly by defining this construction of global benefactor as a 'dispenser subjectivity' in that the Northern student can become "triumphant global dispensers of knowledge ...[...], while the local recipients of ethnocentric benevolence become passive learners and providers of 'culture' that adds

colour to the dispensers' lives" (p. 145). For teacher A of Beaufort College, I felt that she was intuitively aware of this tension. Being originally from the Pacific Islands herself, she knew that attitudes towards distant Others are powerfully formed through media and social action, and NGO activities were not exempt from this. She knew that the NGO presence was a way of alerting her students to global injustices, but was also aware that emotional outcomes, such as feeling depressed or guilty could result. In other words, when using NGO material in the classroom, she trod carefully.

I interpreted the responses of teacher B from Beaufort College to be similar to his colleague. He taught a lower literacy band class and was very aware of the power of NGO media on forming impressions on his students:

Unless they have lived in or visited an LEDC [less economically developed country] for a period of time, these images totally influence students.

[Beaufort College, teacher B]

He was also fairly critical towards how the Other was portrayed in NGO media, stating that he thought the main impressions that his students gain from NGO media was poverty and helplessness, which extracted feelings of pity and empathy from them. In his emailed response to this question: Are there any images in the resources that you are not entirely happy with? Could you elaborate on why? He responds:

Yes, human beings who are clearly suffering and are unaware that they will become icons of the 'dispossessed'. I'd like NGOs to dignify these people in their advertising more often.

[Beaufort College, teacher B]

For this teacher, who had lived for several years in the developing world, NGO images were not a balanced reflection of the reality and yet, he was reliant on the NGO sector for resources concerning the developing world. In his response he notes that sometimes the images are 'too heavy'. He was also conflicted in terms of whether the images foster connectivity or distance. In interpreting his written responses, I have placed him in this location in the graph as I saw that he used and welcomed NGO media, but was able to see its agenda and therefore, its bias.

7.1.3. *At the other end of the graph: A critical stance*

Two teachers were on the more critical end of the spectrum to the teachers discussed above. They specifically held the NGO perspective as a political one that like all other viewpoints was open to critique. As one of them put it:

T: Um...the go-to ones are, were Global Education, 'cus I found that their resources had a less bias and um...took...um...they used a variety of perspectives, rather than just humanitarian all the time and so that way they were able to...you know, you could use them a lot better and supplement them with other resources, as opposed to some that are very...you know...they obviously want you to use them in a certain way...

[Cameron Heights College teacher]

This teacher is comfortable 'looking for bias' and expects it in all resources and is not afraid to critique a humanitarian perspective. The other teacher that sat alongside this one in terms of his critical approach, tried to ensure that knowledge remained paramount, as opposed to action. In this extract, he is responding to my query if he critiques NGO material and operations with his students.

T: Yeah, I would do that, I wouldn't have an issue with that. I think you...I don't have any doubt that all those NGOs are...that they firmly believe that the way they doing things is the right way. That's the way philosophies function, but like at the same time you also have to be aware, the students have to be aware that they have freedom of choice in terms of who they support and who they choose not to, and so providing them with the information about what people do, what their philosophies are, makes the student more informed. And an informed choice is usually a better choice.

[Northern Plains High School teacher]

This teacher deliberately privileges a freedom of choice and is aware of bias. Both these teachers distanced themselves from the NGO sector, in that they saw NGOs as having one particular way of conceiving of development. To my understanding these

two teachers privileged knowledge over action; they were aware of different approaches to issues and were not prepared to commit their students to one form or another. Neither of them would discount action, and would be in favour of their students taking action in some form, but they do not link it intimately with their classroom instruction. For these two teachers, action may be good, but any form of action can be placed under examination, under a wider critique. In my interpretation of their responses, I felt that for them, the classroom was not the place for obligatory social action that is teacher or even student-driven, but they were flexible on this.

NGOs were still welcomed as a part of their classroom environment, but only as a part and certainly open to scrutiny. Both of them focused on context-independent knowledge to be given to their students, by analysing society and ideas like development from a philosophical or political standpoint. They were intent on providing their students with critical tools of analysis by which their students could negotiate NGOs, not tools by which their students could meet NGO demands, an important distinction. I felt that unlike the other teachers, they were ‘on guard’ against the NGO sector, or any other sector influencing their pedagogy. Cameron Heights College is situated in a relatively affluent community and the Northern Plains High School is a medium decile rural school, but I am unsure how this affected their perspectives.

The spread of the teachers’ approaches led to the question: did the difference in perspectives reflect a difference in the student responses? Can the findings answer research question five, on whether or not the way in which the teacher used NGO material affected the student’s meaning-making? The answer is that there was no clear distinction from this research that a certain approach or perspective by the teacher directly influenced the students’ attitudes to either the NGO sector or their learning about the developing world. This does not support the finding by Beattie (2001) who found a strong correlation between the teacher’s approach and their students’ perspectives. The teacher’s perspective in this study was a minor influence, leading to a further question: is the NGO sector the dominant player in forming impressions and attitudes? I address this question in the next chapter.

7.2. The second theme: Issues around the complexity of teaching global inequality

Global development, themes of poverty, inequality and injustice are not easily taught and all the teachers commented that these topics were challenging. Beaufort College teacher B was concerned about the paucity of knowledge of geo-economic factors that have contributed to global inequality. In his classroom, of lower literacy students, he remarked that they do not always enjoy the content of the material provided by the NGO, but do enjoy the medium of computer usage when learning through the NGO websites. In my own teaching experience, and drawing upon critique around the teaching of complex issues in the classroom (Hess, 2009; Kincheloe & Weil, 2004; Milligan & Wood, 2010), global geopolitics and structural issues concerning inequality are not easy topics or concepts to teach to 14 year olds, let alone those with literacy difficulties.

By using NGO material as a sole source of information, critical thinking around development and aid can be compromised. Bryan raises the problem of teaching politics within development education:

How can those whose task it is to educate people about the structural and systemic issues of global poverty best align themselves within organisations whose primary function is to fundraise and raise awareness about their projects overseas? (Bryan, 2011, p. 1)

The classroom may become a vehicle for NGO awareness-raising, supporting Standish's claims. It becomes easier to teach within a framework than from outside it. Within that framework, the NGO sector makes it easy. As the teacher from Treeview College candidly comments, she will use the NGO resource and the supplied action options as it makes her job easier.

T: [...] And that's quite difficult because I do have firm ideas and things and its quite difficult to do a topic like I've just done and that's like I really want them to do something with World Vision because they have a great system set up to...I dunno...whether it be pay for a child to go to school or give them a chicken...or whatever. It's easy and its quite...you know...and it's hard for me

to sit back and say...you guys come up with your own ideas without influencing them at all.

[Treeview High School teacher]

In New Zealand, the Best Evidence Synthesis Iteration, (G. Aitken & Sinnema, 2008) is a body of work that presents best practice for the teaching of the social sciences. It suggests that students learn best when the material presented can be directly related to their own lives. Recently this student-centred approach had been challenged as social science educators are concerned that only knowledge that is of interest to students is presented (Wood & Sheehan, 2012). The structural and political causes of global poverty are a world away from the lives of young people in New Zealand. To make the subject matter interesting and digestible, it can be easier to individualise the issues and set up ready solutions that are achievable and reduce global poverty to a micro-development level. To make it more interesting, allow the young person to acquire some power, some recognition for their interest. A morphing of the education about the Other who is less materially well-off into the self-fulfillment of young people in the North is part of Jefferess' (2012) concerns.

A research memo during March 2012 notes that a student at Northern Plains High School complained about her previous social studies teacher who had 'gone on and on' about the revolutions in the Middle East. It was clear that for this student the Middle East was a different universe to hers and really, what was the point in learning about it? Standish (2009) identifies that engaging student interest is paramount in the cultural turn in geography. This creates issues concerning the teaching of the distant Other. How to make poverty or just the lives of others who are geographically distant from us interesting? Charity as a 'hook' to engage students in thinking about global injustice is problematic. If used as an initial view on a region or people, the first impressions of need may remain the most predominant. There is an argument for engaging with students in this charity space first, before moving on to developing values and skills around a more critical understanding of the world. If charity and action are the initial 'hook' then closer examination is needed to see if the follow-up in critical thinking is present. Often, charity becomes the 'hook, line and sinker': the Other's need becomes what is most remembered.

Solutions to global poverty can become framed in ever more interesting and exciting campaigns that young people in particular are encouraged to take part in. As discussed in the literature review, this centring of actor-agency and the ever increasing narcissism of these events can further silence the radical voice of the Other. Campaigning *for* the Other becomes what you do, your heroic actions and an understanding of development becomes joining your choice of campaigns in which your actions can be on centre stage. A personal engagement, most likely a financial transaction with the Other, is the easiest solution and often the final result of your efforts and made possible through an NGO. While this personal engagement may be what the BES supports, when it comes to development and learning about the Other, if the giver-recipient relationship is not only maintained but reinforced, what exactly is being learnt?

Andreotti (2011, p. 167) argues that the endless cyclic nature of campaigning to eradicate global poverty may breed a cynical apathy and worse, this may lead to poverty being further attributed to the poor themselves with larger structural issues side lined. The evidence from this research supports this. If the hook of charity dominates it can become the *raison d'être* for the study of the Other, the lasting impression of what we learn about the Other. This hook is unlikely to be seen first in the classroom; it is already present in general media through NGO campaigning, so for some students, charity leads as the way to know the Other. As Duke (2003) argues, the very nature of development education in its charitable form may undo development education in its political form.

Bryan argues that creating a “fundraising, fasting and having fun” approach to complex global issues is part of the de-politicisation and de-radicalisation of development education, in which critical analysis of development gives way to quick fix tangible solutions that fit nicely into the school day (Bryan, 2011, p. 6). More than that, these campaigns are tempting for teachers as they raise interest, engage students and are easy to do which the findings from this research support. Altruism is a powerful tool with which to engage students, but the main aim is engagement and learning on behalf of the student. The distant Other becomes a useful curriculum tool in the character development of the developed world student. The geography and

history of a people and place are relegated to the side and their inadequacies are foregrounded. These inadequacies present opportunities.

NGOs are well suited to bringing the problems of the developing world to a closer, more personal level with New Zealand students. There may be multiple goals: raising awareness of injustice, raising money and creating a future base of donors. Engagement is the means to those ends. If the resource material is dry or dated, if the campaign is not fun or interesting *for the student*, then it is harder to get engagement. If the resource material does not flatter a Western-style intervention and is accusatory of Western lifestyles, that may defeat the aims of the NGO. They need to present a picture that concurs with their agenda; their representation is a construction for specific aims. What can occur is that global issues are chosen or moulded to excite the dispassionate student. Ever increasing ways of making poverty interesting are embarked upon. Poverty alleviation becomes a fashionable thing to do. The creation of simulation games and education resources bring poverty to a personal level and allow students to be a planner, a development expert and aid official, particularly in times of crisis in the developing world. The developed world student is primed to gaze upon the chaos and consider their options for action.

This concern around complexity of development issues versus simplistic easy-fix solutions is not new to the literature concerning the NGO sector in education. The findings from this research confirm how issues-focussed NGO material combined with a pedagogy that is student-interest driven has the potential to result in an uncritical framing of significant issues of global poverty and injustice. Development in a Western-interventionist mode becomes sacred and it becomes a way of viewing the Other. Convenience and action on developed world terms allows for the development of non-critical social action that does not radically challenge the status quo. The givers remain the givers, the only change is in who the receivers happen to be currently.

7.3. The third theme: Accentuating difference

The teachers' responses to a specific question in the interview around how they saw NGO media increasing or decreasing the distance between their students and the

developing world is discussed in this section. This picks up the concern around connectivity mentioned in the previous chapters. Four of the teachers that used NGO material said that their students enjoyed learning about those places and that the central educational point is that of difference, between us and them. This teaching of the Other through a frame of difference is a concern that others have highlighted before (Smith, 1999; H. Young, 2010). In this study the evidence has demonstrated how a teaching of difference accentuated Otherness and created a sense of disbelief and incredulity amongst the students. Assisted by NGO imagery, the impression is one of wonderment that the Other survives, and underneath this appraisal an understanding that they are catching up to us.

Some of the teachers perceived that the messages NGOs leave behind do not always lead to a sense of connectedness between their students and the Other. In this example the teacher is responding to the question whether images of the developing world by NGOs created a sense of connectedness with his students:

T: I think that they tend to create a sense of distance, they create a bit of a sense of 'us' versus 'them' and this is our reality that's their reality. They create interconnectedness I suppose in the sense that that, like I said earlier, in a group of students it creates a willingness to want to assist, but I think that's almost a reflection of the fact that that's a problem that's there, not a problem that's here.

[Northern Plains High School teacher]

Further on in the interview he notes that because of the reality of the huge differences between the experiences of his students and those overseas in need, there may always be a form of separation that cannot possibly be overcome:

T: But again, because of the experiences of the people who are going through the suffering are so vastly different, you know you can show them imagery of um...you know... teenagers going to a school in, you know, Somalia or Ethiopia and what the conditions are like and how they're different and perhaps get them to associate on that level...[...]... but I think ultimately the sheer fact that it's just such a different, different experience that I don't...not

sure...I think you can get empathy for it to a certain extent but in another way it almost always creates a sense of separation.

[Northern Plains High School teacher]

As this teacher above alludes to, the difficulty is that of the virtual tourist. As the viewer is the Western outsider, the onlooker, critics have argued that the dominant charity imagery of the NGO sector has a deeper symbolism of “the reassurance of otherness, and our safer social and political location” (Lister & Wells, 2001, p. 86). Another teacher in a written response to the question, ‘How do you think the relationship between your students and the people in the developing countries is portrayed through the images?’ wrote:

‘Otherness’ is accentuated.

[Beaufort College teacher B]

For most of the teachers, NGO images did not encourage greater connectivity, but they did encourage interest, sometimes through a shock or exotic value. The teachers do not say that all of their students felt closer to the Other or more altruistic as a result of the images, but the images do engage their students. Pictures are one medium of NGO messaging and this teacher comments about the impressions visiting NGOs leave behind after they have spoken to her students in school-wide assemblies.

T: I think they’re left thinking this is a group of people who live in another country far away, who are poor, who are needy and we are the givers who come in and make their lives better. That they don’t have stuff, they live in dirty conditions, yeah.

[Cameron Heights College teacher]

This particular teacher was sharply critical of NGO messages that left a pitying response and was keen to ensure a balanced view. As with teacher A from Beaufort College she also took more of a critical stance and was able to move out of the humanitarian zone that NGO material can create and look at it from a more critical perspective, to consider what effect it may be having on her student’s learning. Topaz

High School teacher A commented that she had found on the Internet some *You Tube* videos that gave voice to people and their issues.

RT: So you linked in to actual You Tube clips from the people there?

T: Yeah, there were some really good ones on Tuvalu and Kiribati, where you saw the sea level rise and people spoke and they spoke about the sadness of their families having to go to different places to live. But the kids really, you know, engaged and really understood and they did some amazing personal writing so I could imagine so if I was going to do developed/developing, inequalities sort of ideas that I would use the Pacific as well as using other places because I think you know, the kids have to see it as a global, not just that it happens in this part of the world, but certainly yeah I think the stuff that would be meaningful for these children.

[Topaz High School teacher A]

This issue of voice is important. Referring back to the student who commented that *they could at least talk* (in Chapter 5.2.2), the literature supports that there can be a distancing effect when the Other is silenced through still photography. Topaz High School teacher A was keen to use videos in which the people spoke directly to her students as this decreased distance, and in a theoretical manner the gaze of the viewer is reduced as the object speaks. The passive object is replaced with an active person.

7.4. The fourth theme: A narrow view

All of the teachers in the study had some reservations about various aspects of NGO material. They commented in varying degrees about the images, the narrow focus of the material and the lack of alternative resources about the developing world. In the example that follows²³, a teacher from Treeview High School had taught a topic on water issues in sub-Saharan Africa from the NGO World Vision, and her students had formed a largely negative view of the region, but thought the people there were very hardy. In the focus groups they said they had enjoyed learning about the region, but they could see it was a very difficult place to live. The teacher in this extract is reflecting on how her students had formed these impressions of the area she had been

²³ This example has been cited before in Tallon (2012)

teaching from aggregated comments from the initial impressions that I had collated from the student activities:

T: [...]...there were two things that surprised me, but useful to know. Number one was that they just thought that sub-Saharan Africa all dry and dirty and everything's like that. And I thought, 'gosh, yeah perhaps I've given them just that one perspective' and the other one is, that they wouldn't want to go to any of those places.

RT: Yeah, that was interesting, but they felt that the people were nice, but they definitely didn't want to go there.

T: No, well why would you? Because the only image we've given of them of those countries is of poor, dry places with people suffering. We've not given them an image of actually Africa...you know.

RT: Is a safari-driven, tourism...

T: Beautiful, incredible [...] I need to [...] here - where they've said the developing world is dry and dirty and not particularly desirable...and that's because of the tunnel vision that they've done in those topics.

At this point in the interview I point out that this tunnel vision may be widened in the senior school if the students take geography:

RT: Which is balanced out a wee bit if they do senior geography because then they might look at...say tourism, or look at something different

T: Yeah, but no, not well, I don't think we focus on Africa, though we go to all sorts of other places [...] But they don't really get another view of Africa other than one we've given them here, so I need to think about that, and look at some of the beauties and wonders of Africa.

[Treeview High School teacher]

The teacher astutely identifies that in teaching about a place under the topic that is presented as an issue, other aspects of the place and people of Niger have been marginalized. Secondly, she notes that for their compulsory secondary schooling years these students will only study Africa in this topic, largely through a lens of difficulty, in what they lack, such as good infrastructure and adequate access to water, and that

they struggle. The teacher does contextualize the region's difficulties, covering aspects of colonialism and trade inequalities with her students (the students mention these factors as being part of the reasons for the issues), but the overwhelming impression that is left is the sharp economic and development difference between them and us, their deficit and by implication, need.

The difficulty for this teacher is two-fold. Firstly, the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) for the social sciences at this level has an objective of learning about how communities and people respond to challenges, which can result in the focus on issues. Issues should come under broad concepts, but often they dominate, leaving an impression that is focused on deficit and how specific challenges are faced. This has been raised before by geography educators who argue that the exotic, the need and crises are centre stage, leaving ordinary life to be underreported (Rigg, 2007; Siteine & Samu, 2011). Secondly, there is a lack of resource material on this region outside of those provided by NGOs. Language barriers with foreign websites, time constraints and a lack of knowledge about other sources of information means that almost by default, World Vision's resource on water access in Niger becomes a significant and authoritative source of information about the region. The region is effectively viewed almost entirely through the NGO's framework. The underlying message can be 'this is the issue; this is how people cope and this NGO helps in these ways'. This may be the intent of the World Vision resource, but it is probably not their intent that it be the sole message concerning this issue or this region.

After the completion of the topic, the teacher was keen to enact some form of social action with her class. She gave them many options and they chose a child sponsorship program with World Vision. At the time of choosing this option, national sentiment was focused on fundraising efforts for the earthquake situation in Canterbury, New Zealand. That her students chose an overseas action was of satisfaction to the teacher. Through the focus group discussions, the students recall the topic and their social action. This extract shows that in their minds, learning about the Other has become intertwined with assisting them.

B2: People had to struggle to get water

B3: Where we live in the city where it's

B1: And we were fundraising money for

B3: And we don't have to walk 200m or 200km or 200miles

*B1: Yeah, we learned about Niger and pretty much you have to walk like 3 ks
just to get a bucket of water*

B3: Five metres or something

B1: That wouldn't be everyone. That was just that specific person

B2: And we sponsored a child

*B3: And then we had to do a test to see how long it would take us to get water
from a certain spot, didn't we? We went out with a bucket carried on our
heads...that was fun*

B1: Yeah.

B2: Cool topic anyway

[Treeview High School group C]

The students may have formed an impression of the country that it is in need, and this may be the reality, but complexity is reduced to something achievable for them: through an NGO they can assist them via a doable solution that has many positive outcomes. They see themselves as safe, in their environments and yet if they choose to, they can reach out and help, through fundraising. The Other is represented solely by an image of a smiling child on the classroom wall. Angry, alternative or radical voices from the country are absent – not because the teacher deliberately chose to focus on need, but because this presentation is provided by an NGO. There are no other voices from that region that are easily accessible for this teacher. The curriculum also stresses a focus on an issue; not the religion, the history, politics, culture or any other aspect of this region. The students cannot recall any politicians or activists from the region, but they do have a connection with a child. This directly supports the critique that relationships with the developing world are often focused around a binary of adult-child (Manzo, 2008; Paech, 2004). In learning about this country, these people, the take-home messages are that they lack, are child-like in their need and that we can help. It is an empowering set of messages.

All of the teachers in the study were keen to balance the images that NGOs sent out, in that they knew that the developing world was not all in chaos, but they struggled to

find the resources to do this, and were not always aware of the frames from which they taught. For the Cameron Heights College teacher there was a deliberate attempt on her behalf to balance the NGO images she had on the classroom walls with her own photos. She knew that her students were influenced by images and sought to create not a separate form of pity or exoticism, but a sense of normality and modernity in the developing world. The age of the Internet had not appeared to have widened their choices, with the exception of teacher B from Topaz High School. What is important from these findings is that in the classroom of the social sciences the main source of information, the one that required the least effort to gain was that of the NGO, particularly around issues concerning poverty. The teachers in this study recognized that at times the images or messages might be overly negative, but in many cases they represented the reality of situations overseas, and was all that was available to them. This constraint on resources has been noted before in the literature (C. Murphy, 2011; Pardiñaz-Solis, 2006) and I have found myself that teachers find it difficult to source information from the developing world outside of developed world textbooks and NGO material (Tallon, 2008b).

The implications of this narrow view are several. Firstly, it was not limited to a region, issue or people, but when applied to the collection of states and peoples that are outside of the OECD, it was very one-dimensional and this was evident in the student's accounts. Generalisations and stereotypes are much easier to remember than diverse and conflicting voices. Remembering the name of a sponsored child has a more personal touch than knowing the name of a country's president. Secondly, the political is often omitted and the messages or awareness-raising from the NGO sector can become more about NGO brand awareness. Local politicians, activists and even the tourism boards of countries struggle to compete with the power of the NGO sector in framing countries in a particular light (Mahadeo & McKinney, 2007; Versi, 2009). This study gives evidence that particular frames or very narrow views can accentuate and reinforce rather than challenge stereotypical thinking. Finally, the narrow view was often dominated by current need. This need was defined as a lack of material development. The deeper historical and structural reasons for poverty were often the groundwork to make way for NGO solutions. Reflexivity about complicity was often limited to self-analysis of individual consumption.

7.5. Chapter summary

Each teacher in this study was a dedicated professional who sought to raise the awareness of their students to issues around global inequality and poverty through various avenues within the achievement objectives of the curriculum. From the four themes identified I have made three concluding observations that respond to research question five which sought to explore what influence the teacher had on student understandings. Firstly, there was a diverse approach and perspective towards the NGO sector and that this did not necessarily affect student understanding. The concerns of Andreotti and Standish about the influence of a dominant charity-led, student-centred framework are evident in this study. There is however, a crucial difference: They are concerned that the teacher's pedagogy is formative. I would argue that the NGO sector has already laid down an impression and that by the time the young people become students in secondary school, they have already been shown ways of seeing the developing world that have become the default. Although there were teachers who held non-critical views of the NGO sector, and enacted these in the classroom, their students did not have markedly different ideas about development and opinions about the NGO sector than other students. In effect, the students from both Cameron Heights College and Treeview High School had similar concerns and impressions.

The evidence demonstrates that the NGO sector is on balance, more influential than the teacher in determining students' impressions about the global South. The students had seen the NGO marketing well before this year of their formal schooling. I do not consider the NGO sector to be the sole actor in forming their impressions of the global South. Other media and societal conceptions of the global South also play a significant part. As discussed in chapter five, the students from the school with the highest multicultural ratio were better equipped to challenge the media representations of the global South as many of them could speak from personal experience. What I conclude is that the NGO images are authoritative and persuasive in their role in educating young people and this begins well before formal study of the South takes place in school. This education may be unintentional and a by-product of their marketing to adults, but it is formative.

The second finding is that where social action was present in a semi-obligatory role, acceptance of it was not uniform across the class. For a small number of students having to do social action or be encouraged to change their lifestyles as part of school was not welcomed, but certainly for others it was an opportunity to do good. The methodology of this study has highlighted how within some classrooms, reception towards social action is received variably. A different methodology, perhaps focussing on individual student's appraisal of certain required actions, may reveal more about the combining of learning and action in the classroom. This study gives evidence of a varied response by young people, and further exploration of this would enhance understanding as to how individuals feel about social action, something others have been concerned with (Ashmore, 2005; Scheunpflug, 2011).

The third key finding is the dominance of the narrow view of the South. The resource constraints faced by all the teachers meant that they were aware to varying degrees that the NGO representation was not always balanced, but that it was powerful. It was very difficult to obtain images and credible information from outside the Northern-based NGO sector for many places. These practical constraints position them in debt to the NGOs who can provide them with information and pictures about a region or people. People outside of the Western-based NGO sphere, local politicians or activists or the middle class may not have a voice or presence in the New Zealand classroom, so that ordinary life, or life in the South as viewed by a Southerner is missing, a critique of Alam (2007). With the exception of the *You Tube* experience by the teacher from Topaz High School, the majority of the people seen by the students are chosen by NGOs, are possibly limited in what they can say or do about development, are often frozen in photographs and come to represent whole nations, almost by default. I have summarized this finding as the problem of 'the single story', a term borrowed from Chimamanda Adichie (2009).

These practical restraints are also evidence of the form of power of development. Returning to postdevelopment critique, Escobar and Crush's concerns that ways of thinking about development constrain people is evident in a practical manner with the experience of these teachers. Their agency in regards to the NGO sector is also important, with not all of them accepting the viewpoint of Western-led humanitarian development as being apolitical and necessary. Although they recognised the

influence of the sector, a key finding is that practical constraints, such as resourcing, meant that the NGO sector was able to displace in some regards, the diverse voice of the global South. The comments from the teachers reinforced Moeller's (1999) concern that control of the pictures, control of representation can be control over a culture.

Chapter 8: **DISCUSSION: ISSUES ARISING FROM THE AUTHORITY
AND THE SINGLE STORY OF THE NGO SECTOR**

Professional persuaders want us to react emotionally, without taking the time to reflect. Abstract cultural values, such as humanitarianism, rely on emotional responses for their power. (adapted from C. A. Hill, 2004, p. 34)

Bringing together the mapping of the students' accounts with the findings from the teachers, I present several issues that arise from the findings as important outcomes of this exploration of young people's interpretations. I argue that the NGO sector is very powerful, and can be authoritative in crafting the framework by how young people come to know the developing world. They come to know the developing world primarily through the images of the needy from campaign material. The evidence points to two distinctive pathways presented to young people. The first pathway is that through the authority and persuasiveness of the NGO representation, a single story is crafted, and this exacerbates distance, but does not necessarily cause an uncompassionate response to the plight of the Other. What it does, is simplify the relationship into the lucky and the unfortunate. In the second pathway students are shown that global injustices can be solved if only they take up the mantle of becoming individual benefactors. This places both a financial and emotional burden upon them, which some embrace, and others seek to evade. This burden has relational consequences and in the final section I discuss how this fragile relationship with the Other can be impeded unintentionally by the NGO sector in several ways. In the conclusion to this chapter I outline how the power of the NGO sector is both productive and repressive, but ultimately it can limit the vision of how young people see the Other.

Before continuing I remind the reader of the nature of the participants in this study. Selected from year 10 social studies classrooms, the students were aged between 13 and 15 years. They are a representative selection across the New Zealand school population and they were aware of the NGO sector. Social studies is a compulsory subject at year 10, but after this level approximately only 30 per cent of students continue to take history, economics, geography or senior social studies. Arguably,

within the senior levels of these subjects greater background is given to global issues, and critical thinking concerning development is likely to be encouraged. Thus, for the remaining 70 per cent of students, their year 10 social studies class is the last year that they formally study and possibly critique development. It is therefore important to recognise that these findings show that these pathways have been laid down by this age for these participants. They are negotiated, but ultimately, for many of them, this is how the majority of people and places in the global South are formally presented to them. These frameworks of seeing the Other and themselves in relation to the Other may remain with them, unchallenged for a lifetime.

8.1. The first pathway: a different universe

Critique concerning the dominant images of the NGO sector has been forthcoming in recent years with Plewes and Stuart (2007) warning NGOs that “At the very least, these [conventional] images convey a limited picture of life in Southern countries. At worst, they reinforce racist stereotypes” (p. 24). For the students in this study the child sponsorship image was their main signifier of the NGO sector, supporting Smillie’s (2000, p. 121) observation that child sponsorship marketing is the pre-eminent lens through which people in the North see the South. Combined with images of dusty, barren landscapes with lots of children, these were the main impressions of the global South that NGO images gave. The teachers confirmed that NGO images limited the scope of representation and yet finding other images was challenging. By emphasizing difference and distance, Otherness was accentuated. Their reality over there is very different to our reality over here, possibly as the teacher from Northern Plains commented (Chapter 7.3), depicting their reality is difficult as *it almost always creates a sense of separation*.

Chouliaraki (2006) argues that the spectator for general media has less agency than they assume. What they are shown is carefully selected to allow them certain modes of response, such as anger or indifference. NGOs also carefully select material to produce desired responses, such as compassion instead of anxiety or pity in place of fear. Chouliaraki posits that mass media allows the spectator to have a certain conditional freedom in which both enabled and constrained spectators are given limited information, and limited means of dealing with it (p. 66). Applying this to the

developed world student I argue that they too are constrained spectators shown a world order that is defined by the space-time of their safety. Their world is the norm and always safe and there are set hierarchies of human life – some people are just worth more. The messages are that we are lucky and they are unfortunate. This is an outcome of the NGOs' focus on need, but what has been neglected is the wider story.

For the students in this study, despite some of their teachers' best efforts, their view of the developing world and how they related to people there was constrained. They were given limited information, in a couple of cases (Treeview High School and Beaufort College, class B) the developing world may have been presented almost entirely through the lens of the NGO sector. What they were shown was generally assumed to be representative of 'over there' and indisputable. This selection of images that show (mostly) the NGO viewpoint of development, by default ensures a safe viewing for the students, whereby their world remains secure, and this has implications for learning. For many of the students in this study, there was a sense of being superior, but in a pitying manner. This feeling does not require any effort, we just are: here are the pictures to prove it. These findings confirm the critiques by commentators who argue that the narrow view maintains the old divides and unequal relations. Rather than destabilise them, they are reinforced, in direct contradiction to Sardar's concern that "Development educators need to be aware that there are other ways of knowing, being and doing" (cited in Duke, 2003, p. 206).

In addition to this, this research found that students are sharply critical or suspicious of this narrow view. They take the NGO image with a grain of salt. More than this, evidence was presented that the frozen, voiceless faces were insufficient for some students: they desired to hear from the Other in a more meaningful manner. This is an important finding. It is not in dispute that the images of need do not portray aspects of the reality, what is of essence here is that beyond this primary function, the students' questioned the context, the truth of the portrayal, the messenger's motives and the subject's autonomy. Bringing into question the narrow view provided to them, the students in this study demonstrated agency as audiences of NGO messages. Their minds were certainly active in reading the images and in negotiating the messages they gave. The students' were sceptical: *is it all like that?* was a frequent question.

8.2. The second pathway: the benevolent global actor

In this study I had an open premise of exploring student's interpretations to NGO messages. The key aspect of the demand or appeal to assist the Other became prominent in the findings during the analysis and was associated with stronger emotions than other aspects of the findings. In understanding this second pathway, I have identified three distinct issues that are associated with it. Firstly, the appeal to become a global benefactor builds upon difference, invokes an emotional response and to counter this discomfort, an individual or group response is offered that can be carried out via an event or program. Secondly, other ways of thinking about the Other are constrained through this financial pathway. Thirdly, should the young person be unable to accept this pathway, the obligation to perform as a global benefactor, then a defensive stance begins. This section discusses these three but pays particular attention to the final issue because of its significance for understanding the reception of the demand by this age group.

Becoming a global benefactor, activist or philanthropist is part of the individualization of solving the world's issues and is a relatively new phenomenon. Smith (2008, p. 13) citing Bauman, notes that in these modern times, the "business of emancipation" is moved away from government and is delegated to the individual. This supports the critiques of Chouliaraki (2011) and Jefferess (2012) who argue that recent moves in humanitarian marketing have not been to forge links *with* the Other but towards appointing the self as a provider. The individual is shown a pathway as a possible benevolent global actor and the images and messages that circulate are about the options that you can choose as part of your consumer power. The poor are able to teach you more about yourself; you will be able to feel grateful for your circumstances from your encounter with them, and it could be fun. This supports Chouliaraki's argument that *the self* is the cause for any action, the Other is the indirect benefit, the byproduct. This melding of market logic into humanitarianism so that the two are inseparable manifested itself in this study. The students clearly saw the Other in need and that a pathway was offered to them by NGOs to allow them to 'make a difference'. That this was mostly through a financial sacrifice meant that for some, barriers were set up.

The soft form of development education that offers charity as the way of knowing the Other has been under critique for some time. This study has provided evidence for many of the concerns, but this is not to conclude that charity has nothing to offer. The findings, in essence the voice of the young people, further problematize the role of charity. The students in this study felt this burden for the Other and some welcomed it, while others found themselves in defensive and evasive positions. Almost all of the students negotiated the demand in some form. That in itself illustrates the agency of these people who are part of the development industry. Smith and Donnelly (2004, p. 143) argue that the dominance of Western liberal humanism *disengages* while appearing through appeals to individualized care and compassion to be engaged. This individualization, even if through a collective classroom effort makes engaging with the distant Other very sporadic and reliant on an NGO as middleman or interpreter. The *raison d'être* for the compassionate activity can be the group's solidarity: the class or school worked together to raise funds. There is a danger that a surface engagement with serious issues leaves young people disenchanted. The beginnings of this attitude was evident in this study with one student clearly asking:

B2: Yeah, my question was um...like every year we have more people entering our world famine [referring to World Vision's 40 hour Famine fundraiser] but like, with all the money they raised and it goes to all the resources, how come there's more people still out there with hunger?

[Beaufort College, class A, group E]

With this form of financial engagement a sense of accountability is present, both with the NGO and the Other. There is clear evidence in this study that the students saw their compassionate efforts as a form of investment. This meant that the poor by default came under criticism for under-performing and NGO activities were further criticized as being ineffectual. In one telling comment, a student complains that this method of solving world poverty is not working:

G2: Yeah, you can help one person, but you have to keep helping them

[Northern Plains High School, group D]

For her this charity approach is endless. Coming from someone this age, this is a remark that should be worrying for those in the NGO sector. The people that need her assistance seem unable to function on their own. They keep on needing. The message that the NGO sector has clearly signaled to her are that the poor over there are ineffectual at their own development.

The second issue is a result of this first one. If the dominant pathway of knowing is presented as such, other ways, other ideas about a relationship with the Other or knowing the Other are not just marginalized, they may become the negative or the alternative. With the comment above, a negative lens in blaming the poor as well as the system, is already forming in the student's mind. Postdevelopment critique argues that the dominance of a humanitarian perspective is violence in itself. It relegates other ways as being 'Other' ways with a capital O. This means that questions from young people may be restricted to a paradigm within the NGO framework. To consider other ways of thinking about poverty or development are hard to find in texts for this age group and NGO resources are unlikely to have a searing critique of development in their educational material. This is particularly salient for this age group, as if there is no other way of thinking about or discussing global issues outside of a Western led interventionist framework, then perceptions of the Other's development or viewpoints become severely limited, a critique Standish has raised, as discussed in Chapter 3.3.2. This narrow view becomes their formal education of the Other. To paraphrase Spivak's words²⁴ to capture this sentiment, 'not only can the subaltern not speak, why should she? It doesn't really have anything to do with her'.

The third issue relates to the findings discussed in Chapter 6.6 concerning the student's defensive responses to the demand. Taking into account the concern of education critiques of the employment of altruistic emotions in the classroom (Boler, 1999; Manzo, 2006; Todd, 2003) the emotive account is significant in this study as pressure to conform is at work. To return to Crush's (1995) critique, the subtle workings of the power of development need unpacking, and this includes the premise that young people should be made to feel for the Other and that to not follow a certain emotional pathway is to be deviant or inhuman.

²⁴ Postcolonial critic Gayatri Spivak is well known for her 1988 essay 'Can the subaltern speak?'

Evasion of the NGO demand by adults follows certain patterns and research suggests that adults are able to rationalize their refusal to give or take action with a variety of methods. Adults have developed a strategy to relate to the sector. Even just walking across the street to avoid the 'can-rattlers' is evasion. For the student in the classroom, evasion is not so easy. The student who plans his or her evasion may not do so willingly or consciously. What is still yet unknown is what are the full range of feelings that may be generated from this cognitive effort. This research showed clearly that this evasion exists. I was able to map four rationales that the students gave about why they specifically could not take action or simply did not want to. These were beyond their initial criticisms of the sector. The significant finding is that they moved from critique of the sector to blaming their own inadequacies, illustrating that the burden was clearly present.

The methodology allowed students to freely discuss their thoughts and show that this personal evasion or even just doubts and questions were discussed in a therapeutic manner by the students. However, there were limitations and further research could explore in depth individual emotional responses to the NGO demand, particularly from this age group. This study underscores that the emotions of young people towards the NGO demand affect their learning and should not be assumed nor taken for granted. They are neither homogenous nor fixed, and most importantly, they are natural outcomes of unequal interaction.

These three issues, of being a global benefactor, other ways of thinking and being unable to accept the demand are important for this field. The last one in particular points to a repression of certain feelings which is worth expanding on. In the next section I argue that together the construction through these pathways and the repression of criticism collectively present a censorship about development, the NGO sector, the Other and one's own relationship to the Other. At this juncture the reader is reminded of my perspective: I am adopting a postdevelopment critical perspective towards the discourse of development. For those who work in the NGO sector or approve of the Western humanitarian framework the discussion so far may seem unduly critical. The intent of this thesis as explained in Chapter 2 is to move beyond mere description of what is observable, and to identify the strings that control, the

forces that pull and to map these structures – as a key objective of understanding what exactly is going on. To do this, I remind the reader that yes, many students in this study were eager to help the Other, (and that is not unproblematic either) but a significant number felt an undue pressure.

To paraphrase Henri Lebreuve, (from S. C. Aitken & Craine, 2005, p. 258) are students in a state of psychological terror because they are constantly under attack to save the world? This comment may seem preposterous to some, but I place it here as the evidence suggests from this study that it is not that far-fetched at all. Some students felt anxious, others annoyed and these are very young people. These students were beginning to formalise their strategies for encountering the sector. These findings provide an insight into how certain attitudes commonly seen in adults are beginning to emerge in young people. At this age, the NGO sector was not new to them, they were already working out how to engage with it.

8.3. Constrained and forced: problematic relationships with the Other

Todd (2009) addresses this burden of saving the world through a critique of cosmopolitanism. She argues that the cosmopolitan project seeks to educate for global awareness and a shared humanity. It is a forward-looking mission that teachers readily adopt as they consider education a means to transform society for the better. She maintains that education, particularly the branches that focus on global citizenship and human rights cultivate a caring for humanity that can gloss over the antagonisms of reality (p. 19). She takes Hannah Arendt's warning that in trying to construct a better world, education can risk teaching for a world that is becoming, a future utopia, without facing the messiness of the failed world we inhabit. It is almost as if teaching is about hope, not the here and now. "...in educating for humanity we run the risk of creating for children a world that does not respond to it as it is, and create instead a harmonious image of what we adults want the world to be" (Todd, 2009, p. 16).

This better world is one that young people are asked to help create and a great burden is placed on them. Todd posits that denying the darker side of humanity is a form of rejecting humanity. With the constrained relationship of the NGO format, the charitable relationship becomes the only way of knowing the Other across distance

and this limits potential for other ways of thinking and relating. In considering the findings from this study, students were keen to hear from the Other and to consider non-financial relationships. As these were not readily available, they were beginning to tire of the constraint, the limited way of knowing. I put forward that there are two levels of criticism concerning aid and the NGO sector that may be experienced by young people. The first level is acknowledged and allowed and the second level of criticism is marginalized to the extent that it becomes unspoken.

The first level is criticism about the NGO sector. The students were quick to identify aspects of the sector that were less than perfect and their teachers to varying degrees allowed this to take place and some even encouraged it. NGOs themselves welcome debate around aid effectiveness, although they may tire of always defending their actions. This acceptable critique is not my main concern. A second, deeper level exists which, in my view, has been constructed as ugly, as deviant. These are the feelings and thoughts entertained about both the NGO sector and the Other that do not fit into the allowable, or standard critiques. These include the feelings of annoyance, being 'made to feel guilty' and uncharitable thoughts about poor and vulnerable people. There were eight instances of *I'm not being racist but...* in the accounts that show students defending their honest thoughts. You can ask 'where does all the money go?' but critique beyond that is a grey area. In this next extract, two boys are responding to question eight about the call to 'donate now, to make a difference' and their exchange shows they know that there is a deeper level of criticism that one is not meant to cross.

B1: So...I think that they need help.

B2: Yeah...um...to be honest, I actually kind of laugh [laughs]

B1: Well, that's...that's quite mean...shame

B2: Well...it kind of...it doesn't seem that sad when they're all happy and stuff you know...I guess when it's a photo of them all sad and that...probably

B1: But you know...that is a photo of them sad until or like you give them something and they're like, real happy and so when they take the photo it's like 'be sad!'

B2: yeah...

B1: [whispering] make us Africos real sad or demented since people'll make you look good.

[Treeview High School, focus group A]

In this exchange, B2 laughs. He mocks the whole poster, the appeal, the plight of the Other, and their attempt to force him into a role. This sacrilegious comment is chastised by his peer. As the exchange continues, B1 who began with a veneer of altruism ends by whispering into the microphone that he knows the appeal poster is a staged performance, he is the target audience and he knows what is expected of him. Beneath the surface there was a level of unacceptable critique around the NGO sector. Actual honest personal feelings are generally inhibited and even in this situation, with freedom to speak, the boy whispers his cynicism.

The students in this study held negative feelings and opinions and they did wonder what their role in the relationship was for. From the very frank *why do they have so many children?* to the more nuanced *I wouldn't go [and help] it's not my sort of thing*. Todd (2009) argues that “To construct educational models based on cosmopolitan harmony, [...] does a disservice to the existing lives of those children we teach” (p. 20). This may be disconcerting for teachers. The existing lives are messy, fraught with conflict and do not always conform to the project of creating a better world. The deeper feelings and doubts the students had around their own response has been negated, brushed under the carpet possibly because of the hegemony of the NGO perspective which offers solutions and opportunity to feel good, as per Taylor's (2011) critique discussed in Chapter 3.

8.4. Chapter summary

What is missing from this description is freedom. The freedom to question, to refuse and to question further still, were not present in the daily relations of these students when they encountered the NGO messages and images. The participants in this study provide evidence that discussion was often limited to minor critique concerning aspects of NGO activity and that rigorous discussion concerning all aspects of aid and development and their participation was in some cases, deemed too difficult or inappropriate for the students by their teachers, or even themselves. The findings

showed that negotiation of the NGO demand and critical thinking of NGO messages does take place, so the students are not passive recipients, they have agency, but they are being constrained. In some classes despite the teachers having a very open or critical stance towards the sector, the power of the development discourse had already formed knowledge and understanding in these students, and more importantly, occupied a powerful ethical centre. You can think those things, but just don't voice them.

The humanitarian framework occupied a hegemonic state within their conceptualizing of global relations. It had already become the way to see the world. The students exhibited efforts to challenge this hegemony but they would not recognize their efforts as positive resistance that supported the radical difference of the Other. Challenging the divide was not easy and when the students removed that distance between them and the Other, those liminal spaces indicated that they were capable of a different relationship with the Other. In the individual questionnaires the students are asked if the Pacific region should be classified as 'developing'. At least a quarter of them challenged this and asked questions about the primacy of economic progress as being the only way to perceive of development. But they were the minority. The evidence showed that learning was often *about* the Other, when the opportunity for learning *with* or *from* the Other was possible. The Other could be just like us, as this student reveals in her comment after her group have been discussing Fiji:

G1: Imagine if they send this to Fiji...

[Northern Plains High School, group B]

I conclude by positing that critique around the functionality of the NGO sector is acceptable, but not always encouraged in the classroom. From a postdevelopment perspective, a critical understanding of the morality of the humanitarian framework was not present; the students had been conditioned to keep their scepticism silent. The students knew 'they' were the potential heroes, and their critique was largely in how best the NGO sector (an arm of their potential) could meet their needs to achieve this. It was the deeper thoughts and questions that revealed both a questioning of and refusal to obey that showed some agency. Without perhaps being able to articulate it, the students had 'hunches' and some intuition that there were other ways of knowing,

but such context-independent knowledge was not revealed to them. Literally trapped in a framework that constrained their thinking, moralized, monetized and further distanced their fragile relationship across difference the students in this study provide evidence that thinking outside of the NGO framework was difficult. Even being constrained within was difficult - not for all of them, but certainly for some.

Chapter 9: **CONCLUSION**

Visualisation cannot be separated from social relations.

(from Edward Said, in Smith & Donnelly, 2004, p. 129)

The unknown interpretations of young people towards NGO images and messages that began this inquiry have been explored and the findings mapped and discussed. In this chapter I provide my reflections to this exploration, how the findings contribute to this field and present my concluding thoughts. This is a response to the sixth research question which is styled as a '*so what, now what?*' question and is as follows:

6. How might these findings further understanding of the implications of NGO images and messages that young people are exposed to?

This question was written with NGO education officers in mind. Many are interested in the outcomes of this research. It would however, be a misconception to regard this study as audience research for the sector. My approach has been from a critical postdevelopment perspective so that underpinning this inquiry is an examination of the power of the development discourse on young people in the North. This conclusion sets out what I see as significant conceptualisations of the workings of the power of the development discourse on young people, and the effects of these on their learning about this world.

The first three sections present a critical analysis of how the development discourse enacts itself on young people. The fourth section addresses a key dilemma: if we do not fundraise for them, what are we to do? Addressing this fear of inaction, is fundamental to understanding that it is this fear that keeps charity as hegemonic. Opening up and examining the roots of this fear is the difficult part and in this section I argue that charity as a key way of knowing is dangerous. I refer back to Hattori (2003) and Gronemeyer's (1992) argument raised in Chapter 2, that development is implicated in maintaining unequal relations. Finally, I present some thoughts on new ways of engagement and how NGOs might consider carefully the true extent of the discourse of development.

9.1. A captive audience: the privilege and the responsibility

G2: That topic that we did when we had to choose a rich country and a poor country...and compare them

G3: Oh a country in poverty and then a...

G4: Chocolate people!

G3: The Ompa-loompas [laughter] Sorry, when someone says chocolate people it reminds me of Ompa-loompas!

G4: Where were they from?

G2: Malawi or something.

[Topaz High School, group D]

Six words from a teacher in the study summarise the power of the sector in the classroom: *“I just know that it’s easy”*. Referring to the application of an NGO directed social action overseas, this teacher’s sentiment was echoed by some of the other teachers. Collectively, the teachers experienced a lack of a credible voice from the South, scarcity of non-NGO education resources and the pressure of the curriculum to focus on issues. Together these elements meant that unless they made an extra effort, they were reliant on the NGO sector for information and the way in which their students could take action. The NGO sector in some cases is the sole resource provider and by default, the main vehicle of representation of the South.

For NGOs to enter a school and represent people and entire regions is an immense responsibility. Their talk, their posters, their videos are very likely to be the only lens through which impressionable young people see *all people* in the developing world. To my knowledge, not many Southern countries have active tourism boards that have direct access to the New Zealand classroom. Alam (2007) is one of many that accuse NGOs of bad marketing as discussed in Chapter 3. They are caught between a tension of being “merchants of misery” or “salesmen of solidarity” (Cohen, 2001, p. 185). Their role in representing is powerful and yet at the same time, under threat, as Plewes and Stuart (2007) have argued. Their power to speak and form the global South in the imagination of young people is not fixed. It can and is challenged and changed through new technologies, new media, new ways of seeing. Young people in the

formal education sector remain, like a few other specific place-bound audiences, an audience over which NGOs have some influence. It is here that they can inadvertently close down other ways of thinking and knowing.

Representation is a heavy responsibility. One of the key problems of the NGO sector's position is the persistence of the ongoing narrative of 'us' as an imaginary collective, which can become 'us as saviours'. Both Andreotti (2011) and Bryan and Bracken (2011) have argued that from policy direction, curriculum constraints and NGO presence and material, the easiest option for both learning and social action becomes a pedagogy that underscores inequality. How students see the South is informed by a multitude of mediums. As discussed in Chapter 3, there is an emphasis in the social sciences on understanding global issues and how people have responded to them. Taking into account the current issues-focused curriculum in the social sciences in New Zealand, the powerful role of NGOs through providing resources, visiting speakers and fundraising events, the South can be canvassed largely through hotspots of need. This in many respects is ideal for NGO marketing. The openness of the curriculum, a lack of alternative material or voice from the South, their own knowledge and easy access to this captive market of young people make this a powerful cocktail for the formation of 'this is how it is done'. In other words, the Western humanitarian agenda becomes so pervasive and persuasive from a combination of entry points.

The acceptance of this narrative and the desire to enact charity of some description may be the intent of the NGO sector. Young people that take up this challenge often find it very rewarding and indeed, empowering, to be given the chance to make a difference to someone. This is often the first question many people ask: what is wrong with that? This thesis has provided evidence that the binary of inequality that the sector maintains constructs ideas about the Other that remain along the old colonial lines. Charity is not equality. Conceptually, the students are given a lens of need or issues with which to view parts of the globe. Combined with general news reports of disasters, celebrity activism and the ritual of fundraising events that are encased in many school-NGO partnerships, the global South can be seen in much the same manner as a Christmas tree. It is over there in the corner, and the lights flash on in different places at different times. A flood here, a crisis there, the brighter the light

shines, the more attention we pay to it. Hopefully it will flicker then fade out. What this representation signals to the student is that the problems are isolated from each other and to themselves and that they can choose whether to give their attention to a light or not. In my interpretation of the students' account this is how they saw the global South as presented to them: a different world that lit up periodically in different places with need. The NGOs powered those lights to show them what was happening and they were the target audience.

The difficulty for NGOs is that they are caught in a bind of trying to reinvigorate the lights on the Christmas tree to break through the monotony, the noise and the indifference of the rest of the room. The warnings of ever-increasing self-centred or emotive campaigning have been presented before and this study gives evidence that the methods employed can have negative consequences. The byproducts of marketing need have an ethical outcome. Dalton et al (2008) found that certain attitudes, such as boredom and apathy were partly formed through NGO marketing. The beginnings of these attitudes were evident in this study. Young people are impressionable. They have fragile relationships with the Other and my contribution to this issue is that all NGOs need to respectfully engage with issues around their marketing and representation as core to their functions if they are to remain ethical conduits of meaning. By not engaging with critique and the literature, NGOs themselves will be unaware if they too have become subject to the latest fashion in marketing.

9.2. The hegemony of Western development: the lack of context and critical reflexivity in the classroom

B1: And they [NGOs] sort of take our way of living over there and are helping to improve their way of living.

[Northern Plains High School, group F]

Tucker (1999, p. 21) has referred to development as a 'myth' arguing that it needs to be deconstructed for "the failure to examine our own social imaginary has led to a form of mystification that places our myths...outside the beam of the critical stare while devaluing those of others". As this extract above illustrates, 'our way of living' was perceived as beyond critique. The students in this study had limited conceptual

understandings of history and Western complicity in global inequality and the reasons for this are neither age nor ability. What was missing in their comments was a deeper analysis of current and past structural causes for global inequality. Colonialism was mentioned and seen as having caused negative outcomes, but development, this closing era which we are still a part of, was seen as a good Western-interventionist program to improve the Other. If, as Kothari (1988) said “where colonialism left off, development took over” (p. 143), then development was not presented critically to most of these students. Mechanisms of the industry yes, but not the industry itself.

The hegemony that ‘we can improve them through development’ was present in these young people’s conceptions of people in the global South. This poses a problem, in that because the narrative is easy, it becomes the default. The framework by which we teach and learn about the Other is significant. It is this ethical and hegemonic paradigm that development via the NGO sector is the only way forward. Other commentators have made this point. My contribution to this is to divide the hegemony into two aspects: one of knowledge and one of the role of guilt. The first concerns types of knowledge vis-à-vis Young’s critique (as discussed in Chapter 7.1) and the second is about keeping the Northern student safe.

9.2.1. The framework of Western humanitarianism: It’s what gets them interested

Using charity as the first hook by which educators can engage students with the Other was raised in Chapter 7.2. This sets up the relational chain that positions the Other as passive, different and needy. The resulting paternalism as one teacher in this study phrased it, *can be empowering*. Agreeing with Standish’s concerns as discussed in Chapter 3.3.2, I posit that the learning of the Other is in danger of being a philanthropic gesture of goodwill if charity enters the classroom in an evangelical manner. This is not to say that reasons for inequality should not be taught: rather the opposite. Less emphasis on what we can do and more information about what they are doing may result in a perspective that gives greater agency to the people who are actually affected by the inequality. An important factor is stepping down from the desire to fix or save them and to recognize that challenges to injustice are not usually solvable through quick fix, feel-good solutions. This means, in essence,

deconstructing the NGO paradigm that seeks quick closure. Charity belongs as a voluntary gesture. The classroom should be a place where it can be critiqued.

Many NGOs have been working to present a more holistic version of the causes for poverty through their educational resources. This may be so, yet while a teacher may take great pains to present a balanced view of development, critically evaluating the work of the NGO sector, her work is undone through a speaker to the school, a charitable event or equivalent because the impressions that they leave are the same old messages: they are needy and we are the givers (as per the example in Chapter 7.3). Collectively, the power of development is that it is not in one place at one time in one form. It is not through one image or one campaign. It is a representational machine that produces a way of thinking, which in turn shifts other ways of knowing into the shadows.

My response to this hegemony of knowledge is that teachers need to be very critically aware that development, like any other project is not politically neutral. That is the first step. The second is not to limit their students to the easy charity 'hook'. The argument may have been in the past that learning about trade, global systems, and understanding global relations was a sure-fire way to bore students, but this is not the fault of the knowledge: it is the fault of the pedagogy. This is where I disagree with current fashion to construct a learning environment in the social sciences that is centred on student interest (as discussed in Chapter 7.2). A lesson that reifies poverty, concentrating on accentuating difference, panders to the needs of the students to gaze upon the Other with a 'delicious' (Rozario, 2003) mixture of fear and disgust that is little more than development pornography. A lesson that looks solely at 'Samina's hovel and her daily struggle to get water' is a display of brute power. As Dogra states (2012, p. 122) "...without the wider context of the life of this individual, the story is just that – a fetish, a means to feel good and finally, a cruel reflection of power asymmetry through visual violence".

To illustrate this critique visually, on the classroom wall of the New Zealand classroom, the picture on the right with the accompanying text may dominate. It sends powerful messages which this study revealed in the student's interpretations. The picture on the left is absent: not because it does not exist, but because it is hard to source, reflects difficult political and historical situations and finally, it is an uncomfortable and accusatory image in which the voice of the South is present. It does not present a pathway that leads to a closed solution.



Figure 14: US- Malaysia FTA protests in Malaysia.
Used with kind permission from Malaysiakini.com



Figure 15: Change a life: Change yours
Image courtesy of Pedram Pirnia

This binary of pictures is also incomplete. Although the picture on the left represents Southern activism, they are not the only voice of the South and they do not always represent everyone. In sum, the representation issue that is paramount is simplicity versus complexity, but behind this are issues about what the global North *want* to see. The image of the grateful child places the viewer in a superior position. In the case of the Northern student, they become adult in relation to the South. They are called upon to become parents-in-loci. It is a powerful subjectivity.

It is this wider context that I am most concerned with. It is not the individual's family, nor even their town or country that is the wider context. It is where the systems that are in place are worked out that need exploring. These are the boardrooms, the marketplaces, the policies of local, central and international government bodies and how together with cultural, religious and environmental factors they result in the circumstances that determine people's lives. The Other is not a passive person, nor

just a grateful child, but part of a history of resistance and innovation. What is at stake here is how we come to know the Other. Eventually, the end goal should be to realise that there is no Other, no ‘them and us’, only we. A solely charitable framework or one in which charity is the end product may relegate whole peoples, cultures and regions to be remembered by their lack or what we did for them. The relationship is one-way. What is on the classroom wall representing that country indicates how we relate to them, how we think of them.

Based on the evidence from this study, my argument is that at the age of fourteen, young people are ready for independent knowledge that allows them to critically consider not just what they are being taught, but why. This is a pedagogical challenge, but the default, the easy option, limits everyone. I considered the data in this study and looked for names of people from the South. Mugabe and the name of a sponsored child are the only mention of named people from the South. If students only learn about the exotic, or that which excites them and makes them feel good, then we keep them safe from dangerous or difficult knowledge. Mignolo (2011) argues that if educators hide or forget modernity’s shadow, the shadow of violent practices that created and still maintain inequality, they do a disservice to their students. This sets them up to be shocked later in life, not always at the Other, but also at their own culture. Disillusionment with both the aid sector and the poor are possible negative outcomes of a lack of critical engagement with development.

9.2.2. *Guilt as a red herring*

Guilt arose as a key emotion, which the students in the study identified as a trigger for action, an annoying feeling and a manipulated emotion that NGOs use to elicit funding. A growing concern among commentators is that “A successful ‘learning experience’ [about the Other] promises moral sanitization and absolution from the complex, historically implicated locations inhabited by privileged readers” (Taylor, 2011, p. 179). Taylor argues that rather than shifting the ontological basis of the student, a pedagogy which promises absolution, largely through a colonialist ‘we can help you’ framework is a pedagogy of consolation (p. 180). The sufferer is the student feeling guilty and this space is uncomfortable and is quickly resolved. There is a certain seductiveness for teachers: they can maintain a social conscience through

encouraging action. What is offered is “consolation rather than the critical and ethical tools to respond to this crisis” (p. 181). In this study, the students demonstrated the effects of this closing down on encountering guilt. They knew they were implicated in some way, either because they were richer or luckier than the Other and this made them uncomfortable. Their safety as privileged people was at stake. They knew that one way of reducing this discomfort was to give money. This pathway reinforced colonial assumptions of power and through their absolution they remain the givers.

Often ontological unlearning takes place in adulthood and under some stress as we discover who we really are in our relations with others. For the students in this study ways of thinking about who they were in relation to the Other were being laid down, not to disrupt them, but to cocoon them and keep them safe. Guilt featured as perverse means by which power could be reinstated. My argument is that guilt is a red herring. Like the charity framework discussed in the preceding sections, it is easy and seductive. Resolving it is empowering for the real subject of the learning: the Northern student. In other words, it is a device. Unpacking real feelings, discovering their origins and their power should not be left to adulthood. The students in this study are testament to this unspoken knowledge. Their feelings, their doubts and questions were repressed and in so doing constructed as negative. To return to Todd, their humanity was denied (as discussed in Chapter 3.2). The results of this benevolent pedagogy of brushing away the difficult bits to cut to the part where we can help, has dubious short-term benefits of individual empowerment. Of more concern are the long term unknowns in terms of how global social relations are being formed.

9.3. Representation that ends with ‘Donate Now’

B2: Having a psychological effect. they’ve [NGOs] probably got someone sitting in an office, fully air conditioned thinking...’how else can we make these poor suckers in NZ feel bad for their skits?’

B4: Rich suckers in New Zealand, not poor suckers

[Northern Plains High School, group E]

Development has been commercialized in the past two decades to the extent that any relationship with the Other can be judged by the gift and hence, by the giver as discussed in Chapter 3. NGOs have entered the market place and can determine moral questions such as how we see and relate to the Other (Jefferess, 2012). It is telling that one of the key findings of this study is that the students used the word companies most often in their descriptions of NGOs. They knew that a pathway of becoming a benevolent global actor was part of the NGO images and this meant that a complex set of negotiations and rejections to that demand was set in place, if it was not accepted at the beginning.

This commercialization of the relationship with the NGO sector eclipsed the moral relationship with the Other. The students responded in the same manner as adults in Seu's (2010, p. 453) research, in that they positioned themselves as the sufferers of manipulation and as potential victims of NGO marketing. They directed their energy towards discrediting various aspects of the sector. This is alarming, because as outlined in Chapter 5, the students did not hold anger or antipathy towards the distant Other. The barrier came down with the intrusion of the demand, and the need to consider defenses. They were also very individual in their responses: they felt that the attack was directed at them personally.

NGOs that focus on their marketing and do not pay attention to the shadow effects of their efforts may be unaware that they are being unethical. NGOs that persist in emotional pictures may know that some images may turn people off, but they usually have a dedicated number of supporters who will never critique their marketing nor their activities. For these donors the possibility of a quick financial solution to their uneasy privilege of wealth is welcomed, as it requires no real political or messy involvement. You can remain detached, racist and safe through a regular donation to an NGO. In Chapter 3.4 I discussed how Small (1997) was concerned with the neoliberalism of the NGO sector. Fifteen years on, this market orientation has filtered down and become entrenched with young people, this is how they see the Other: they know and expect that there will be a *Donate Now!* option at the end of the relationship. It has possibly inadvertently expanded divides and created pathways for young people in New Zealand to forget history, silence the Other and to reenact colonial relations by remaining the superior giver.

Bearing this in mind I argue that NGO representation of the South in the classroom can become NGO pressure to do something to the South. This pressure may be a productive one, it is not necessarily negative. It alerts people to inequality and calls upon people to do something. Paradoxically it represses other ways of thinking and negates them as it presents the illusion of a relationship. The options available are often limited to financial offerings to the distant Other via a Western NGO. The hegemony of charity becomes morally difficult. If you don't buy into this, you're a bad person. I argue that this pressure as well as this presence needs unpacking and deconstruction in the classroom. If it is not questioned, the Other remains tightly controlled in the role of receiver and the young person in the North is further controlled as the giver.

The second layer of criticism that cannot be spoken needs to be the priority, and most importantly, not left for the senior school. In other words, to contradict current best practice and the easy option of charity as the hook, I argue that critical thinking and deconstruction of development should be the hook. There needs to be a pedagogy of inquiry and reflection, rather than a closed pedagogy of consolation. Consolation itself should be examined. Questions around us and our values are important. When the students in this study raised questions as to why 'they have so many children', none of them considered the nature of irresponsibility; that one child in the West, in New Zealand, consumes as much as 184 children in the South. The gaze and the blame was largely one-way. The students' accounts indicated that they remembered the Other's deficits, and this was part of their layering of information about the South. Over the years they have become accustomed to viewing the South through a certain lens and their formal education was yet another layer that did not truly disrupt this.

The layers continued a process of fetishizing the poor and inscribing the Northern students as superior as global change makers. This binary constrains global social relations. The Northern student is offered a mantle, a responsibility to be a change maker, a global citizen; the Southerner is the grateful receiver. Questions about who charity really benefits and the role of the media and NGOs in forming our ideas about things like poverty were not totally absent from these students' accounts. They do appear, and most importantly in the individual questionnaire, students did challenge

what is meant by ‘developing’ – who do we assign this term to and why. Within the group discussions, there was a lesser degree of criticism showing that censorship about what you can say and think was powerfully enacted in a social context.

The students in this study were ready for critical thinking about development and charity. It was there in their frustrations and their questions. Across all levels of literacy their interest was piqued when the power to think, to critique, was returned to them and *validated*. When their humanity in all its guises is affirmed then they are better equipped to learn and be in relationships across difference. This study provides sobering evidence that the quick-fix ‘donate now’ relationship is problematic and fundamentally unethical as it reinforces unequal relations, contradicting its proposal to reduce them. What students may really be learning from these encounters is still underexplored. This study sheds some light on this fraught relationship that all is not well beneath the altruistic surface. The question that remains, is that when we learn of the Other, what are we really seeking?

9.4. If not charity, then what? New possibilities for engagement

Development help is not help in need, but help in overcoming a deficit. Between these two types of help there exists an unbridgeable difference. (adapted from Gronemeyer, 1992, p. 65)

Others have addressed the issue of moving beyond charity, but first, it is worth considering Gronemeyer’s typology. The sufferer experiences need as a deviation from their normality and they decide when to call for assistance. The needy are not masters of their own fate. They are determined by an external force to have deviated from a normality so the needy receive a diagnosis. Help for the needy person, maintains Gronemeyer is a “transformative intervention” (p. 66). Resistance to appeals when help is called for by victims of a disaster or accident are much lower than appeals for continued support for long term development projects. Most people dig deep into their pockets for those who cry for help. It is those who have been diagnosed as deficient by others or modernity in general that are often the subject of NGO resources and campaigns in schools and this is where a subtle but important distinction lies. The giving becomes associated with a sense of long term improving.

Hattori (2003) maintains that the gift giving is founded on a Western arrogance. We give, we don't receive. What this can equate to, which this study found, was that the poor are judged by our standards. '*Why do they keep on having children?*' as one respondent asked.

As Bryan (2011) maintains, the NGO sector has lost its radical political voice, so what is left is fundraising and awareness-raising of the need of the poor and of the NGO's work. This study provided evidence that during their most formative years some of the young people in this study were already tiring of hearing about need, the continual demand to give and to improve the Other. To put it bluntly, the needy can start to needle. They begin to be such a regular feature that compassion is challenged. Then the exercise becomes less about the needy and more about the self. Regular campaigns can become like Lent, or a pilgrimage to absolve guilt. The difficulty is that if we took this away, would our engagement with the Other be reliant on disasters and other catastrophes where need is expressed urgently? How can we engage in the classroom or across the school without accentuating and belittling the difference, without pitying and patronising the Other and furthermore, without deceiving ourselves about our innocence and importance? If the Other is silenced through charity, what other relationships are there?

In my response to this, I argue that the key issue is that of voice. The activism of people in the South and their agency was missing in the young people's recollection of the developing world. There is no singular voice that can speak on behalf of people in the South. It is the diversity and complexity of voices that were missing from the student's interpretation of the South via NGO messages. The images that they recalled showed passive, nameless people, the visiting speakers told them how they could go over and fix the people over there, and in some cases in the classroom, there was opportunity to help. Voice in all its diversity is what is missing at this level for students in the classroom. The teachers acknowledged this and some sought to rectify this, but it was very difficult. This voice that is currently so hard to find needs to be present. The pedagogy needs to disrupt the safety of the superior location of the student in the North and the absence of the radical Other and to move towards complexity and uncertainty.

What I argue for is a *reduction* in the powerful ethos that reifies young people into givers, global citizens or change makers, and dilutes the power and agency of those in the South. Young children in the South are also global citizens. The NGO sector should consider an *expansion* of the diversity and more importantly, the *authority* of Other. The humanitarian framework should not be the default or only lens by which young people learn about the Other. It should be *a* lens, subject to critique. For classrooms with a low ratio of cultural difference this is all the more important. This study clearly showed that students who were from the South or had travelled there refuted and challenged the stereotypical imagery. What these students did was give the silent and pitied Other a chance to talk back. Their annoyance can be summarised by this ex-refugee's comment about NGO representation:

B: Oh...they're just like concentrating on the negative things.

The static images of lonely children need to occupy a far smaller section of the visual landscape. Alongside these images there needs to be the images and voices of adults in the South who challenge the prevailing narrative and who are working out their own development. This study has confirmed what others have argued, that collectively, NGO messages signal powerful ideas to their audiences. These ideas are not neutral, they form perspectives. Many NGOs may be curtailed to such an extent that they can only show the results of injustice, not the structural causes that we ourselves may be complicit in. They plead and beg for their constituents to listen, to wake up and see the misery and take action. They resort to the standard emotive image to keep their organisations funded. A braver sector that is aware of the subtle cultural and political forces that may influence it, might move beyond images of charity to voices of justice. A braver sector might relinquish centre stage. An NGO sector that focuses on the agency of the South may be by the South and for the South. Need exists, but it is only part of the human story of people. As Graves (2007, p. 89) has argued before, "an informed perspective from Southern activists can be a meaningful contribution to development education practice and demonstrates that people are involved in their own struggles at different levels".

9.5. The power of representation enacted in young people: Forming impressions for life

The itinerary towards representing the Other 'over there' requires scrutiny of the 'here'. (Visweswaran, quoted in Kapoor, 2004, p. 641)

This thesis explores the interpretations that young people make from NGO media. Young people in New Zealand are emerging actors in the global development industry and their ideas will shape North-South interactions in the future. Rather than being a homogenous, passive and accepting audience of both NGO marketing and activities, the young people were varied in their responses. They expressed doubts and concern, being active agents in consumers of NGO information. The young people showed compassion and empathy towards the difficulties that many people in the global South face. Unlike many of the responses that are found in the adult public, I did not find the majority of the students to be angry, bored or overly cynical about the poor or international aid. What I found was that there was a distinctive struggle that the young people could not necessarily articulate about how they should think, feel and act towards the distant Other. It was clear that the NGO sector encouraged limited relational options and many of them with personal experience of the global South resisted these constraints. An important finding was the request for the Other to speak directly to them.

From a postdevelopment perspective, the agency of the young people was evident in their critique of NGO representations, the NGO sector and the actions NGOs encourage around donations and assistance. Many of them challenged the authenticity of the images of the poor, recognizing that NGOs select images of need that are often not fully representative. Not all of the young people accepted that they should donate or volunteer overseas and for some of the students there was a tangible bristling towards the demands that they perceived the NGOs made on them. I argue that these early beginnings signify a fraught relationship with the NGO sector and Eurocentric conceptions of the global South that are important in shaping lifelong attitudes. NGOs are mediators across relationships of difference and they actively shape important attitudes and emotions about the global South, although not always the attitudes and emotions they desire.

Charity is dominant in the representation of the global South, not only because it may be the most dominant lens in the classroom, but because this is the main lens through which the North has come to see and to know the Other. Through advertisements on T.V., through the posters and campaigns of NGOs, the South's need has become the key signifier of the South. Not the South's historical struggle, present day innovation and resilience. The South's anger, diversity and contribution are subsumed into the NGO request to help them. Thus, for the students in this study, they remembered and thought of the South largely by its lack and need and yet for many of them this was unsatisfactory. General media has largely supported this narrow view of the South although this may be changing with the growth of new media. The NGO material the students recalled had not encouraged a questioning of how the world was presented to them. The students had begun to tire of the NGO demand and to craft defenses to withstand it. The students knew that this was morally wrong, how can one criticise institutions which are helping the poor? This pressure is unethical, if not unpacked and explored. It denies young people the opportunity to fully engage with their own humanity and to engage with the Other on terms other than a one-sided charitable relationship.

Empowering the Other may mean learning *from* the Other, instead of donating to the Other. Ilan Kapoor (2004, p. 644) in responding to Gayatri Spivak, argues that an ethical face-to-face encounter with the subaltern should be preferred to that of the institutionally prescribed narrative, but this is difficult. How are we, in this age of late modernity, to encourage our young people to engage with Others across difference? This study has shown the limitations of a single lens. If we take Spivak's call to unlearn our privilege, our wanting to speak for the Other, then I argue for more than a radical rethink of the ways in which we conceive of development education or learning about global inequality. What is needed is a decolonization of the mind from the grip of the development 'let-us-improve-them-because-we-can' industry so that equality across difference can be readdressed. NGOs have the opportunity to begin this process through schools, but many are currently still presenting the familiar narrative. What is needed is much more than letting the South speak, although this is a step in the right direction, this gesturing does little to remove privilege. There is a need to break free from our privilege to ignore, and to unlearn what we have always been taught and to learn from the Other so that we may better know who we really are.

Within our society and our schools in New Zealand if the dominant way our young people learn and remember people overseas is through charity, then as Edward Said observed, this says more about us than it does about them.

9.6. Chapter summary

This chapter has presented a summary of the findings that resulted from this study to answer research question six. The educative and relational implications of how young people interpret and engage with NGO messages have been presented from a postdevelopment perspective. This theoretical lens privileges an emphasis on the discursive power of development and asks how it constructs, enables and constrains ways of thinking about people. In using this theoretical lens I also chose to switch the gaze of the typical study in development and focus on how the discourse of development influences young people in the global North. In doing this I was informed by the concerns of others who argue that global social relations are influenced by the representational practices of the development sector.

The NGO sector is part of a diverse mediascape across the global divides and their influence should not be underestimated. What is clear from this research is that relationships across divides are influenced in complex ways by the NGO sector. The sector is an important communicator. This study concludes that the way forward is not to be constrained in our thinking, but to be open to learn from others, to unlearn our previous, safe ways of knowing and to welcome complexity. The students in this study wanted to hear from the Other, to learn from them in a variety of ways. This is an encouraging aspect of cultural relations that NGO's need to foster. I conclude with the hope that NGOs will consider that what may have been dismissed as the byproducts of their campaigns and education material is perhaps of more importance than the initial awareness and fundraising outcomes that they seek.

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APPENDIX A: PERMISSION SLIPS AND CONSENT FORMS

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



Participant Information Sheet for principals and teachers

Research project: Exploring how young people make meanings from images produced by development media

Researcher: Rachel Tallon, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.

Students are often exposed to imagery of the developing world that is part of a wider lens of charity. I would like to invite your school to participate in research concerning how these images influence young people's understanding of the world. This research will critically inform education practice in the social sciences concerning how teachers use visual material produced by international aid agencies and how students learn about the developing world.

As part this research I would like to interview a teacher of a year 10 social studies class and their students in your school. Your school has been selected from the Education Counts database as meeting at least one of six demographic criteria (such as high decile, urban, ethnically diverse etc.) that is significant to the research and will provide useful insights into how young people from various backgrounds interpret these images.

Victoria University has approved the ethical requirements for this research, and as part of this, requires that informed consent be obtained from:

- the principal of the school
- the teacher directly involved in the study
- the selected social studies class of year 10 students
- the legal guardians of the students

The process for the research is as follows:

1. An initial meeting with the designated social studies teacher to determine what resources they use concerning the developing world and when they are likely to use them in a unit of teaching in the course of the year.
2. At this stage I will arrange for the teacher to hand out student information and consent forms so that on my return they will have been read and signed by the students and their parents/guardians.
3. Returning to the school after the resources have been used in the classroom and carrying out the following in the classroom (with those students who have handed in their signed consent forms):

- (i) Lesson 1: A brief discussion about the topic of images in development media, followed by asking the students to fill in a personal questionnaire and detail their own thoughts regarding images of the developing world. Total time for introduction, discussion and activity: approx 30min.
- (ii) Lesson 2: In the next social studies lesson that comes after this first one, the students will be asked to make up focus groups of between 4 and 5 students to enable them to discuss issues and concerns regarding the images on a large activity sheet. A voice recording device will be placed in the centre of each group so that their discussions can be recorded. Total time for explanation and activity: approx 40min.
- (iii) At a later date I will return to the school to have a recorded interview with the teacher, concerning the visual resources used in the unit (approx 40min).

It is important to note the following:

- a) All participation is entirely voluntary, and participants may withdraw without any question at any time before the data is analysed. The final date for withdrawal is December 31, 2012.
- b) All responses are confidential, neither your school, the teacher, nor the students, will be able to be identified personally in any manner. On the individual student questionnaire I will be asking for demographic information, but will not ask for names. It will be made clear to them that their responses will be kept confidential and they will not be identified. When comments are analysed they will be aggregated so that the responses come from a demographic group, such as 'boys who have not travelled outside of New Zealand consider that...'.
 - c) At a later date I will send the teachers the interview transcripts to allow them to check for accuracy. All references to schools, organisations or specific people will be removed.
 - d) No other person besides myself and my two supervisors listed below will see the interview transcripts or the student questionnaires or focus group responses.
 - e) Students who have not handed in their signed consent forms will not be able to participate and will be under the supervision of the classroom teacher during the activity. They may remain in the classroom at the teacher's discretion.

In this research I am interested in the teacher's and students' opinions and thoughts regarding the visual imagery. In my analysis of what they say I will be grouping data together under common themes. In the reporting stage I may use a quotation to summarize a particular theme if applicable, but will not identify the school or student.

The thesis that eventuates from this research will be submitted to the School of Geography, Environmental and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, in April 2013. A 3-page summary of the findings will be made available for all participants in an accessible manner at this time also. Transcripts and questionnaires will be destroyed two years after this date. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals.

I appreciate the opportunity to carry out research in your school and will endeavour to treat all participants with the utmost professionalism. If you are happy with this information and consent to this research process, please fill out the forms attached for both the principal and the teacher selected and return to me at the address below. If you have any questions or would like to receive more information about this research project, please contact me or either of my supervisors.

Rachel Tallon 9 May 2012

Email: Rachel@sqr.net

Ph (04) 9766229 Cell: 021612931

Supervisors: Prof. John Overton, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University. Email: john.overton@vuw.ac.nz Ph: (04) 4635281

Dr. Joanna Kidman, Te Kura Māori, Victoria University

Email: Joanna.kidman@vuw.ac.nz Ph: (04) 463 5882



Consent form for principals

Research project: Exploring how young people make meanings from images produced by development media.

Researcher: Rachel Tallon, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project and agree to taking part. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I may withdraw my school from this project before 31 December 2012, without having to give any reasons.

I understand that any information gained from staff or students of my school will be kept confidential to the researcher and the two supervisors associated with the project. Published results will not identify my school and no opinions from the staff or students involved will be able to be identified or attributed to this school. I understand that two years after the thesis is submitted all tape recordings, transcripts and any written questionnaires will be destroyed.

- ☐ I would like to receive a summary of the results of this research when it is completed.
- ☐ I would like to receive a copy of any academic papers that result from this research.

School: _____

School Principal name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Please return this signed consent form to Rachel Tallon, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600, Wellington (or I can come in and pick it up from your school, or you may scan it and return by email to rachel@sqrl.net).



Consent form for teachers

Research project: Exploring how young people make meanings from images produced by development media

Researcher: Rachel Tallon, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project and I agree to taking part. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I may withdraw my school from this project before 31 December 2012, without having to give any reasons.

I understand that any information gained from me will be kept confidential to the researcher and the two supervisors associated with the project. Published results will not identify me nor my school or students and no opinions from myself or the students involved will be able to be identified or attributed to this school. I understand that two years after the thesis is submitted all tape recordings, transcripts and any written questionnaires will be destroyed.

☐ I would like to receive a summary of the results of this research when it is completed.

☐ I would like to receive a copy of any academic papers that result from this research.

School teacher: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Please return this signed consent form to Rachel Tallon, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600, Wellington (or I can come in and pick it up from your school, or you may scan it and return by email to rachel@sqrl.net).



Participant Information Sheet for students and student guardians

Research project: Exploring how young people make meanings from images produced by development media.

Researcher: Rachel Tallon, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.

About the research

I would like to invite you as a student to participate in research about what young people think of images (photographs) of the Developing World. You often see images, especially those produced by international humanitarian agencies on posters, in school resources and on websites etc., and in this research I am interested in your thoughts and opinions about these images. Victoria University has approved the ethical requirements for this research, and as part of this, requires that informed consent be obtained from: your school principal, teacher, yourselves and your legal guardian. The research is carried out over two lessons in social studies.

What's involved for you, the student:

1. You will fill out an individual questionnaire that gives me some statistical information about yourself and also your personal opinions about images of development.
2. Your social studies class will do a small group exercise. Each group of 4-5 people will have about 30 min to discuss some questions and write down some responses to them. Your group discussions will be recorded onto a voice recorder so I can type them up later.

Note that:

- f) You don't have to participate and you may withdraw at any stage without any question at any time before the data is analysed. The final date for withdrawal is 31 December 2012.
- g) All responses are confidential, neither your school, your teacher, nor any of the students will be able to be identified personally in any manner.
- h) No other person besides myself and my two supervisors listed below will see your responses.
- i) The process will take two lessons (in social studies class time).
- j) Students who choose not to participate will be supervised by their regular teacher.
- k) Your guardian is not required to take part in the research, but they do need to give their consent for you, the student, to take part.

The thesis (written report) that results from this research will be submitted to the School of Geography, Environmental and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, in April

2013. A 3-page summary of the findings will be made available for all participants in an accessible manner at this time also. Transcripts and questionnaires will be destroyed two years after this date. If you are happy with this information and consent to this research process, **please sign the consent form and ask a parent or guardian to also read this information and sign the form, then return it to your teacher.** If you have any questions or would like to receive more information about this research project, please contact me or either of my supervisors.

Thank you,

Rachel Tallon

Date: 22 May 2012

Email: Rachel@sqr1.net Ph (04) 9766229 Cell: 021612931

Supervisors: Prof. John Overton, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University. Email: john.overton@vuw.ac.nz Ph: (04) 4635281

Dr. Joanna Kidman, Te Kura Māori, Victoria University

Email: Joanna.kidman@vuw.ac.nz Ph: (04) 463 5882



Consent form for students and student guardians to participation in research

Research project: Exploring how young people make meanings from images produced by development media

Researcher: Rachel Tallon, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.

For the student and their guardian to read, tick and sign:

- ☐ We have read about this research and understand what is to be asked of us
- ☐ We agree to (the student) taking part in this research
- ☐ We have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to our satisfaction
- ☐ We understand that we may withdraw from this project before data collection and analysis is complete without having to give any reasons, and the final date for withdrawal is 31 December 2012.
- ☐ We understand that any information gained will be kept confidential to the researcher and the two supervisors associated with the project. Published results will not identify the school and no opinions from the staff or students involved will be able to be identified or attributed to this school.
- ☐ We understand that two years after the thesis is submitted all tape recordings, transcripts and any written questionnaires will be destroyed.
- ☐ We would like to receive a summary of the results of this research when it is completed. They will be made available to your school and if you (the student) are still at this school I will endeavour to ensure that you receive a copy.

(Please print)

Student Name: _____ Class _____

Signed: (Student) _____ Date: _____

Signed: (Guardian) _____ Date: _____

Please return this signed consent form to your social studies teacher. Thank you.



Information for photograph suppliers for use of photographs in research

Research project: Exploring how young people make meanings from images produced by development media

Researcher: Rachel Tallon, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.

I would like to invite you/your organisation to give me permission to use images that you/your organisation have/have created for use in questionnaires and group activities as part of this research. This research will critically inform education practice in the social sciences concerning how teachers use visual material produced by international aid agencies and how students learn about the developing world.

In this research I am interested in the teacher's and students' opinions and thoughts regarding the visual imagery. In my analysis of what they say I will be grouping data together under common themes. In the reporting stage I may use a quotation to summarize a particular theme if applicable, but will not identify any schools, students or image suppliers.

The thesis that eventuates from this research will be submitted to the School of Geography, Environmental and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, in April 2013. A 3-page summary of the findings will be made available to you in an accessible manner at this time also. Transcripts and questionnaires will be destroyed two years after this date. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals.

Victoria University has approved the ethical requirements for this research and as part of this, requires your informed consent for supplying images. All participation is entirely voluntary, and participants may withdraw without any question at any time before the data is analysed. The final date for withdrawal is December 31, 2012. If you are satisfied with this information and give permission for the use of images supplied by yourself or your organisation, please fill out the consent form attached and return to me at the address below. If you have any questions or would like to receive more information about this research project, please contact me or either of my supervisors.

Rachel Tallon, SGEES, Victoria University, PO Box 600, Wellington

Email: Rachel@sqrl.net

Ph (04) 9766229 Cell: 021612931

Supervisors: Dr. Andrew McGregor, SGEES, Victoria University

Email: Andrew.mcgregor@vuw.ac.nz, Ph: (04) 463 5186

Dr. Joanna Kidman, Te Kura Māori, Victoria University Email: Joanna.kidman@vuw.ac.nz

Ph: (04) 463 5882



Permission form for photograph suppliers for use of photographs in research

Please fill out where appropriate and return to Rachel Tallon, School of Geography,
Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University, PO Box 600, Wellington or email:
Rachel@sqrl.net

Name of Organisation: _____

Contact person: _____

A) Images we are supplying:

Please note any appropriate reference number, caption or photographer's name etc. (you can use up a few lines)

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

We approve of their use for:

- ☐ For use in the colour-printed surveys for 150 students (the students will not be able to keep a copy of the surveys, which include a questionnaire and group activity). All surveys will be destroyed after two years from the thesis completion date of May 1, 2013. They will not be available online
- ☐ For use within the written thesis as examples of images used in the survey. This will be available in print from the University's research repository and a digital copy will also be made available online within Victoria University's online thesis collection
- ☐ For use in further teaching material, such as academic papers, Powerpoint presentations etc., that may arise from this research.

Acknowledgement of photographer and/or organisation (please tick your choice)

- ☐ No acknowledgement of the photograph – it should remain anonymous throughout
- ☐ The photographer to be credited next to each photograph but our organisation is to remain anonymous
- ☐ The photographer to be credited next to each photograph but in the final report we would like our NGO to be credited with supplying the image for the research.

B) We are aware of the following:

- ☐ That all participation is entirely voluntary, and you/your organisation may withdraw at any stage without any question at any time before the data is analysed. The final date for withdrawal is 31 December 2012.
- ☐ Any information gained will be kept confidential to the researcher and the two supervisors associated with the project. Published results will not identify you or your organisation unless you expressively wish them to be so. The images supplied will not be used for any other purpose.

C) The results of this research

- ☐ I would like to receive a summary of the results of this research when it is completed.
- ☐ I would like to receive a copy of any academic papers that result from this research.

Contact person: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Thank you

Rachel Tallon

APPENDIX B: ACTIVITIES USED FOR DATA COLLECTION AND FEEDBACK TO THE PARTICIPANTS


Table B1: Field collection process at each school



Step		Action	Details
1	Original enquiry	Introduction to the school, often via email contact with the head of department for social sciences, followed by contact (phone call or email) with the principal or principal's secretary.	On the head of department's recommendation, contact was made with a teacher of year 10 social studies who was willing to be part of the research.
2	Information and consent forms	Information about the research and the consent forms were sent to the principal and the teacher(s) likely to be involved	
3	Student consent	Once the forms had been signed at step 2 the students in the designated year 10 class were informed of the research. At this stage the consent forms are handed out to the students.	In four of the five schools, the students were introduced to the research by myself. In one school, due to the distance the teachers introduced the research before handing out the consent forms.
4	Time confirmation for activities with students	The teacher(s) involved selected two lessons, as close together as possible, in which the activities could be carried out.	
Steps 1-4 generally took between two to four weeks to complete. Two weeks was allowed for the students to sign their forms and hand them in before the following steps proceeded.			
5	Activity 1: Individual Questionnaires for students	This activity was carried out in the first social studies lesson.	The activity took about 35 minutes, so the teachers were instructed to return approximately 10 minutes before the end of the lesson.
6	Activity 2: Focus group activity for students	In the next social studies lesson that was timetabled to follow, the second activity was carried out with the students.	The activity generally took 45 minutes, during which time the teacher was absent from the class.
Between steps 6 and 7, the data from the students was processed and within four weeks aggregated comments from the students formed an 'initial impressions' analysis which was sent to the teacher(s), the principal and head of department. The teacher(s) were also sent the interview questions.			
7	Semi-structured interview with the teacher	Carried out with the teacher within five weeks of step 6.	The interviews were held at each school, (with the exception of one school, that responded via email) taking between 35 and 45 minutes long.




8	Transcript check with the teacher	Within two weeks of the interview, the transcript was sent to the teacher for validation. A one-page information sheet use with the students is also sent to the teacher	This one page information sheet is referred to as the Follow up hand out and is listed in this Appendix as Article B2.
The time frame for steps 1 - 8 at each school was approximately 10 weeks.			

Table B2: The individual questionnaire

The actual sheets the students used are not displayed here, as the following table gives a rationale for each question and the image used. In the actual sheets used by the students, column two is absent.

Section 1: Questions concerning terms <i>Your thoughts on:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you think of when people say the words ‘the Developing World’? 2. What words would you use to describe Aotearoa New Zealand? 3. What do you think are the three main causes of poverty in the world? 4. What do you think NZ should do about world poverty, if anything? 		Rationale and type Designed to prompt thinking about the issue. A few students asked for clarification at the beginning. Answers to question 1 were analysed to help answer RQ 4.
Section 2: Recent topic in Social Studies In social studies you often learn about countries overseas, especially some that are very different from Aotearoa New Zealand, and are sometimes called ‘developing countries’. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5) Did you enjoy learning about these places? (circle one) Yes/Mostly/Not really/No 6) If you answered not really or no, could you say why. 7) Think about any pictures you see sometimes of ‘poorer’ countries. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) What impressions did you get from those pictures? b) Would you like to travel to those places (circle one) Yes/ Maybe /Not really/Never 		Question 5 was a closed question, however, question 6 allowed them to express some reasons why. Question 7a was very important for answering RQ 1 Both questions 5 and 6 were used in the final analysis but not specifically for answering RQs 1 and 4. The answers to 7a and b were used for answering RQ 1.
Section 3: Key questions concerning images		Type of image and rationale for use
8) When you see an image like this: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) What does your head think? b) What do you feel in your heart? c) Does this sort of image make you want to take some sort of action? Why/why not? d) What would you like to ask the people in the pictures? 		Often as used as an attention-grabbing type of image, the lone vulnerable child is a common NGO image (Clark, 2004; Manzo, 2008; Paech, 2004). This was the first image the students saw and it was on the second page.

<p>9) What do you think of when you see a photo like this that might be in a textbook or on a website?</p>		<p>The first image was used for the pilot school, the second image was for the remaining schools. A positive image was purposively included. (Dyck & Coldevin, 1992; Radley & Kennedy, 1997)</p>
<p>After three schools it could be seen that most of the answers to this question were very similar, all being in the vein of ‘It is good to see the kids getting an education’ or ‘I feel happy that the boy is getting an education’, so in line with the directional change discussed later, the question was changed (the image stayed as the smiling boy) for the remaining two schools to read:</p> <p>9a) What do you think is the best way to help people overseas if they are in need?</p> <p>9b) What kinds of things would make you want to get more involved in helping others overseas (if anything?)</p>		
<p>10) What do you think of when you see a photo like this that might be in a textbook or on a website?</p>		<p>Critiques have argued that the NGO image sets up a donor-reciever relationship in which viewers always associate with the donor. This question wanted to see if any students identified with the man in the photo or had any critical comment about the nature of the photo or New Zealanders working overseas.</p>
<p>11) What’s your opinion of pictures of people and places in the ‘developing world’? (tick one box for each statement)</p>	<p>This question was divided into four statements which used a <i>likert</i> scale.</p>	<p>This closed question was designed to give the students a break from writing long answers, and also allowed easy numerical analysis of the responses to the questions.</p>

	Strongly agree	Agree	I'm in between	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
I think the pictures I see of the Developing World in class and around school show me exactly what it's like over there.						
The pictures of people in distress (like the starving children) are not very respectful to those people.						
The pictures from the charities are pretty much the same as what I see on TV, the Internet and in the movies about those places.						
I think some of the pictures concentrate too much on the negative things.						
12) What are your thoughts when you see a photo like this one?	 <p>The image above was used in the first two schools and the image below for the last three schools.</p> 					The intent was to show an image that is often critiqued as being stereotypical. Critiques are concerned with the 'violent stereotypes' and the 'dirty slums' of the South. This question sought to see whether the students felt sympathy or anger at the boy holding the gun or the street seller in the slum.
13) Do you think the Pacific region is part of the 'Developing World'? Please explain your answer						This question asked the students to think about what constitutes the 'Developing World', and whether the Pacific region is part of this.
Section four: Demographic information <i>(For the pilot school this was at the beginning; for the remainder of the schools it was placed at the end.)</i>	This question was used to make some comparisons between the answers, particularly between boys and girls and also if those who had travelled had markedly different answers to those who had not. Age and religious affiliation were not significant in the final analysis.					

14) Please circle which applies to you:

a) Gender: Male Female

b) Age: 13 14 15 16

c) Do you regularly attend a church, temple or a faith-based community or youth group?
Yes No

d) What is your ethnicity? _____

e) Have you spent much time (more than three weeks) in non-Western countries? Yes
No

f) If you answered yes to (e), could you explain where and for how long:

Section five: Ending questions to reflect on questionnaire

Asking the students if they have any questions themselves, or if there are issues that have not been covered in the questionnaire:





15) Thank you for your time in answering these questions. You may have more thoughts or questions about the issues mentioned here. Please feel free to write down any personal comments here:



(Your feedback is really important for my research)

Table B3: Focus group activity

The actual sheets the students used are not displayed here, as the following table gives a rationale for each question and the image used. In the actual sheets used by the students, column two concerning the rationale is absent.

<p>Section one: Questions discussing concepts</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) What does the term ‘Developing World’ mean to each of you, when it is used to describe countries? 2) What do you think are some of the causes of global poverty in the world? 3) Think of the recent topic you had in social studies about a situation or people in a ‘developing country’. Think of the photos that were in the resources you used, any powerpoints you saw, the websites you went to and so forth. Describe the topic (what was it about and what countries were covered): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Discuss your overall <i>impressions</i> of the country or people from the general topic. b) How did the photos you saw make you feel towards the country, the people or the situation there? c) Would you like to travel there or meet people from those places? Why/why not? 	<p>Rationale</p> <p>These questions are similar to the opening ones in the questionnaire, but they allow the students to put forward and discuss their viewpoints in the group setting.</p>
<p>Section two: New Zealand and the world</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4) Has anyone in your group travelled to countries in the Developing World or lived there? Give a brief description of your group’s experience of the Developing World. 5) How would you rate NZ in terms of its ‘development’? 	<p>This question was intended to identify the student’s exposure to the South, but the students often moved quickly on to question 5 and enjoyed ranking NZ out of ten.</p>
<p>Section three: Helping Others</p> <p>‘NGOs’ stands for international non-government aid and development organisations. You may have heard of UNICEF or World Vision.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6) List all the NGOs your group has heard of: 7) What opinions do you have about these NGOs ? 	<p>This question was designed to gauge their knowledge and opinions of NGOs and to see if any critique surfaced within the group discussion before any images were discussed.</p>
<p>After three schools, a change was made to question 7 to elicit more detailed responses. For the remaining two schools, question 7 became:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7a) What do you think of the work that these NGOs do, overseas...and here in New Zealand? 7b) Do you think they bring the situation and people overseas closer to you? <p>This change proved to be very useful as students gave many answers to these two questions and debated them with their peers.</p>	

Section four: Key questions concerning images	Type of image if used	Rationale
<p>8) Your response to ‘the campaign-style poster’ When you see a poster up around school by an NGO that has the face of a child...like this:</p> <p>a) What do you think...</p> <p>b) What do you feel...</p>		<p>Often as used as an attention-grabbing type of image, the vulnerable child is a common NGO image (Clark, 2004; Manzo, 2008; Paech, 2004). This question deliberately used a clipart graphic and asked the students to make a differentiation between thinking and feeling. It was one of the most successful questions in the study.</p>
<p>9)The ‘celebrity photo’</p> <p>a) When you see a photo, like this one, of a celebrity (that you may or may not know of) visiting an aid project or something similar, what are your thoughts?</p> <p>b) Discuss whether you all have similar thoughts or if there is disagreement amongst your group.</p>	<p>This was the first photo the students saw, on the second page of the activity sheets.</p> 	<p>The celebrity photo is a common image used by NGOs and there is considerable critique around this (Louise Davis, 2010; Njoroge, 2009) and this image of David Beckham was used to gauge both the students’ knowledge and their critique of this form of marketing.</p>
<p>10)The ‘rural’ photo</p> <p>a) When you see a photo like this one, what are your thoughts?</p> <p>b) Discuss whether you all have similar thoughts or if there some disagreement amongst your group.</p>		<p>There has been critique that NGO images of the developing world are mostly rural and keep the developing world in a state of past primitiveness so in the pilot school this image was used to see if they accepted or challenged its authenticity.</p>
<p>In the pilot school the responses for this question were very short, so the decision was made to change this image for a student volunteer.</p>		
<p>10)The ‘New Zealander’ in the photo</p> <p>a) When you see a photo, like this one, of perhaps, a student overseas on an aid trip...what does your group think?</p> <p>b) Discuss whether you all have similar thoughts or if there some disagreement amongst your group.</p>		<p>Critics have been concerned about the development of a ‘saviour’ complex whereby the aid worker is reified and the charity work becomes more about their experience (Dogra, 2012; Jefferess,</p>

		2012). This question was designed to canvass what the students thought about someone they could identify with, as opposed to the celebrity in the previous image.
<p>11) The ‘mother and child ‘ photo</p> <p>a) When you see a photo, like this one, of people from a different culture to yours, especially in a charity poster or similar, what are your thoughts about them?</p> <p>b) Discuss whether you all have similar thoughts or if there some disagreement amongst your group.</p>		<p>The ‘mother and child’ image is the second most critiqued image after the ‘lone, decontextualized’ child and critics argue the image feeds into religious iconography and is metonym for many people (Clark, 2004; Paech, 2004). This question sought discussion about the type of image as well as any feelings they may have towards the people in these types of images.</p>
<p>In the pilot study this image of a gypsy woman and child was used but did not elicit deep discussions and it was decided that it was not the ‘generic’ NGO image so it was changed to the image below, but the questions remained the same. This change was justified as the discussions around this image were very useful.</p>		
		<p>It is significant that this image was chosen as it is of people of African ethnicity and it is a staged image, by a photographer. The students were shown the same people in a contrasting image in the Follow up hand out listed in this Appendix.</p>
<p>Section five: Discussion questions</p>		
12 a) What <i>impressions</i> do each of you have about the places and people in photos produced by NGOs ?		<p>Each of these questions were placed in an oval bubble, and could be answered in any order. They proved to be very useful in generating discussions about the</p>
b) What do you think of the relationships <i>between</i> countries when you see these photos?		
c) What do you <i>like</i> about these photos?		

d) What do you not like about these photos?	images. The bold font of specific words directed the students in a useful way.
<p>After the first three schools, question 12b was changed slightly. To read <i>What do you think of the relationships between NZ and these countries when you see these photos?</i></p> <p>Questions c and d were combined to read <i>What do you like and not like about these photos?</i></p> <p>Question d was changed to read <i>What do you think NGOs could do better in terms of their marketing about what they do?</i> This question gave the students opportunity to offer their advice and thoughts and to move the discussion forward.</p>	
Section six: Ending questions to reflect on the activity	
<p>13) Of all the things you've discussed, which was most important to each of you, and why?</p> <p>14) Is there anything concerning this topic that you think we've missed or not discussed fully?</p> <p>15) What questions do you have?</p>	These closing questions proved to be very useful as often students added something that was not covered in the questionnaire or something that they had been thinking about for a while.

Table B4: The interview questions for the teachers

Introduction (preamble): This interview seeks to understand some of the issues you, as a social sciences teacher may have when you use material concerning the developing world, particularly any images.

These images are specifically photographs (as opposed to cartoons or graphics) and can be part of a text, or in a Powerpoint presentation or some other media form, such as posters, on a website you may use, or direct student to, or on a CD Rom.

There are no right or wrong answer to these questions – and you may wish to add some questions of your own. During the taped interview process we will follow these questions as a guideline. There is no set time limit for each question. For question two, we will refer to any resources that you may have used in class (if you didn't use any we'll skip this question).

<p>1. When you use education resources about the developing world from a non-governmental organisation (such as an international humanitarian organisation or charity, NGO) could you elaborate on the following:</p> <p>a) Do you supplement the NGO material with other sources (such as from the Internet or other publishing houses, textbooks etc.), or is it your sole source of information about the issue or people you are teaching?</p> <p>b) Was it easy to obtain the resource and did it come with useful teacher guidelines?</p> <p>c) In your opinion do your students enjoy using this material?</p>
<p>2. Consider the images in any of the resources that you recently used with your students.</p> <p>a) What do you think the overall impression would be of developing countries or</p>

<p>people that your students take away from the images in the resource?</p> <p>b) Are there any images in the resources that you are not entirely happy with? Could you elaborate on why?</p>
<p>3. Emotions and relations</p> <p>a) What kinds of emotions do you think these images are likely to generate from your students? (for example: pity, empathy, activism, cynicism, apathy, boredom etc.)</p> <p>b) In your opinion do the images foster a sense of interconnectedness and interdependence between your students and the people in the images?</p> <p>c) How do you think the relationship between your students and the people in the developing countries is portrayed though the images? (such as exoticising/equalising/patronising/empowering/distancing etc.)</p>
<p>4. Your role – the tensions and difficulties.</p> <p>a) Describe some of the key challenges you face in teaching about issues or people in the developing world.</p> <p>b) How much (if at all) do you think your students are influenced by images in terms of their perceptions of the developing world?</p> <p>c) Do you ever systematically critique images from NGOs with your students in much the same way that you might critique textual information?</p> <p>d) If you were to sum up what you think of images produced by NGOs for use in classroom, what would your thoughts be?</p>
<p>5. You've also had a chance to evaluate for yourself some of your students' aggregated comments regarding images and development education resource material from the initial impressions. The specific images the students were similar to those they might see in an NGO education resource.</p> <p>a) What are your reactions and thoughts concerning the student responses?</p> <p>b) In combination, is there anything in their responses that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surprised you? • Confirmed any thoughts you may have already had? • You were grateful for? <p>c) Has this 'generalized' feedback from the students been of use to you?</p>
<p>Finally, it would be useful for me to know a little about you statistically:</p> <p>a. How long have you been teaching in the social sciences?</p> <p>b. Would you say you used INDGO material a lot, a bit or rarely?</p> <p>c. Have you travelled or lived in developing countries?</p> <p>d. Have you worked in overseas development work?</p> <p>e. Do you make up your own material about issues and people in the developing world, and if so, what key sources do you use?</p>

Table B5: Matrix for initial impressions

This matrix as a first analysis, informed the ‘Initial Impressions’ that was given to the teacher.

Synopsis of meaning-making by students in class X	School: Date:
Description of Class:	Description of focus groups:
1: What meanings of development and North/South relations do individual students make from visual images of the poor produced by NGOs for campaign or education purposes?	2: What discussions and meanings do young people have concerning the roles of NGOs when situated in groups?
Examples from questions 1, 4, 8 and 9 from questionnaire	Group A:
	Group B:
	Group C:
Themes of significance:	Themes of significance:
3. What emotions and attitudes are identifiable in the student’s discursive accounts of meanings of visual images of development, and around what themes do they occur?	4. What impressions of the developing world do students have from studying these places in the classroom? From question 7a in Questionnaire and general discussions
Group A:	Group A:
Group B:	Group B:
Group C:	Group C:
Emotions of significance around what topics:	Themes of significance:

Article B1: Example of initial impressions given to the teacher

[school name] initial research findings from XXX year 10 class

Date

By Rachel Tallon

Dear teacher,

This research is looking into what meanings about development and the developing world young people make from images that non-government development and aid organisations (NGOs) create, whether those images are from general media or used in the classroom setting.

The students, after a brief explanation of the topic, understood what was required of them and were very helpful. Their participation was most appreciated.

The following are some very general impressions from both the individual questionnaires and the focus groups. At the start of the focus groups activity there was some confusion around if they had studied the developing world in class, as they could not recall much of their year 9 course and some were unsure of the term (which they understood as 'Third World'). I told them that they could refer to their recent topic on [...], which by all accounts they found very moving and interesting. Although they had not really used NGO material in class recently, they referred most of the time to NGO campaigns in the wider media and NGO related events at school. Reference was also made to two large NGO posters on the classroom wall.

1. Most students were very altruistic, wanting to help the 'distant poor' on a personal level (although less so on a national level). They recognized that they lived a comfortable life in New Zealand while others in many places do not. However, they exhibited a high level of 'guilt' that they associated with aid appeals and NGOs in general.
2. Related to the above, there was a higher than expected level of what is commonly (and sometimes mistakenly) called 'compassion fatigue'. The students were not lacking in compassion, as some students expressed empathy and quite emotive feelings of sympathy, but they were tired of the demand by NGOs, and the energy required to refuse it. This can be called 'appeal or demand fatigue'. This student's comment is typical in describing the dilemma that they experience:

“like...I feel like I should do that and it’s not just how I feel like I want to do, I actually WANT to take action, I WANT to donate, I WANT to go over and help out but the thing is, I can’t, like I’m not made of money, I CAN’T like, like I...this may sound selfish, but I need the money for myself.... I need the money for my own food my own clothes, my own shelter and... I like... if I had the spare money...I would do it without like. Without even thinking about it, but it’s just like I’m not made of money...I need the money.

You can see from this extract that the student is torn and feels bad as a result of her having to give excuses why she cannot meet the appeal. Some research points to this emotive work as aligning guilt with learning about the distant poor as being not always a positive correlation.

3. NGOs rated highly in terms of what they do, but there were some questions regarding where all the money goes and also some worry about how ‘the worst situation is shown’ in the images. They felt that most of the pictures seemed the same, of sad people, mostly kids, in rags. Two groups expressed tiredness over the NGO messaging being repetitive and the ‘same old, same old’ thing. Three students referred to the Kony 2012 movement as a fresh form of campaigning.
4. There were mixed feelings towards celebrities’ efforts in international humanitarian aid, with some hesitations about their authenticity.
5. In terms of the images and general impressions of the ‘developing world’, most saw the developing world as dangerous (a sort of ‘Wild West’) and lacking technology, but surprisingly, most students said they would like to travel there. Overall, they saw the developing world as having poor environments and governments with corrupt and selfish leaders. For one group the developing world seems to be ‘not in the main loop of things’ internationally. This perhaps reflects that often unless there is tragedy, the developing world doesn’t feature much in wider media. There were interesting discussions concerning Zimbabwe and India.
6. Some students made mention of race as a factor, with comments like *‘it’s mostly coloured people who you see are in trouble’*, which was an interesting finding.

These findings are a first analysis, and over time as I revisit the data, I may find more interesting comments and thoughts. While some of the findings were similar to the other schools, there were also notable differences. The students were great to work with, and I really appreciated their honest thoughts and opinions. They are a credit to your school.

In appreciation,

Rachel Tallon

Article B2: The follow up handout given to the students

Follow up to research on NGO images

Dear Students

Thank you very much for your time and opinions concerning NGO (international charities) images. Your comments are all very worthwhile for my research. Some questions you may like to consider and discuss amongst yourselves are as follows:

- a. Many of you asked about how much donated money goes overseas or is spent on things like advertising and administration here in New Zealand.
As a general guideline, if at least 75% of donated funds are spent in the intended countries, then the NGO is following accepted good practice.
- b. There is a 'divide' between trying to show the nice side of a country and also its problems. This is not an easy one to answer. Think about how Tourism NZ shows us overseas. When you see pictures of another country you can ask yourself these questions:
 1. Is that all there is to this country or those people?
 2. What is missing, what are we not being shown? (like the causes of the situation)
 3. Why am I being shown that picture (what is the aim of it)?
- c. You might remember this picture of Mary Lachihana, on the left from the group activity. Here she is, with her daughter. Quite different. She did this for a reason, and she, like many people in the 'developing world' don't like the 'pity me' pictures. You can visit the photographer Duncan McNicholl's blogsite <http://www.how-matters.org/2010/10/24/pity-pictures-and-poverty/> for more discussion about this. What do you think?

Mary Lachihana and her children Finias and Lunia



See what's different: the camera angle, the clothes, the facial expressions. Can you spot other differences?

Towards the end of the year I hope to send out some preliminary results of the research to your teacher so you can see the general findings from this research. Keep up the questions, and once again, thank you for your time.

Rachel Tallon

APPENDIX C: METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

Table C1: Data collection issues

Issues identified prior to data collection and their outcome in the field concerning the focus group activity.

Possible Issue	Outcome in the field
Peer discussions may inhibit students, with some speakers dominating.	This occurred in a few groups, and so certainly some students did not participate as fully as was hoped.
The subject matter was not necessarily of interest to everyone.	While the majority of students involved expressed an interest in the topic, a handful said that they found it 'boring'. In a few groups the students talk about other subjects that are of more interest to them. Bodily expressions of disinterest included getting up from their groups and wandering around the room or listening to their electronic devices.
Conceptual difficulties with the subject matter.	Some of the students thought comment was required on the specific images. I made an effort to explain the difference to them but for a handful of students, this conceptual leap from specific to symbolic, was difficult.
There was potential for attitudes and emotions raised through the discussion to cause some students discomfort in sharing their opinions	Most of the discussions were handled well by the students and if there was disagreement, they seemed comfortable to disagree with each other.
It was not easy to evaluate whether or not a 'safe space' had been created for each individual participant.	It could not readily be seen from observations nor deduced from the recordings if any participants had felt unsafe in the activity.
The groups were moderated by themselves so control over time spent on questions was limited.	This did cause some issues and in one group, over ten minutes was spent answering one question.
Handling the voice recorder	Some students could not resist touching the

	device and in a few situations they pressed 'pause' or 'stop' accidentally and the result was a broken transcription.
Hearing the voices in the transcribing process	As there were up to six groups of four or more people having discussions in a classroom, I anticipated some noise issues. Generally these were minor and most voices could be heard clearly. The main difficulty was distinguishing the voices from each other in the transcribing.

Table C2: Criteria for selecting the schools in the study

<p>A geographic spread to reflect national diversity</p> <p>To represent both rural and urban populations, four schools were selected from urban areas and the remaining school from a rural area. This reflects the geographic ratio of the general population distribution in New Zealand.</p>
<p>A diversity of socio-economic indicators</p> <p>In New Zealand, the Ministry of Education provides a rating system of schools based on a number of variables including income, education level and occupation of the parents (Ministry of Education, n.d.). Using this ‘decile rating’ system to stratify the schools, I purposely chose two schools from the lower ‘band’ (a decile rating of 1-3), two from the medium band (4-6) and one high decile (7-10). This is a broad classification system and it cannot accurately gauge the socio-economic status of each participant, so serves only as a guideline for the socio-economic demography of the community that the school is situated in.</p>
<p>Inclusion of a high multicultural ratio</p> <p>The Ministry of Education, through its database <i>Education Counts</i>, also records the ethnicity of students in each school according to five broad categories: European, Māori, Pacific Island, Asian, MELAA (Middle Eastern, Latin American and African), Other, and International Students²⁵ (Education Counts, 2011). By calculating a percentage of students that were neither Māori, European nor Pacific Island, a measure of the ratio of multicultural students from outside New Zealand and the Pacific Islands was obtained. Schools with a high multicultural ratio were privileged if they complemented the other criteria. The reason for grouping New Zealand and Pacific Island ethnicities together was to privilege the Asian and MELAA categories. It was also hoped that a high multicultural ratio would provide some students who had travelled overseas, or were ‘first-generation New Zealanders’.</p>
<p>Nature of schools</p> <p>In New Zealand approximately eighty-five per cent of secondary schools are state schools, funded by central government. Of the remaining fifteen per cent, the majority are integrated schools, where some of their funding is from central government and fees are charged to make up the difference. A minority of schools are fully private. Many private and integrated schools have a special character that is often religious in nature. They may have religious, cultural or historical links to a centre of faith or national faith organisation. Of the five schools in the</p>

²⁵ International students are not New Zealand residents, and are often fee-paying or exchange students. The category MELAA is relatively recent, beginning as a separate category in 2010. Together with the category ‘Other’, there was a 113% increase in these students in the decade from 2000 to 2010, to being 2.4% of the state school population.

study, four are state schools with the fifth school being a catholic integrated school. All schools in the study followed the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007).

APPENDIX D: SYSTEMS FOR DATA MANAGEMENT

Table D1: NVivo topic nodes

A: Opinions of NGOs		
Sub-theme	Further sub-theme	Description
1.Their activity		What the students thought NGOs did and their opinions on that
2. Expenditure		Talk about NGO expenditure
3. Activism	Celebrity activism	Talk about celebrities and development
	Student volunteering	Talk about volunteering in general
4. Images	One-sided	Comments that the images were bias or did not show the full story
	Staged	Comments that the images were staged
	Other comments	Other talk concerning the imagery
5. Reaction to the demand	This was developed later than the other nodes, as a summary collection of all references in the text that concern the NGO appeal	
B: Impressions of the Developing World		
Sub-theme	Further sub-theme	Description
1. Place	Dangerous	For all of these nodes, the description matches the node title.
	Dirty, unclean	
	Governance is of concern	
	The developing world is changing or catching up	
	The developing world is exotic	
	The developing world is nice	
	The developing world is poor	
	The developing world lacks technology	
	The developing world uninhabitable	
	The developing world is interesting	
	Overpopulation is an issue	
2. The People	Are resilient	Sense of admiration
	Are interesting	Sense of curiosity
3. Would I travel there?	This was an interesting theme that developed from the questionnaires where a similar question was asked.	

Table D2: NVivo emotion nodes

Emotion node in NVivo	Description
Anger	This was a strong, felt emotion, of raised voices and I used capitals to show this. It was also included statements by the students, such as 'I feel angry'
Annoyance	Similar to anger, students would explain that something really annoyed them or they were 'pissed off' with something.
Desire to help	This was more a disposition in that there was a strong sentiment present that was about helping other people.
Disbelief, incredulity, dubiety	Any expression of amazement and incredulity was often around lack of infrastructure or how people could survive in certain conditions. This included their questioning of the situations.
Fatigue	This sentiment was a general weariness with a topic, such as giving, or seeing the ads on T.V.
Gratitude	This emotion differs from 'feeling lucky'. I make the distinction that gratitude is a deeper appreciation than just feeling lucky.
Guilt	An expression by the students themselves, this was an <i>in-vivo</i> code
Happy	This word was also used by the students, but I also coded talk that was positive and happy in outlook on any topic.
Just don't like	This was a negative sentiment, often voiced strongly about something that they did not like. This was an <i>in-vivo</i> code.
Lucky	This sentiment was different to feelings of gratitude and was an <i>in-vivo</i> code.
Mocking	On occasion I heard a distinctive tone that was a mocking of something, sometimes light-hearted, at other times less so.
Pity	Different to sadness, this emotion was more of an empathy towards something
Pleasantly surprised	When the students expressed a pleasing surprise about something, I coded it as a positive expression.
Rejection of emotional experience	Before considering the 'reaction to the demand' as a separate code, this code took into account students who sad that they did not feel 'sadness or pity'. In other words, they articulated that they did not like or wish to have the intended emotion

	(usually of pity).
Sadness	This was a common expression and an <i>in-vivo</i> code
Scepticism	Different to ‘disbelief’, this attitude or disposition included some questioning of a topic by the students. There was a feeling of ‘ <i>Yeah, right</i> ’ behind the comments coded to this emotion.

Table D3: Teacher nodes

Topic	themes	Description
NGO material	Usage	In this I specifically coded text that referred to how they used material in their teaching
	Opinion	I coded any opinions they had about the material or NGO work in education
Pedagogical approach	Critical thinking	Any comment or thoughts around a critical understanding of issues in development education
	Use of emotion	Thoughts on how emotion is present and may be used within their teaching of the developing world.
Reflections and concerns	On NGO images	Their thoughts on the images specifically were coded to this node
	On student learning	How they thought their students learnt about the developing world, either from them or NGOs
	On teaching development	Any thoughts they had concerning how to teach this topic in the classroom

Table D4: Notation system for transcribing

Notation used	Purpose
[emotion]	Inside brackets I wrote my interpretation of the emotion or attitude expressed.
Capital letters	Capitals denoted a louder than usual voice, indicating the student was stressing the meaning of what they were saying.
Italics	Italics denoted a stress in the tone of the voice, not necessarily in the volume.
Exclamation or question marks	These were used to indicate surprise or questioning by the student, which was not always apparent from the written text. For example 'what?' has a potentially different meaning to 'what!'
...	This indicated a pause by the student talking
...[...]...	This indicated both a pause and some words that I have omitted in the transcription.
[unclear]	If words were unclear or irrelevant I wrote this in the brackets

APPENDIX E: ANDREOTTI'S 'SOFT' VERSUS 'CRITICAL' GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

	'Soft' global citizenship education	'Critical' global citizenship education
Problem	Poverty, helplessness	Inequality, injustice
Nature of problem	Lack of 'development', education, resources, technology etc.	Complex structures, systems, assumptions and power relations that create, maintain and enforce disempowerment.
Justifications for positions of privilege (in both the North and South)	'Development', 'history', education, hard work, better use of resources etc.	Benefit from and control over unjust and violent systems and structures.
Basis for caring	Common humanity, responsibility FOR the Other, or to teach the Other.	Justice/Complicity in harm, responsibility TOWARDS the Other, or to learn with the Other, accountability
Grounds for acting	Humanitarian, moral	Political, ethical
Understanding of interdependence	We are all equally connected, we all want the same thing, we can all do the same thing.	Asymmetrical globalisation, unequal power relations. Northern and Southern elites imposing their own assumptions as universal.
What needs to change	Structures, institutions and individuals that are a barrier to development.	Structures (belief) systems, institutions, cultures, individuals, relationships.
What individuals can do	Support campaigns to change structures, donate time, expertise and resources	Analyse own position/context and participate in changing structures, assumptions, attitudes and power relations in their contexts.
Potential benefits of approach	Greater awareness of some of the problems, support for campaigns, greater motivation to help/do something, feel good factor.	Independent/critical thinking and more informed, responsible and ethical action.
Potential problems of approach	Feeling of self-importance or self-righteousness and/or cultural supremacy, reinforcement of colonial assumptions and relations, reinforcement of privilege, partial alienation, uncritical action.	Guilt, internal conflict and paralysis, critical disengagement, feeling of helplessness.

Adapted and condensed from Andreotti (2006b, pp. 46-48). Used with permission from the author.

APPENDIX F: SCOPE OF NGO INVOLVEMENT IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN NEW ZEALAND

This table gives an overview of the extent of some of the key NGOs who have an interest in the New Zealand education sector. The information and figures are approximate only and obtained from NGO websites or personal communication with NGO staff. All of these NGOs have a dedicated section for teachers and/or students on their websites. The information presented here is not a complete account of the extent of the NGO sector in schools in New Zealand. There are approximately 2,500 primary and secondary schools as of 2012 with 475,000 students enrolled at primary school (years 1-8) and 286,000 in the secondary sector (Years 9-13).

This table does not include NGOs which offer volunteering or cultural exchange trips for New Zealand students. It also omits locally based NGOs (such as churches) who may have a strong link with a place overseas, such as sister city initiatives, in which schools become involved. These NGOs listed would be the most recognised in New Zealand as having a strong presence in the formal education sector. Due to the internet, it should also be assumed that many teachers source material from NGOs based overseas that are not listed here.

NGO	Resourcing, events, and linkages with schools
Amnesty International	Currently developing resources; have a regular magazine for their student groups; National Annual Freedom Week; various local events to raise awareness; Student-run school groups; Speakers from local Amnesty groups may speak to assemblies or classrooms studying human rights.
Caritas (Catholic Relief and Development Agency)	Two main print resources published per year for the 250 Catholic schools; Various mission days, an annual fundraising event for a specific campaign and other smaller events; Smaller groups within schools organise events like 'Survive a slum' and there are Justice leadership training programs for seniors; Most schools are visited twice a year by the education staff. An international speaker is often included.
Oxfam New Zealand	Extensive range of classroom resources about fair trade, food justice and solutions to global poverty, both print and web-based. Several annual events, such as Oxfam's Morning Tea and Oxfam Trailwalker.
Save the Children	Provides fact sheets on international rights and the state of the world's children. Supports several local events through their shops. Leadership programs for young people interested in supporting human rights for children.
SurfAid	Over 335 primary and secondary schools linked with SurfAid. Six units have been specifically produced for the New Zealand curriculum and are regularly downloaded from website. Visiting speakers to schools include the founder Dave Jenkins and Indonesians associated with SurfAid.

Trade Aid	Several resources produced, both print and web-based. Most aligned with the curriculum, all are available free. Involved in annual Fair Trade events. Visiting speakers to school can be arranged. Support for schools that wish to stock Fair Trade or Trade Aid products.
UN Youth New Zealand	Annual UN Youth Forum (approx. 1000 senior students participate in the Model UN day). Various groups in schools, supported by staff.
UNICEF	Extensive range of print and web resources, including many that are aligned to the curriculum; Events or campaigns held as the need arises.
Volunteer Service Abroad	Project Friendship – forging links through correspondence with children abroad; Opportunities to volunteer overseas for teachers and visiting speakers for schools.
World Vision New Zealand	Over 50 education resource items which include DVDs, textbooks, posters, simulation game packs, CDs, resource folders and downloadable units. Many are aligned directly with the curriculum. Some items are available free, others are for loan or purchase. World Vision holds an annual fundraiser, the 40 Hour Famine. In 2013, 280 secondary schools had registered for this event; Offer child sponsorship and student leadership programs.

