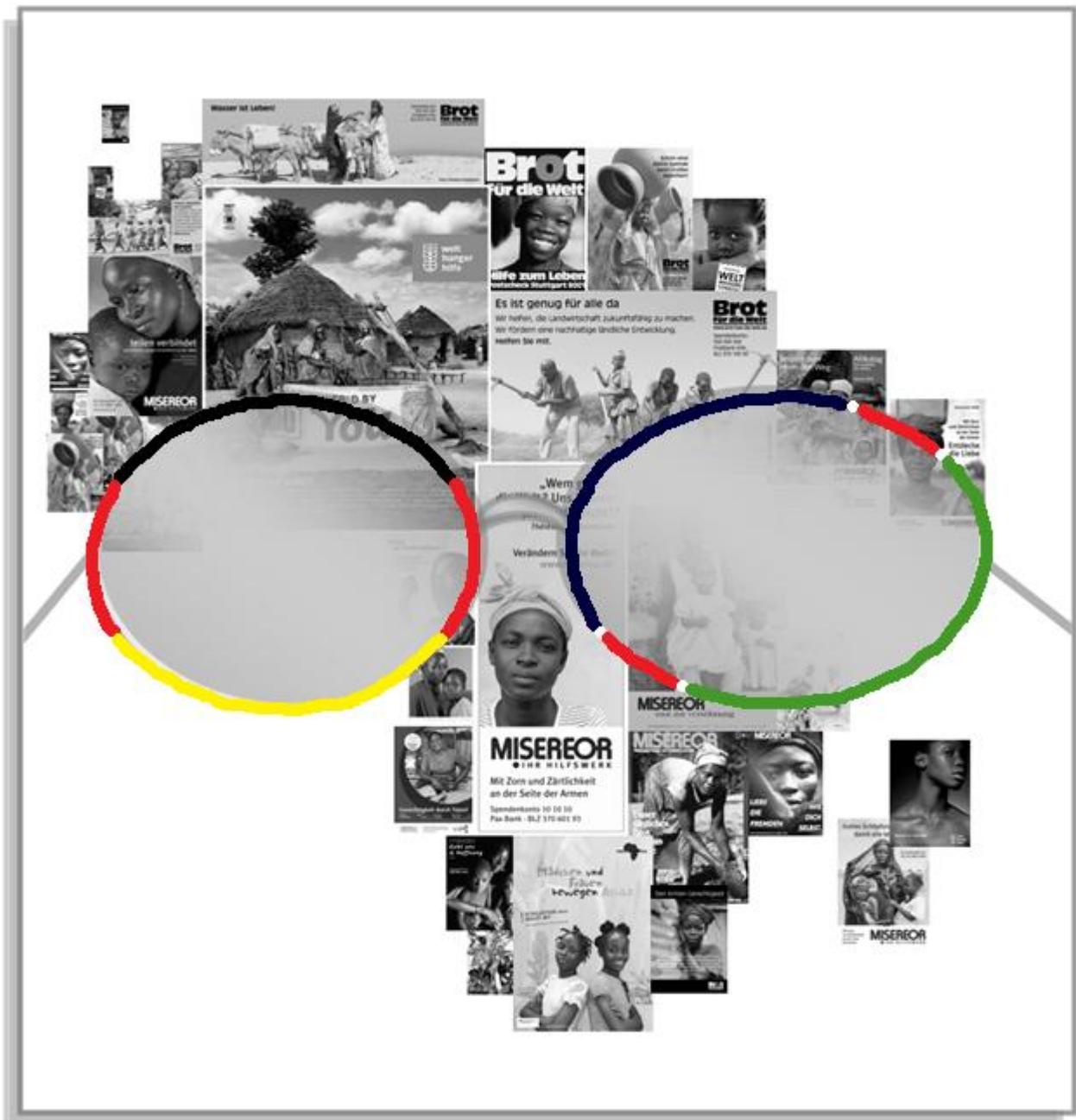


How can WE picture YOU?

ENCODING AND DECODING "AFRICAN WOMEN" IN FUNDRAISING CAMPAIGNS



Author: Judith Böhnke
Supervisor: Dr. Catia Gregorati

Abstract:

Visual discourses on 'African women' in the fundraising campaigns of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) hold the potential for stereotype creation. Previous research has shown that Africans are often portrayed with deficiencies (e.g. lack of water, education and productivity). By using Stuarts Hall's theory of *encoding* and *decoding*, which highlights the active role of the audience in interpreting media discourses, a more nuanced analysis of visual communication via NGO fundraising is made. Designed as a case study, it seeks to understand how two different groups of women, namely Southern African and German women interpret three campaigns. The thesis generates a clearer understanding of the role of fundraising campaigns in intercultural communication and the interpretive power of the audience. It shows that there is a reciprocal relationship between NGO and audience, which shapes how Africans are presented and calls, in this regard, for a rethinking of NGO practices.

Key Words: Intercultural communication, Women, Africa, NGOs, Advertisement

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to all the women who have contributed to this Master thesis in Namibia, as well as in Germany. Many thanks to Ms. Abrahams, Ms. Sechogele and Ms. Megenya who all welcomed me as a foreign student in Namibia and greatly contributed with their time and honest explanations to my understanding of the topic as presented in this thesis. Special thanks also to Ms. Natasha Tybynjani who, as a colleague at the European Union, supported this research with discussion and contacts. Additionally, I would also like to thank the NGOs for their cooperation. Besides, thanks to my supervisor Catia Gregorati who supervised the thesis writing process closely, although I have not spend the semester in Sweden and who always came up with enlightening comments.

Moreover, I would like to acknowledge my peer reviewers for their feedback, and the LUMID program for giving me the opportunity to broaden my views and increase my knowledge in development.

Thank you!

List of figures and tables

Front page picture: © Judith Böhnke

Model 1:	Theoretical approach used to analyse the empirical data	15
Model 2:	Theoretical approach to the two samples	16
Model 3:	Theoretical approach to the analysis	25
Model 4:	Research Question 1	26
Model 5:	Findings to Research Question 1	30
Model 6:	Research Question 2	31
Model 7:	Findings to Research Question 2	39
Model 8:	Research Question 3	40
Model 9:	A visualized summary of the main findings	46
Picture 1:	Brot für die Welt (2008/2009)	19
Picture 2:	Misereor (2008)	20
Picture 3:	Welthungerhilfe (2007)	21
Picture 4:	Misereor (1972)	26
Picture 5:	Brot für die Welt (1976)	27
Graph 1:	Selected cases	18
Graph 2:	Data sources	22
Graph 3:	Sources of information	27
Graph 4:	Challenges for women	33
Graph 5:	Effectiveness of commercials	37
Graph 6:	Trust	41
Graph 7:	Level of information	42

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
List of figures & tables	4
Table of Contents	5
CHAPTER 1: A picture is worth a thousand words	
1.1. The power of pictures	7
1.2. Problem Statement	8
1.3. Purpose of the study	9
1.4. Research Questions	10
1.5. Outline of the thesis	10
CHAPTER 2: Theoretical framework	
2.1. Introduction to the theoretical framework	11
2.2. Postcolonial feminism	11
2.3. Introduction to previous research	13
2.4. Stuart Hall's Theory of <i>Encoding</i> and <i>Decoding</i>	14
CHAPTER 3: Methodology	
3.1. Introduction to Methods	17
3.2. Epistemology and Ontology	17
3.3. Selection of Cases	17
3.4. Data collection	21
3.5. Transcription and Analysis	23
3.6. Ethical considerations and Positionality	23
3.7. Reliability and Validity	24
3.7. Limitations	24
ANALYSIS	
CHAPTER 4: Why are 'African women' encoded as fundraising objects?	
4.1. Introduction to <i>Encoding</i>	25
4.2. Framework of knowledge	26
4.3. Technical infrastructure	28
4.4. Relations of production	28

4.5.	Summary to <i>Encoding</i>	30
CHAPTER 5: How are fundraising campaigns decoded by different audience?		
5.1.	Introduction to <i>Decoding</i>	31
5.2.	Content message: African points of view	31
5.2.1.	Criticism one: Representativeness	31
5.2.2.	Criticism two: Diversity	32
5.2.3.	Criticism three: Definition of Empowerment	33
5.3.	Content message: German points of view	35
5.3.1.	Dominant readers	35
5.3.2.	Negotiated readers	36
5.3.3.	Oppositional readers	37
5.3.4.	Effects on donation behavior	37
5.4.	Summary to <i>Decoding</i>	38
CHAPTER 6: To what extent can campaigns shape ideas about 'African women' ?		
6.1.	Introduction to <i>Naturalization</i>	40
6.2.	Naturalization of the relationship message	40
6.3.	Summary to <i>Naturalization</i>	42
CHAPTER 7: Discussion of findings		
7.1.	Recommendations	43
7.2.	Future	44
CHAPTER 8: Summary of Findings and Conclusion		
8.1.	Research Question 1	45
8.2.	Research Question 2	45
8.3.	Research Question 3	46
REFERENCES		
APPENDIX		
Appendix A: Questionnaire to African women		54
Appendix B: Questionnaire to German women		55
Appendix C: Questionnaire to NGOs		57
Appendix D: List of Interviewees		60
Endnotes		63

CHAPTER 1: A picture is worth a thousand words

How do you picture the life of an African woman?

Answer of Germans¹:

"In Africa, women are incredibly hard working on the fields with babies on their back. They have to catch water from a lake, collect and prepare food and at the same time care for the children. I imagine life in Africa as tough. I feel pity with the people. Donation is important!"

Answer of a Namibian:

"There is nothing like an African woman."

These two answers sharply underline that many Germans seem to have a very clear picture of the life of an 'African woman', although from an African perspective there is no typical 'African women'. This thesis aims to understand to what extent mental pictures resume from actual images, as many pictures that depict 'African women' are annually published in Germany. The following part serves as an introduction to the topic in order to understand how pictures are able to shape common perception.

1.1. The power of pictures

Images are often considered objective and integral depictions of the world. People tend to believe that pictures show things in a neutral light and thus, can only depict reality (Stanszak, 2007:2). However, images are not objective and can be manipulated to a high extent (O`Barr, 1994:4). Therefore, pictures are particularly effective when it comes to planting the seed of a certain idea in the minds of an audience - an opportunity that has been recognized by advertisement experts (Mitchell, 1986:21).

When different pictures about a topic are published, a discourse of images emerges. With repetition, this discourse can become naturalized in the ideas of an audience (O`Barr, 1994:5; Hall, 1997:1). The audience, however, also compares the content of the advertisement to other sources, such as media information, common knowledge or personal experience. Comparison mitigates discourse naturalization. However, when advertisements depict humans from other parts of the world, which the audience has never met, nor possesses a lot of information about, the mitigating effect of comparison only partially exists. Advertisements that depict

¹ Composition of different answers made by Anne, 23 Frauke, 21 and Stefanie, 26*

foreign cultures may be the only encounter between an audience and the depicted. The less direct contact exists between two groups, the greater is the influence of media in shaping ideas (Luger, 1999:4). In other words, advertisement that depicts other cultures can have a deep influence on what we think we are, or what we acknowledge the other culture to be (O`Barr, 1994:1; Bonsu, 2009:21).

1.2. Problem statement

Image discourses naturalizes more easily, if pictures about one topic are very coherent. Coherence increases when the material published is dominated by only one culture's vision of the other culture, particularly where the latter lacks an equal degree of agency. This imbalance plays out in discourse about Africa in Germany which is, not surprisingly, dominated by information, crafted and articulated by German media producers. Africans, in contrast, lack the opportunity to present themselves in German media (Doty, 1996:3; Childs and Williams, 1997:178). In communication theory this situation is defined as asymmetric communication (Watzlawick 1969: 69).

A cruel but prominent example of the use of visual asymmetric communication can be found in colonial times. Visual discourse was used to underline the political narrative of superior and inferior cultures. Pictures that depicted Europeans as rational and Africans as irrational justified the political control of one nation over another (Dirlik, 2002:430; Ridelout, 2011:33; Mohanty in Bulback, 1998:14). Thereby, photos shaped a racist perception of Africans as pitiful, immature beings, locked in deficient, indigenous cultures that could only survive thanks to their colonial masters (Bendix and Kiesel, 2009:484; Andreasson, 2005:974). Women were depicted as mothers or wives; a demarcation between being human and animal because those male ethnographers, that took the pictures perceived them either as inaccessible or as irrelevant (Spivak, 1988:28; Beoku-Betts, 2005:24).

Nowadays, the global political system has changed, as well as the visual discourse about 'African women'. As the introductory quote indicates, some women in Germany seem to have a clear mental picture about 'African women'. Whereas Africans are decreasingly depicted in general media discourse, a large sum of images about 'African women' are published by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that want to carry out action in the field of development (Morley and Robins 1995:131; Palmberg 2001:224). Since the 1950s, more than 2000 developmental NGOs have been registered in Germany (BMZ 2012). In order to gain legitimacy and funds, NGOs publish commercials in television, magazines or on billboards (Dogra, 2007:161; Palmberg, 2001:225). Thus, large NGOs publish several pictures about

'African women' every year. In contrast to words, pictures are able to attract more attention and are equally able to convey a situation that is real and urgent (Dogra, 2007:166).

The asymmetry which was already present in colonial times, continues to the present and leads to the problem of one-sided information about 'African women' within Germany. As it is the primary purpose of NGO campaigns to call attention to inhuman conditions in Africa and thereby to attract funds, African women are often depicted with a focus on deficiencies (Ridelout, 2011:35; Morley and Robins, 1995:134). Additionally, whereas 'African women' were depicted in the past as passive, NGOs nowadays stress the women's proactive role as actors for development (Wilson, 2011:318). In the absence of counter-discourse, this biased presentation, also called *reductive repetition*, leads to the potential emergence of one-sided picture about Africans (Andreasson 2005:1; Hall, 1973:511). Therefore, previous discourse assumed that NGOs play an active role in stereotype creation (Ridelout, 2011:37).

1.3. Purpose of the study

The author contends that this previous research suffers from two flaws. Firstly, most scholars have analyzed campaigns from their own perspective and thus, disregarded *personal reactivity* - the influence of the audience to interpret the image (Prosser, 1998:105). Secondly, the authors implicitly assumed that fundraising campaigns have the power to naturalize into thinking patterns about Africans. In contrast, as explained in chapter two, this research is based on the assumption that the relation between campaign and audience is much more complex. In order to create a more nuanced understanding of the role that NGOs play in intercultural communication, this thesis analyses how discourse about 'African women' is developed, interpreted and naturalized. To overcome shortcomings of previous analyses, the author employs a case study design. The thesis is set out to complement previous research by adding a new layer: a comparison of the interpretations of three campaigns by two different socio-cultural groups. Campaigns published by 'Misereor', 'Brot für die Welt' and 'Welthungerhilfe', respectively, were subsequently discussed with German as well as Southern African women, in order to understand which subsidiary messages the pictures contain from their point of view.

The study seeks to generate an understanding how NGO advertisement affects intercultural communication. This topic is of high relevance to NGOs as they aim to create an understanding for each other's situation to enhance empathy between people from global North and South. The main role of this discourse is not to distinguish between good and bad campaigns, but rather to discuss the overall influence of a discourse of images.

1.4. Research questions

In order to create a more nuanced understanding of the underlying processes to visual communication, the model of *encoding* and *decoding* developed by Stuart Hall is used as a red thread throughout the analysis. In line with this model, three moments are decisive to understand how ideas are shaped by NGO advertisement: (i) the development of the campaigns, (ii) the interpretations by the audience and (iii) the naturalization of the message into ideas of the audiences (Hall, 1973).

The first part of the analysis focuses on the development of the campaigns, in other words on the process of *encoding*. Stuart Hall claims that certain factors influence how the three NGOs depict their protagonists in the campaigns. The first research question emerges:

RQ1: Why are 'African women' encoded as fundraising objects?

Second, it is compared in how far the two different samples interpret the campaigns differently. The process of interpretation is called *decoding* by Stuart Hall. The second research question is developed:

RQ2: How are fundraising campaigns decoded by different audiences?

Third, it is analysed in how far the pictures have shaped the ideas about 'African women' among the German respondents. The third research question evolves:

RQ3: To what extent can these campaigns shape ideas about 'African women'?

1.5. Outline of the thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one gives an introduction to the research. Chapter two introduces the theoretical framework of postcolonial feminist theory and Stuart Hall's model. Chapter three presents the methodology to the case study. Chapter four is the first part of the analysis and answers research question one, concerning the development of the campaigns. The fifth chapter relates to research question two and dwells on the interpretations of the campaigns. Chapter six analyses the process of naturalization and corresponds with research question three. Chapter eight discusses the findings and takes a glance at the future. Thereby, recommendations are made how to enhance NGO advertisements from an intercultural point of view. Finally, the main findings are summarized in chapter nine.

CHAPTER 2: Theoretical framework

2.1. Introduction to the theoretical framework

This chapter commences with a brief introduction to the postcolonial feminist writings, which serve as a theoretical background to this thesis. Postcolonial theory is used to keep in mind the power asymmetries between depictees and the depicted and to understand which colonial thinking patterns have extended to the present (Said 1986:48). This research analyses how women are depicted by using postcolonial feminist theory. Postcolonial feminism highlights that feminist ideas are concerns of Western¹ women projected on African women, which fail to understand how the colonial experience affects the latter (Jones, 2011:34; Hirschmann in Visvanathan, 1997:27; Mohanty, 1997:82). The theory is applied to understand which differences exist among the two different groups. The chapter continues to explain how previous postcolonial research on NGO campaigns disregards the audience's role, in the process of interpreting advertisements. In order to overcome this flaw, in the last part of this chapter, Stuart Hall's theory of *encoding* and *decoding* is introduced. The theory helps to illuminate the role played by the three NGOs and the audience.

2.2. Postcolonial feminism

Postcolonialism is often said to begin with the writings of Edward Said (1985). He was the first to acknowledge that discourse about another region had naturalized, even if it had little to do with the realities of that region (Said, 2005:870; McEwan, 2001:94). Said uncovered that Western academia had created an imaginative geography: Discourse had invented *the Orient*, which was a space opposite to the West and its cultures (Said, 1985:2 and 2005:870; Child and Williams, 1997:99f; Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, 2001:49). In line with this idea is also Said's concept of '*the other*' - a dichotomous idea about the self and everything that is not the self - which is reflected on foreign cultures (Said, 1987).

After Said, postcolonialism emerged as a theory. Postcolonial writing explores continuities of colonial power structures into the contemporary (Jones, 2011:23; Racine, 2011:17f; Young, 2001:4). Moreover, post-colonialists believe that spaces and cultures are not limited, but rather hybrid (McEwan, 2001:95; Nussbaum, 2000:36; Bulbeck, 1998:6). Additionally, the theory argues for the recognition that colonial legacies, as marginalization and poverty creation, continue to shape how people can respond to global challenges (Sweetman, 2000:3; Dirlik, 2002:430; Young, 2001:57). It criticizes the dichotomous representation of a superior

global North and a poor South, and reviews spatial metaphors used in western discourse that inevitably create an *us* and an *other*. Finally, the theory calls for an adaption of post development, giving people from former colonies a greater say and a chance to develop their own development models independently from Western ideas (Andreasson, 2005:974).

Whereas the world in Said's time was split into East and West (Ashcroft and Ahluwali, 2001:59), nowadays the world is commonly perceived to be divided into global South and North. This research claims that similar to the idea of the Orient, also the idea of 'Africa' is primarily constructed. However Said's concepts can only be used with caution. In contrast to Orientalism, scholarly discussion and media publications about Africa differ extensively consequently there is no coherent discourse; secondly, Africa is a clearly defined geographical space (Miller, 1985:15). Due to these shortcomings in contrast to Orientalism, *Africanism*ⁱⁱ has never emerged as an individual theory. Nevertheless, it is important for this research to understand the difference between the real geographical space of Africa and the pseudo fictitious space of 'Africa', as marked with quotation marks in this research.

Within the theory of postcolonialism, several streams emerged. This research is based on the postcolonial feminist stream that adds feminist ideas to the postcolonial way of thinking. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak commenced this stream, arguing that colonized women were even more deeply affected than colonized men (Spivak, 1988:28). Many others authors followed her, analysing the particular effects of colonialism on the colonized women (Bulbeck, 1998; Jones 2011; Beoku-Betts, 2005). Postcolonial feminism believes the heritage of colonialism is aggravated for women by the perpetration of gender inequalities (McEwan, 2001:94f; Racine, 2011:18; Beoku-Betts 2005:24). Postcolonial feminism consequently challenges the notion of universal womanhood because it denies the differences that fragment women (Sweetman, 2002:3; Nussbaum, 2000:33; Mohanty, 1997:81; Jones, 2011:33).

"Feminist theories [...] that examine our cultural practices as "feudal residues" or label us "traditional", [...] portray us as politically immature women who need to be versed and schooled in the ethos of Western feminism" (Amos and Parmar, 2005:48).

It argues that white and black feminist movements differ substantially, as from a historical perspective, many of the gains, made by white women occurred at the expense of black women (Amos and Parmar, 2005:45). It highlights that the individualized struggle of European women who fight for personal autonomy against men cannot be understand as the same fight that African women, struggling for collective liberation against gender, race or class oppression are going through (Ali, 2007:195; Bulbeck, 1998:68,93; McEwan, 2011:98;

Wilson, 2011:318). The theory helps the author to understand differences among the two groups and investigate sensitively into perceived commonalities and differences.

2.3. Introduction to previous research

Previous postcolonial analyses of NGO campaign posters have resulted in several critiques. As outlined more precisely in this part, it is claimed that NGOs continue to use asymmetric visual discourse for their own fundraising and moral purposes, disregarding the negative effects on intercultural communication.

First, many NGO campaigns support the impression that all Africans are locked in underdevelopment in the rural, without having access to infrastructure (Dogra 2007; Manzo, 2008). Progress is mostly shown as a result of Western interference and pre-names and children are depicted as a metaphor for underdevelopment (Nussbaum, 2000; Phillip 2006). Moreover, there is a tendency to present Africans as a homogenous group (Lamers 2005). Regarding women, homogenization is used in a second context, as many campaigns create the impression that women around the globe are struggling with the same issues according to the idea of “sameness of oppression” (Wilson, 2011; Mohanty, 1997:53). By this means, NGOs tries to evoke compassion among women for their African counterparts. The tendency to universalize women as one group is very contested by postcolonial feminist scholars, which call this notion feminism without borders (Ali, 2007:197; Jones 2011: 33).

Additionally, many campaigns conflate the broader processes of development, equalling development or empowerment with economic development (Wilson, 2011; Mezzana, 2011). Manzo (2008) makes the claim that that the depictions of happy and thankful recipients, stands in contrast to Human Rights, according to which citizens of the global South have the right to the improvement of their living standards (ibid:641). Thanks to homogenization, stereotypes about the third world are added to stereotypes about gender (Mohanty, 1997:83).

Palmberg (2001) and others focused on things that are not shown in the fundraising campaigns. This is an interesting approach because the power of media can also lie in the possibility to remain silent, with regard to certain topics (Winter, 1997:51; Dogra, 2007:169). Palmberg (2001) detects that protagonists of fundraising campaigns still seem to be fixed in 19th century conditions. This tendency to fix Africans in time and space evoke memories of colonial depictions, as those pictures were used to underline the narrative of a hierarchy of unchanging racial essence (Nussbaum, 2000:36; Bulbeck, 1998:6; Sweetman, 2000:2). Moreover, Kiesel and Bendix (2009) find out that German NGOs deny historical responsibility for the temporary situation. With regard to the focus of this research on women,

this finding is of particular interest because many scholars have proven the immense negative effect of colonialism on the colonized women (Boserup, 1970ⁱⁱⁱ; Visvanthan, 1997:3; Synder and Tadesse, 1997:76; Gosh, 2005:749; Charlton, 1997:10). Ridelout (2011) adds that NGOs neglect the role that European countries play for development of African countries (2011).

Regarding the depiction of African women in fundraising, Wilson (2011) finds that NGO campaigns promote the idea that women need to gain money because they account for the “good spending” (health and education) that will benefit their children and therefore qualify for donations. A discourse has emerged which depicts “women in the global South as ‘more efficient’ neoliberal subjects than their male counterparts” and claims that campaigns promote a feminization of responsibility (ibid:318). This argument is supported by Beoku-Betts (1995:24), who finds that a shift has occurred from “women as victims to men as the problem discourse”. Both agree that a gendered approach, which distinguishes the role of women and men, continues in development discourse.

The criticisms enlisted will be used in the later selection of the pictures in order to test in chapter six to what extent one-sided presentations shape ideas of the audiences. Finally, although these former analyses help to understand the extent to which visual discourses show continuity with colonial discourses, they cannot explain to what extent naturalization of these ideas occurs, nor why the NGOs chose to depict their protagonists in this manner. To answer these questions, Stuart Hall’s theory of *encoding* and *decoding* is used in this research, which gives details to the underlying processes to visual communication.

2.4. Stuart Hall’s Theory of *Encoding* and *Decoding*

In order to understand the role that different actors play in the process of discourse formation, interpretation and naturalization, the model of *encoding* and *decoding* of Stuart Hall (1973) is developed and applied. Stuart Hall is often said to be the father of cultural studies (Garner, 2004:568). With his model of *encoding* and *decoding* he introduced the notion of complexity to communication theory. In contrast to former models, Hall acknowledges a significant role played by both encoders (media producer) and decoders (audiences) of media messages (Winter, 1997:49). The model proposes two moments that are determining: Firstly, the *moment of encoding*, when the NGO develops the campaign; secondly, the *decoding moment*, when the audience sees the campaigns and interprets the depiction (Hall, 1973:506).

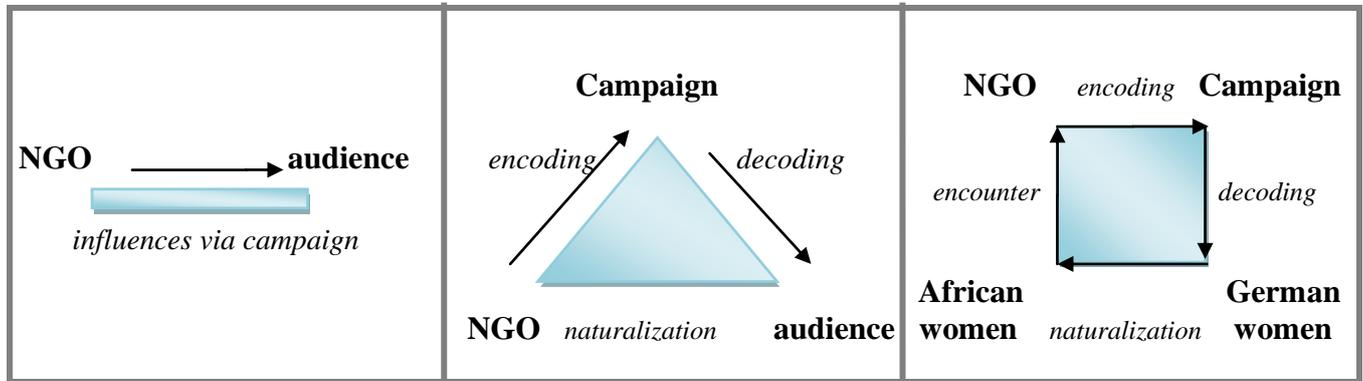
According to his model, the relation between NGO, fundraising campaign and the audience is no longer defined as linear but as a triangular framework (Poonam, 1992:221). However, Stuart Hall’s triangle fails to consider the case of humans depicted in media discourse. To

analyze how advertisement depicts another culture, a fourth actor, in this case named 'African women', needs to be added to the triangle. Model one^{iv} exemplifies how Stuart Hall's theory is used in this discourse.

Previous analyses:

Stuart Hall's theory:

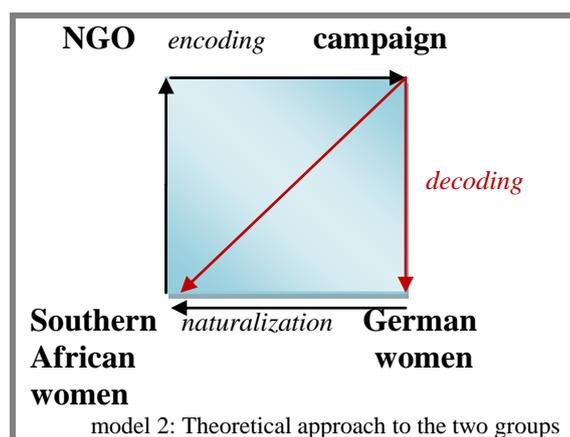
This research:



Model 1: Theoretical approach used to analyse the empirical data

Four defining moments are important for this research. Moment one is the encounter between NGO and African women. It is the only moment that is not subject to further analysis. The second moment is the moment when the NGO *encodes* 'African women' into appealing advertisements objects. Communication theory assumes that communication consists of two aspects. Consequently, in *encoding*, two aspects are produced: content and relationship aspect. Content describes the information per se, relationship describes how the media producer would like the information to be understood by the audience (Watzlawick 1969:53). In the context of this research, content describes how 'African women' are depicted; relationship describes which unconscious messages of similarities and differences shall be channelled to the audience. In the third moment the German audience *decodes* the campaigns. By interpreting what the picture shows, the audience evaluates to what extent the content message is accepted. In the fourth moment, these ideas *naturalize* into ideas about 'African women' among the German audience. It is decided to what extent also the relationship message is accepted.

Moreover, as postcolonial feminist theory highlights the differences among women, the case study seeks to understand in how far interpretations differ among women. The author established a contact that does not naturally occur. As the red arrow in model two exemplifies, the researcher showed the campaigns not only to German but also to Southern African women.



Furthermore, according to the theory, *encoding* and *decoding* are shaped by influences that can be summarized under the headings (a.) framework of knowledge, (b.) relations of production, and (c.) technical infrastructure (Hall, 1973:507). In the process of *encoding*, existing discourses about 'African women' (a.), strategy of the NGO (b.) and technical limitations of a campaign poster (c.) influence to what extent 'African women' become encoded. In the process of *decoding* the information is evaluated according to the audiences background. Identity and personal experience influence this process, creating potentially very different interpretations (Dogra, 2007:164).

However, in *encoding* as well as *decoding*, a disruption of the four corner framework can occur that dissolves the successful communication. If the audience misunderstands the message, the theoretical model assumes that institutional, political or ideological order of the audience does not adhere to the one which was basis for encoding. Stuart Hall provides three possible positions of the audience towards the campaigns: *dominant reading*, implies content and relationship aspect are anonymously accepted, *negotiated reading* refers to partially acceptance of the media message and *oppositional reading* describes the rejection of the content message (Winter, 1997:49; Hall, 1994: 208ff).

By taking a postcolonial feminist point of view, this thesis analyzes how, through the process of *encoding* and *decoding*, myth-making about other cultures could occur. In contrast to previous studies, which claim that the power to shape ideas lies in the hands of the campaign producer, Stuart Hall's model underlines the existence of a reciprocal relation between audience and information producer.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction to Methods

The following chapter begins to shed light on the epistemological and ontological ideas to this research, which result from the theoretical framework. The chapter continues to describe the case study design. It explains how NGOs as well as three campaigns were selected and describes by means of which data the campaigns were analysed. The fundament to the analysis of the three campaigns is primary data collected in Namibia and Germany. Germany was selected because it is the country of origin of the author. Namibia was selected as the author was working and living in the country for one semester. Then, reliability and validity aspects of the case study are discussed. Finally, the research was framed by ethical considerations and limitations, dwelled on in the last part of this chapter.

3.2. Epistemology and Ontology

Following the tradition of postcolonial feminism, this thesis is based on the assumption that reality is a social construct. It is assumed that ideas about other continents are actively formed by different actors for their purpose (Bryman, 2004:19). Postcolonial feminism underlines that there is nothing like '*an African women*' or '*a European women*'. To acknowledge this constructivist perspective, concepts are marked with inverted commas.

The study belongs to the field of critical science because its goal is to uncover non-explicit assumptions and narratives (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003:26). A qualitative design was adopted to see literally "through the eyes of the people under study" and give a voice to the marginalized (Bryman, 2004:385; Ragin, 1994:83). Although the interviewed women were not marginalized within their own societies, they were clearly marginalized in the development of the fundraising campaigns.

3.3. Selection of cases

In order to generate an understanding how African women become protagonists on billboard campaigns and finally develop into an idea about '*African women*' among German women, the thesis focuses on three case studies. In the first step, three non-profit NGOs were chosen, whose campaigns would be analysed.

This was accomplished on the following criteria^v:

- (i) the NGOs are development actors
- (ii) the NGOs run projects on the African continent
- (iii) the NGOs run projects with women, among other actors

In graph one, the four largest German non-profit NGOs that were able to fulfil all criteria, are listed by the amount of private donations^{vi} they have received in 2009.

NGO	Private donations 2009	Financial involvement in Africa ²
“Brot für die Welt”	56.891.381.58 €	14.125.000 €
“Misereor”	49.700.000 €	39.438.000 €
“Missio”	46.139.041 €	28.613.484 €
“Welthungerhilfe”	31.916.529 €	81.000.000 €

Graph 1: Selected cases

The second and third NGO, “Misereor” and “Missio”, respectively, are both catholic organizations. In order to ensure that a variety of different organizations are presented, only “Misereor,” as the larger of the two organizations, was selected. Based on this data, “Brot für die Welt”, “Misereor” and “Welthungerhilfe” were selected for an in-depth analysis.

The first organization, “Brot für die Welt”, is a protestant organization that was founded in 1959 as a reaction to the foundation of a catholic development organization (“Misereor”). In its charter, the organization reflects on the need for cultural understanding between citizens of global South and North and the need for a human portrayal of the recipients of donations (Brot für die Welt, 2010:37). The second organization, “Misereor” was founded in 1958. It is subordinate to the German Conference of Catholic Bishops. In its statutes “Misereor” promotes itself as “the advocate of the poor”, in order to call attention to the situation of the underprivileged and to act in their interest (Misereor, 2012). The third organization, “Welthungerhilfe”, in contrast, was founded in 1962 as part of a global campaign initiated by the United Nations. In its charter, the organization highlights their role in disseminating information and raising awareness about social and economic conditions in other countries, in order to enhance empathy and compassion among German citizens (Welthungerhilfe, 2012).

As a second step, one campaign poster was selected from each of the three organizations. For this purpose, the researcher collected a larger preliminary sample and then narrowed down the selection according to the subsequent selection criteria. Firstly, the researcher aimed to include different presentations of women. Secondly, the researcher wanted to analyse campaigns that were published within the last five years. Thirdly, the pictures should display certain elements that were criticized by previous researchers on this topic as to analyse in chapter six to what extent these ‘falsified’ ideas naturalize. It will be explained for each case which criticism it exemplifies, in line with the findings made by previous analyses, which

were introduced in chapter two. Campaign material was found in the internet and with the help of the NGOs that send an overview about their campaigns to the researcher in mid 2011. Three pictures were chosen: One picture shows a group of women, another is a portrait of one woman, and the other depicts women and men at work.

Case 1: „Brot für die Welt“ (2008/2009)



Picture 1: Brot für die Welt 2008/2009

The campaign was published in 2008 by “Brot für die Welt” (translated: bread for the world). The picture shows women and men working on a field with very simple technical tools. The slogan “There is enough for everyone. We are helping to make agriculture more sustainable. We support sustainable rural development. Help us helping them*” seeks to motivate the audience to donate funds. The campaign poster is part of the 50th anniversary campaign of the NGO that runs under the theme “There is enough for everyone” (Brot für die Welt, 2012)

Key critiques:

- to fix ‘Africans’ in time and space
- to deny historical reasons for underdevelopment
- to depict rurality

Case 2: "Misereor" (2008)



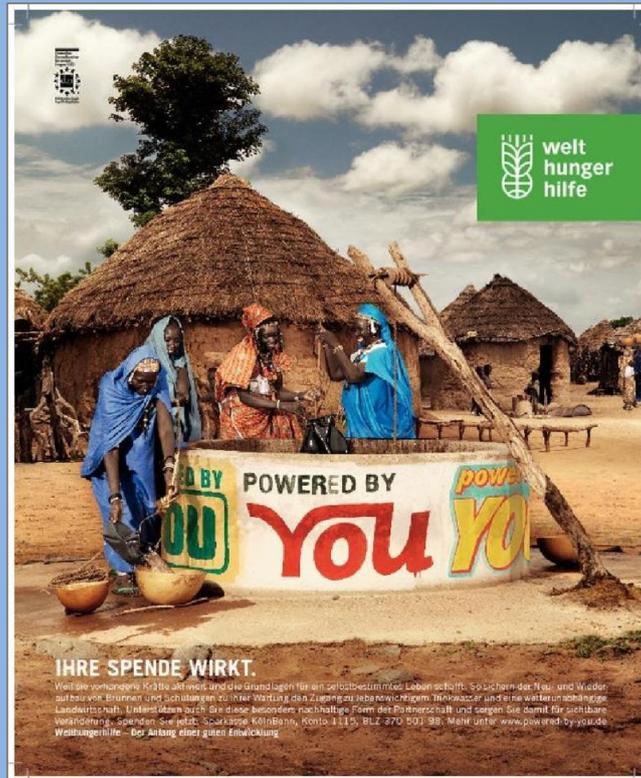
Picture 2: Misereor 2008

The second campaign, published by "Misereor" in 2008, shows the portrait of a woman with the slogan "Who owns the world? At least it is not us women*?". The audience is informed that the women's name is Thérèse and that she comes from the Ivory Coast. According to information from "Misereor", the picture was only shot for the purpose of fundraising. The campaign poster is part of a bigger corporate advertising campaign for the 50th anniversary of the NGO, which showed different faces. The photographer of the picture, Bettina Flitner, traveled for this purpose to three different continents (Flitner, 2012). Among the faces were unknown protagonists, as this picture exemplifies, but also well known actors (Misereor, 2012).

Key critiques:

- using the term "we" it creates the impression that women are a homogenous group
- the slogan channels the underlying impression development consists of economic development only
- use of pre-names only

Case 3: Welthungerhilfe (2007)



Picture 3: Welthungerhilfe (2007)

The last campaign is published by “Welthungerhilfe” (translated: aid against world hunger). The campaign poster is one of a series of four, all designed around the slogan “powered by you”. Their campaign was developed by the advertisement company Scholz and Friends with the intention to give the NGO a fresh, new image (Welthungerhilfe, 2012). As a result, the company mixed traditional elements of NGO advertisements with classic sponsorship style. The resulting image shows African women around a well that carries the logo of its sponsor.

Key critiques:

- simplification of development
- creates a feeling of dependency between donors and recipients
- depicts rurality

3.4.Data collection

In order to understand the effects of advertisement O’Barr (1994:7) suggests a three pronged approach: First, analyzing the advertisement, second, contacting the publisher and third, asking the audience. All of these data sources were used for this research, as mentioned below:

Primary Data	NGO statutes/ Code of Conducts	Germany
	Interviews with NGOs	
	NGO campaigns	
	Questionnaire with German respondents (Appendix B)	
	Questionnaire with African respondents (Appendix A)	Namibia
	Interviews with African respondents (Appendix C)	
	Observations	Namibia and Germany
Secondary Data	Existing research Communication theory	Sweden and Germany

Graph 2: Data collection

Details to the questionnaires and interviews can be found in appendix A-D. In the following paragraphs, the methods for primary data collection are explained in more detail.

3.4.1. Questionnaires with African respondents

As the thesis focuses on the representation of women in fundraising campaigns, it was decided to discuss the campaigns with African women^{vii}. The selected sample consisted of urban women from Namibia, Angola, Zambia and South Africa. A questionnaire (appendix A) was developed to create an understanding of their ideas how the campaigns present African women. From October to December 2011 questionnaires were completed by 37 Southern African women. Women were contacted in the environs of Windhoek. One campaign was shown per respondent. Additionally, some respondents further distributed the questionnaires to relatives and friends. Answers were given in English, being one of the official languages of Namibia. A translator was not required.

3.4.2. Interviews with Namibian experts

To gain in-depth understanding of the topic, women activists in Namibia were contacted for interviews (Bryman, 2008:379). In all interviews the three fundraising campaigns were shown to the respondents. The three key informants were Namibian residents. Interviewees were selected in organizations, which addressed different dimensions of gender issues. First, Sheena Megenya, communication officer of a women's rights organization called SisterNamibia took part in this study. Secondly, an interview took place with Immaculate Sechogele, lecturer on gender at the Namibian University. Third, an interview was conducted with Otilie Abrahams, facilitator of the Namibian Girl Child Organization and headmaster of a secondary school, which runs particular programmes to empower girls. All interviews were recorded with a voice recorder.

3.4.3. Questionnaires with German respondents

To be able to compare respectively African and German interpretations, also the German sample consisted of urban women. Questionnaires (appendix B) were distributed among German women to understand their interpretations of one of the fundraising campaigns. Three questionnaires with identical questions, but displaying only one of the campaigns were developed and distributed among different age- and social groups. Participants were asked to further distribute the questionnaires. In total, 40 women, aged between 18 and 66, most of them lived in North Rhine-Westphalia, answered to the questionnaire.

3.4.4. Interviews with the NGOs

In summer 2011, the three NGOs were contacted via telephone and mail and asked for cooperation to get access to their campaign posters. In early 2012 they were again contacted to comment on questions (appendix C). Further information was collected from the websites of the respective organization. The thesis will be shared with the three NGOs in order to enhance their understanding of their own role.

3.5. Transcription and Analysis

Data was transcribed in the field (Kvale, 1996:162). To create an overview of answers provided to the questionnaires, two excel sheets were developed that portrayed all answers. By colour-coding these answers, different ideas were separated and recurring patterns highlighted. Moreover, because this study took place in German as well as in English the author translated several readings, as well as all answers and questions that were collected within Germany into English. Translations are marked with an asterisk (*).

3.6. Ethical Considerations and Positionality

This research does not follow the absolutist ethical model, but rather a relativist one (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003:162). All participants have been informed about the aim of the study. The questionnaires were filled out anonymously, only indicating the age of the respondent (Kvale, 1996:111). The names, that can be found in the analysis, were added later in order to identify the different respondents. Yet they do not coincide with real names.

It has proven to be challenging to do research on perceptions of 'African women' as a white German woman. Reflexivity about the role of the researcher was needed (Bryman, 2004:682; Racine 2011:18). The white identity of the researcher shaped the emergence of the research topic, as well as the answers of the respondents. In order to limit the author's subjectivity on the research, a maximum of quotes will be given in the later analysis, allowing the women to speak for themselves.

3.7. Reliability and Validity

External reliability, the replicability of the study by another researcher is difficult to grant because social settings are constantly changing. To grant internal reliability, although doing research alone, all interviews were recorded (Bryman, 2008:376). Validity evaluates to what extent research question and data match. Prolonged field stay in Namibia as well as the analysis of different data sources has helped the researcher to get a clear understanding of the respondents' perceptions and to later relate them to the concepts. External validity can only be granted to some extent, due to the fact that the answers of the 80 respondents of different countries cannot be generalized. However, the sample size was adequate to gain a nuanced understanding of visual communication. The research, additionally, uses a variety of different methods to overcome the limitations of one or the other method and generate different points of views in the analysis (Schevyens and Storey, 2003:16; Ragin, 1994:86; Kvale, 1996:32).

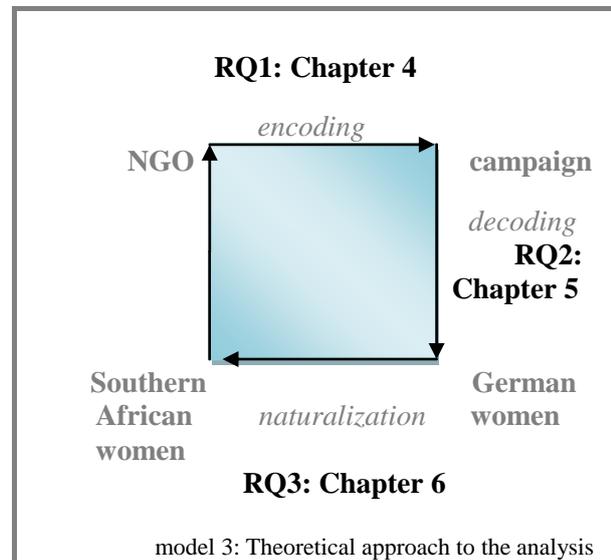
3.8. Limitations

The decision to conduct interviews and questionnaires (Appendix A-C) only in the urban area of Windhoek was based on financial and time constraints. This decision entails certain limitations that should be kept in mind in the analysis. To begin with, Namibia is an upper-middle income country. Just by this status, it differs extensively from the majority of African countries. However, Namibia is one of the most unequal in the world and poverty remains at large scale (UN 2004:190). Therefore, many NGOs continue to run projects in the country. In addition, the capital city's dwellers are better-off than the people who live in the country side. Due to the fact that the women originated from the Southern African region and were chosen by snowball sampling, they do neither represent the opinion of all African women, nor the opinion of their respective countrywomen. Thanks to the absence of NGO campaigns that depict urban women, a situation emerged in which urban respondents were asked to comment on pictures that showed rural women.

Some limitations are also present in the German sample, as the study was set up to provide in depth insights into thoughts and ideas, not to establish quantitative facts (Kvale 1996:103). In addition, another shortcoming of the research design was the fact, that the respondents were aware of being part of a research project. This awareness might have led inevitably to more critical interpretations of the images (Wren-Lewis, 1983:196). Finally, as research took place in English and German, some respondent's answers could only be shared with the reader by means of translation.

ANALYSIS

Model three illustrates the following analysis, which is divided into three chapters. Chapter four covers the *encoding* process and thereby answers research question one. Chapter five deals with the process of *decoding* and replies to research question two. Thereby, the content aspect of the communication is analysed (Watzlawick, 1969:53). The sixth chapter is about the process of *naturalization* and corresponds with research question three.

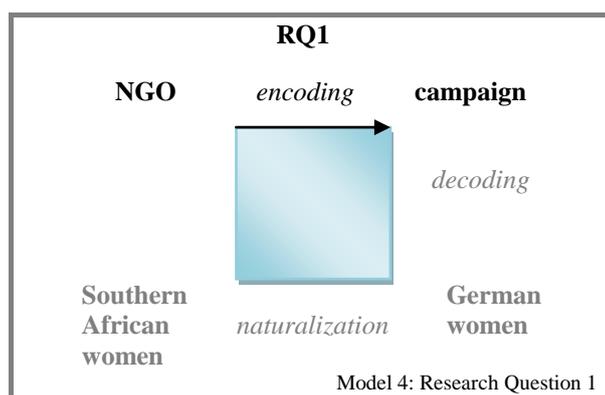


It analyses the relationship aspect of the communication between NGO and audience.

CHAPTER 4: Why are 'African women' encoded as fundraising objects?

4.1. Introduction to *Encoding*

How 'African women' are encoded into objects in fundraising campaigns depends according to Stuart Hall's framework (1994) on three factors, which are subject to analysis. First, the framework of knowledge, which means the already existing discourses about 'African women' in Germany, needs to be analysed. Second, the technical infrastructure, which dwells on technical and organizational conditions to the development of a campaign poster, is studied. Third, relations of productions need to be considered, which include the purpose of the campaign, the strategy of the NGO and others. At the end of this chapter the first research question, namely, why are "African women" encoded from subjects to fundraising objects is answered (Said, 1985:6). Model four illustrates which part of the visual communication is subject to analysis in this chapter.



4.2. Framework of knowledge

In order not to confuse the intended audience of a picture, there is a need for discourse continuity (Child and Williams, 1997:101). Pictures need to build on existing ideas, as to make up for the lack of textual information that explains their context. This holds particularly true when it comes to fundraising campaigns, which aim to appeal to the audience within seconds. As a result, advertisement producers are often restricted within existing ideas in the presentation of their products. The following part analyses how 'African women' emerged as protagonists in NGO advertisement and gives some examples of former campaigns to understand the context the three NGOs enter, when new campaigns are developed. Moreover, it sums up the most distributed ideas in contemporary media discourse, aside from NGO fundraising campaigns.

In the 1960s, with the independence of many former colonies, NGO discourse emerged. However, because 'third world women' were perceived to be unproductive, they were not in the focus of interest of development actors (Wilson, 2011:316). In the 1970s, women's role to development became generally acknowledged, when also the General Assembly included full integration of women in its development strategy. As a result, the first pictures of women were used in advertisement campaigns of NGOs. Nevertheless, most campaigns were dominated by agony and suffering in order to evoke guilt, instead of presenting women as a source of change (Tinker, 1997:35; Dogra, 2007:164). This is exemplified by picture four, the first campaign poster of "Misereor" that depicted women, in 1972.



Picture 4: Misereor (1972)
Translation: "Take the human of the crux"

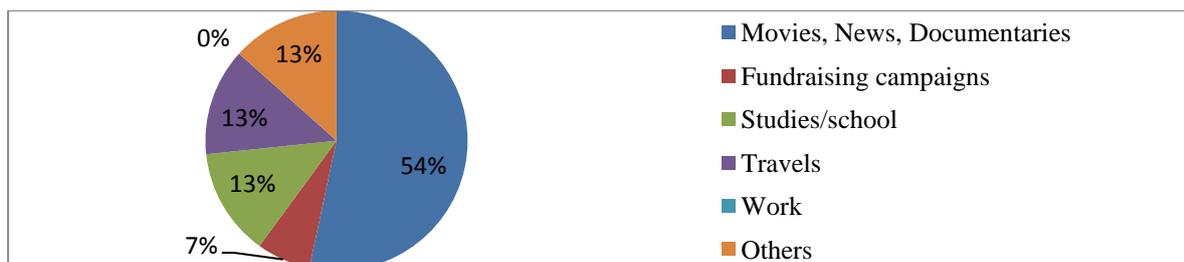
In the 1980s, women's issues emerged as a topic on international platforms (Tinker 1997:35). Additionally, as a result to the publication of shocking images of the Ethiopian famine in 1984, the depiction of suffering people in NGO campaigns became heavily criticized (Dogra, 2007:162). Thus, in 1989, the General Assembly of European NGOs published a "Code of Conduct on Images and Messages Relating to the Third World" that encouraged a positive depiction of 'African women' (Wilson, 2011:322; General Assembly of European NGOs, 1989). What followed was a move towards "deliberate positivism", as picture five exemplifies (Dogra, 2007:166; Mann, 1998:55). Furthermore, the mandate of many NGOs changed. Efforts regarding public education and lobby activities gained rising importance (Minear, 1987:20).



Picture 5: Brot für die Welt (1976)
Translation: Aid for life

In the 1990s, women's rights became recognized as human rights. NGOs and governmental donors discovered women's unused economic potential and started to regard them as the drivers of change (Visvanthan, 1997:3). Campaigns in this decade aimed to give the poor a face. In contrast to the former campaigns, women were increasingly given a name, which led to greater identification (Dogra, 2007:165). In the 21st century, it became generally acknowledged that "women are still the poorest of the world's poor, representing 70% of the 1.3 billion people who live in absolute poverty" (Sweetman, 2000:8). It is accepted that gender inequality is strongly correlated to poverty (Nussbaum, 2000:3; Sweetman, 2000:8; Sen in Bulbeck 1998:42; Yeshiareg, 2007:7).

Nevertheless, in contrast to the ethnographer's discourses in the past, fundraising campaigns are not created in a vacuum of information. It needs to be acknowledged that other actors, for instances, general media also generate a picture about 'African women'. 54% of the respondents claimed to receive the majority of information about 'Africa' from movies, news or documentaries.



Graph 3: Sources of information

Interestingly, only 7% indicated that fundraising campaigns would actively influence their perception, as graph three illustrates. Thus, it seems that the slow changes in NGO discourse, as presented beforehand, is embedded in a counterproductive general media discourse: Media discourse presents 'Africa' very one sided in form of one of the subsequent categories: "the sensational, catastrophes, tribalism and the depiction of non Africans as victims or helpers" (Palmberg, 2001:9; Bonsu, 2009:21). As for 'Africans' studies find that characteristics such as "primitive, irrational, superstitious, lazy, as well as incapable to plan or care for themselves plans, if anything just managing to survive" as well as ideas about tribalism are the most distributed ideas by public media (Mezzana, 2011:1).

4.3. Technical infrastructure

Additionally, also the technical setting shapes to what extent messages get encoded for media discourses. A two dimensional fundraising campaign cannot depict complex economic, political and social issues. Photographs can only show a highly selected sample of another culture (Stanczak, 2007:7; O`Barr, 1994:5f). Furthermore, no image can represent reality because its content is highly dependent on two moments. Firstly, it is influenced by *procedural retroactivity*, which means choices made by the photographer in the moment of taking the picture. Secondly, it suffers from *personal reactivity*, the individual interpretations of the audience, as will be dwelled on in chapter five (Prosser 1998:105). As a result, is out of proportion to expect a picture to explain complex issues.

Regarding the organizational setting, campaigns are developed by the public relations sections of the NGO or of external advertisement agencies, which are contracted. Africans are mostly not involved in the development of campaigns. If external agencies are used, their employees are briefed about the situation of the people, they are depicting (Misereor, 2012). In addition, they will work continuously in close cooperation with NGO employees. When it comes to selecting a picture, quality, the picture's language, content and presentation but also an ethical depiction is decisive. In order to understand how the pictures are interpreted, some campaigns get tested before they are actually published (ibid). Most important are, furthermore, relations of production for the campaign development.

4.4. Relations of production

Relations of production describe influences such as purpose, legal bindings, advertisement strategies and assumptions about the audience (Hall, 1994:201). Fundraising campaigns have a specific purpose. NGOs want to convince for action, appeal to the humanity of the audience and at the same time to their pockets (Lamers, 2005:38). Susan Moeller (1998) formed the

concept of compassion usury to describe the excessive reduction of those collective emotionalisms required to activate public awareness (1998:20). To overcome a feeling of anonymity between donor and recipient, NGO scale down on individuals in the developing world, highlighting individual dependence (Bajde, 2009:76ff). Additionally, NGOs realized that the depiction of women attracts more funds than the depiction of men (Misereor, 2012).

Additionally, the images need to legitimize the idea that Africa is better off with the work of the three NGOs (Manzo, 2008:652). Moreover, the organizations need to create an impression of their own, between professionalism and passion. The diversity of images, NGOs have published and their shift according to trends in developmental discourses underlines their search for an own role between the representation of an amateur in style, without a lot of bureaucracy but a professional in development (Dogra, 2007:167).

As expressed in their charters, the three NGOs understand their second mandate as to inform the audience about the context of poverty (Brot für die Welt, 2000; Welthungerhilfe, 2011; Misereor, 2012). In line with this aim, they have established negotiated agreements about how to depict foreign cultures. According to the VENRO Code of Conducts, a German federation of more than hundred NGOs, the three NGOs have agreed to show a positive picture about the African continent. Thereby, also a special part is dedicated to the representation of women.

“Stable human development includes equality between genders. Public relations respect that the living conditions of women are appropriately in the gaze, that women get a say in word and picture and that they are not depicted stereotypically as victims“ (VENRO, 2011:4).*

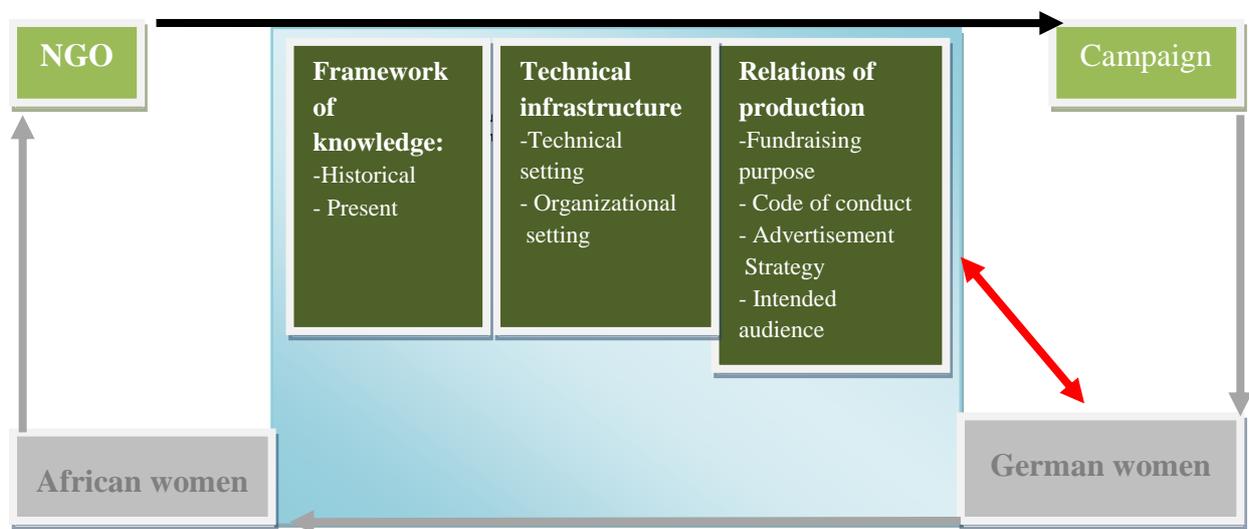
However, this aim is limited by several constrains: Firstly, NGOs are highly dependent on the goodwill of donors, institutions and governments. This in turn makes it difficult to criticize consumption or German politics (Ridelout, 2011:38; Simpson, 1984:23f). Secondly, when NGOs try to present the diversity of the African continent, by focusing not only on deficiencies but by telling success stories, the audience does no longer see the urgency for donations, as the following response to the campaign of “Misereor” exemplifies. *“What shall I give money for? I see a healthy, well-fed young women with an open view” (Brigitte, 52*).*

Third, codes of conducts also limit the clearance of NGOs in their choice of pictures. For instance, the need to present positive images, excludes some topics (Dogra, 2007:168). Besides, the advertisements are solely made for a German audience and shall appeal only to this group (O`Barr, 1994:12). Due to the fact that there is not a lot of knowledge about Africa, among the German audience, the campaigns need to be simple and catchy (Misereor, 2012; Ridelout, 2011:36). This strategy is also called strategic essentialism by Spivak (1988). To confront people with the complexity of development might be devastating to the audience and

decrease willingness to donate (Ridelout, 2011:25). A conflict of interest between education and fundraising exists which is mostly solved in favour of fundraising (Manzo, 2008:638).

4.5. Summary to *Encoding*

In sum, this chapter investigated why 'African women' are encoded into objects in advertisement. It became evident that different factors influence the *encoding* process as model five illustrates. NGOs need to find a balance between positive depictions according to the code of conduct, creating empathy and compassion of the audience and keeping all possible stakeholders happy. In this context, it proves to be difficult to enhance intercultural information while calling for funds.



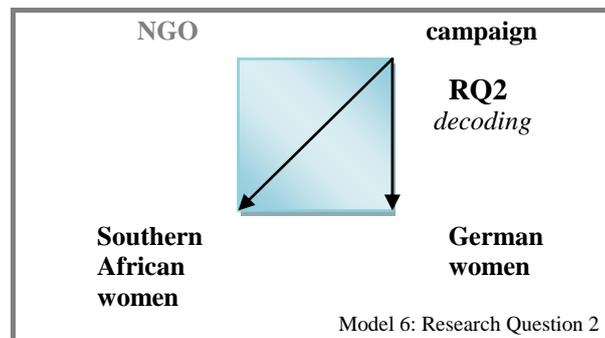
Model 5: Findings to Research Question 1

Moreover, it became obvious that NGO campaigns also reflect on ideas that already exist in society, as the audience is actively involved in the development of the campaigns because pictures get tested before their publication. The red arrow in model five illustrates this connection. Since the evolvement of women in development as a topic of the donor platforms, also NGOs have paid rising attention to women. Thereby, international solidarity between women from North and South has risen (Pearson, 2000:15; Bulbeck, 1998:4; Yeshiareg, 2007:4). The campaigns reflect on this slow process of change in common perception about 'women' and 'Africa' in Germany. Last but not least, pictures as presented in fundraising campaigns cannot mirror the African reality but should be considered as an '*articulation of African women*', an advertisement product that has been developed.

CHAPTER 5: How are fundraising campaigns decoded by different audiences?

5.1. Introduction to *Decoding*

In order to understand to what extent the content of the campaigns can be interpreted differently, it is compared how different actors interpret the three campaigns. This chapter commences with an analysis of the comments to the campaigns made by Namibian, Southern African, Zambian and Angolan respondents. The section is clustered into different ideas that came up, in regard to the campaigns. The chapter continues with an analysis of the German interpretation. As a result, by the end of this chapter, the second research question is answered, namely, how fundraising campaigns are *decoded* by different audiences. Model six illustrates the focus of the subsequent chapter.



5.2. Content message: African points of view

5.2.1. Criticism one: Representativeness

“How does this represent me?” (Abrahams 2011)

As this answer illustrates, the women negated to feel represented by the picture: *“In the first place, I don’t live in a hut, secondly, I buy my Milimil at Shoprite or Pic n’Pay²” (Abrahams, 2011) / “My mother might relate to this” (Sechogele, 2011)*. The impression emerged, that the pictures remembered the respondents of the past, instead of reflecting on their present lives. The women explained that profound changes have taken place in their lives within the last two decades. 31 out of 37 respondents expressed the opinion that the role of women has undergone transformation: *“Now, things are better and women are more independent.” (Gina, 22)/ “Nowadays, women are able to raise their voices to be heard.” (Cenecia, 21)/ “Now, we see women in Africa as presidents and women in parliament” (Tuhafeni, 45).*

² Namibian supermarket chains

However, the respondents also commented that the pictures are not arbitrarily chosen: Immaculate Sechogele (2011) highlighted that the images are only representative for a small group of women, namely the rural poor. Whereas a well might be a huge help for a rural women, it is no longer representative of the struggle of all African women (Abrahams, 2011). Nevertheless, the picture would not manage to contextualize the situation. With regard to the campaign of “Welthungerhilfe”, Sheena Megenya (2011) explained that water would only be one problem of the rural poor. What happens to the women if she comes home from the well and is confronted with domestic violence by a man that had bought her when she was still a child?

In addition, Otilie Abrahams (2011) underlined that the three fundraising campaigns seem to mirror exactly those colonial ideas, which she had recognized in the thinking patterns of Europeans she had met: *“This is the picture they have”*. She claimed that Europeans do not want to understand what is happening in Africa. Intercultural misunderstandings would prevail (Megenya, 2011): *“The portrayal of Africa in Europe is very strange. [...] the portrayal of who we are is: We are rubbished by HIV aids, we are so poor we can hardly survive the next day, we are the dark continent [...] Media influence shapes this negative perception of the African continent”* (Sechogele, 2011). As Immaculate Sechogele answer underlines, there seems to be no homogenous picture about Africa, in contrast, the respondents highlighted the diversity on the African continent.

5.2.2. Criticism two: Diversity

“There is nothing like a homogenous African women” (Sechogele, 2012)

In line with this response, the respondents did not believe that it is possible to depict ‘an African woman’. Many respondents expressed that they perceive large differences in women’s standing in different African regions: *“Women in some countries are more vulnerable, poor and mistreated than in others”* (Rea, 16). 30 out of the 37 African respondents negated the question whether women’s struggle are the same in different African countries. Differences were for instance seen in the legal status, development, traditions and cultures, religions, political involvement, history and the value that is given to women. *“We differ according to our culture and tradition.”* (Giovanna, 19) / *“The degree to which men rule society differs and this degree impacts women.”* (Mary, 52). Consequently, any picture could just be a selection of an African setting.

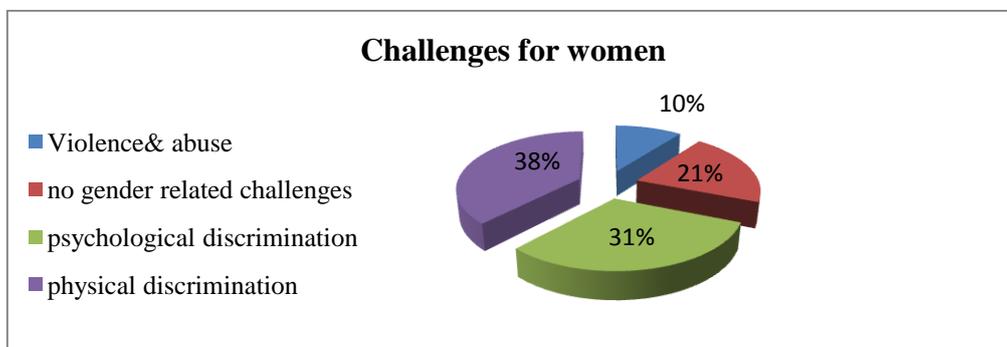
Moreover, the African respondents criticised the use of the term “we” in the campaign of “Misereor”. They expressed that they see great differences between women from Germany

and themselves. Twenty-five women rejected the idea that women are facing the same challenges in Africa and in Europe. In line with these answers, the women also did not see a responsibility of European women to help African women. Only 9 out of 37 women indicated that they wished women from other continents to help them. In contrast, 21 times the government was named as primary responsible and 7 times civil society. Interestingly, only four times women saw the need for help from men and only two times women highlighted the need for self initiated change. Another question furthermore showed that the respondents understand empowerment as an internal process that can at most be supported by other actors.

5.2.3. Criticism three: Definition of empowerment

“Empowerment means to internalize a sense of one’s own worth” (Sechogele, 2011)

As this answer underlines, the respondents’ definitions of empowerment differed from the one depicted in the campaigns. It was criticized that by showing economic empowerment as an issue of Western donors providing start up money, the underlying reasons for women’s weak position would be denied. The women regarded themselves as not only economically disadvantaged but also as being valued less. The challenges the respondents face as a woman were defined as underlying negative beliefs about the female gender, as well as physical or economic discrimination.



Graph 4: Challenges as a woman

As graph four illustrates, 38% of the women enlisted discrimination in education, job etc. which became summarized in the category of physical discrimination. In addition, 31% suffered from psychological discrimination, being valued less or being less entrusted with responsibility. Although all the interviewed women lived in African countries that are at the forefront regarding the legal position of women, they still face major hindrances under the surface (Abrahams, 2011). *“Also the law says one thing the reality out there is still different.”* (Florence, 52) / *“It is very hard to change old habits... we can write everything of*

how we want men to treat us on as much paper as we want, there is no switch." (Nangula, 29).

The experts added to the understanding that although most women perceive men's attitude as the major hindrance towards equality, discrimination is not only performed by men, but as well among women. *"It is also the question of women, if they have five children and one is a boy, it is the old story. If they have little money they only send the boy (to school). You need to get that nonsense out of people's heads and get them to send the brightest child."* (Abrahams 2011). The campaigns would not speak about these issues and how to challenge them. In contrast, they would be suggestive of 'African women' not being able to make anything happen without Western money (Megenya, 2011). In contrast, empowerment could start everywhere: *"Take a women like my mother, who lived here all her life but she was very emancipated, all her sons learned to cook all her daughters can do men's work"* (Abrahams, 2011).

The respondents regarded women empowerment, consequently, as a process that increases their rights, self confidence, choice or independence from men. Empowerment is a process of channelling women's power not only longer to their daily activities but also towards emancipation (Abrahams, 2011). According to their opinion, programs are needed that let women realize their own self-worth, instead of financing them (Abrahams, 2011; Sechogele, 2011).

Discussing what empowerment means, it was observed that the respondents were surprised about the use of the word power in the campaign poster of "Welthungerhilfe". Instead of a connection to the women and their empowerment, they saw the term connected to the Western donations. According to them, it seems as progress in the village resumes only from western involvement - an idea that was rejected by them as empowering (Sechogele, 2011; Abrahams, 2011). The campaigns would enforce stereotypes and makes women even more vulnerable than they actually are (Megenya, 2011).

Nevertheless, Otilie Abrahams could also understand the focus of the campaigns on the financial component of empowerment, as they should appeal for funds. Immaculate Sechogele and Otilie Abrahams (2011) agreed that although women's development should not be depicted as depending on Western input only, money can have a catalytic function to an empowerment process. Additionally, the impression emerged, many respondents also understood women's empowerment as economic empowerment^{viii}. However, this one-sided presentation would shape the perception that domestic work is less valuable than income

earning activities: “People tend to think that you are only an empowered woman that is contributing to the economy positively when you are the director of an organization, or when you are an accountant or have a PhD. They find it hard to recognize that what you do as a woman every single day over and over does contribute on the same level but in a big way.” (Megenya, 2011). This belief would lead to a decrease in self-initiated change as “people tend to look to government for everything” (Megenya, 2011). In fact, twenty-two women claimed that they could not improve their standing in society as long as government would not take action.

Finally, all three experts believed that NGOs have a clear responsibility for the publications they make (Megenya, 2011). “People who are seeking funding, using such images, have a huge role in addressing the gender discourse” (Sechegole, 2011). As a result, they made several recommendations how ‘African women’ could be depicted in a more culturally sensitive and appropriate manner, which will be presented in chapter seven.

In sum, the women made several critiques to the commercial. However, it proves difficult to cluster them into types of readers according to Stuart Hall’s theory, as the advertisements were not made for them to donate, nor do they know the organizations, at all. Due to the fact that one cannot analyse to what extent the respondents called into question the NGO behind or rejected the donation call, they are vaguely classified as *negotiated* or *oppositional readers*.

5.3. Content message: German point of views

Then, German women were asked to share their interpretations of the campaigns. The following analysis takes place in two steps. Firstly, it was compared how the women *decode* the picture. This section is divided into different reactions to the picture. In a second step, it is analyzed to what extent these judgments are able to shape their individual actions, as the commercials are published to increase donations.

5.3.1. Dominant readers

“It fits to my ideas about traditional tribes in Africa.” (Linda 24)*

As the quote, which is in line with the introductory quote, exemplifies, ten respondents seemed to agree with the content of the “encoded advertisements”. “Yes, I believe that the women are living under these circumstances” (Margarete, 30*). Several issues, depicted on the campaigns seemed to be perfectly in line with their ideas about ‘Africa’, for instance rurality and thankfulness of the recipients. “I imagine that they have to catch water from a lake, collect and prepare food and at the same time have to care for the children” (Frauke,

21*) /“*The design is very successful. My first impression is that the woman does not expect anything but is very thankful for something*” (Stefanie, 19*). Adjectives that these respondents used to describe the commercials were the following ones: very attractive, positive, strong, happy, colourful and representative. They could be classified as *dominant readers* of the advertisement. According to Stuart Hall (1973) dominant reading implies that the audience agrees with the media discourse and accepts content and relationship message (Hall, 1994: 208ff).

However, regarding the commercial of “Misereor”, the impression emerged that looking at the same picture respondents interpreted the pictures very differently. On one hand, respondents described the women as good looking, confident, happy, strong, well-off, healthy, powerful and friendly. On the other hand, other respondents saw a hopeless and sad woman. As the following answer exemplifies, the same diversity existed in the overall sample.

5.3.2. Negotiated readers

“I think the picture shows what people want to see.” (Johanna 24*)

In addition to the ten dominant readers, twenty-two other respondents, including Johanna, had contradictory feelings to the commercials, describing it as not representative, typical, confusing, contradictory and romanticized. They said that the pictures would not emotionally touch them or would not catch their attention. *“Outstanding is their European dress code. This is not true for the women in many parts of Africa”* (Ingrid, 58*). Ingrid also criticized what the pictured forget to tell *“They do not address the economic and political circumstances these smallholders are living in”* (58*) others noted the lack of diversity in the campaigns *“I think the daily life of African women differs extensively. This might depend on education, country, rural or urban setting, religion and from social rank.”* (Rita, 55*)/ *“This [picture] is definitely only representative for some regions or countries. It is for instance definitely not for Northern Africa”* (Sarah, 49*). These respondents could be classified as *negotiated readers*. Negotiated reading, according to Stuart Hall (1973) implies they criticized certain issues but did not call into question the NGO that produced them (Hall, 1994: 208ff).

Furthermore, it became obvious that the content was compared to other sources of information. *“I doubt that the women are as happy as they are depicted, because I imagine life in the African country side as tough”* (Stefanie, 26*). Those women, that had never been to Africa seemed to compare the information to their own experiences from Europe as the

following answer underlined *“I don't think that there can be a representative picture for the daily life of an African women because there is also none of the daily life of a European women” (Lena, 26*)*.

5.3.3. Oppositional readers

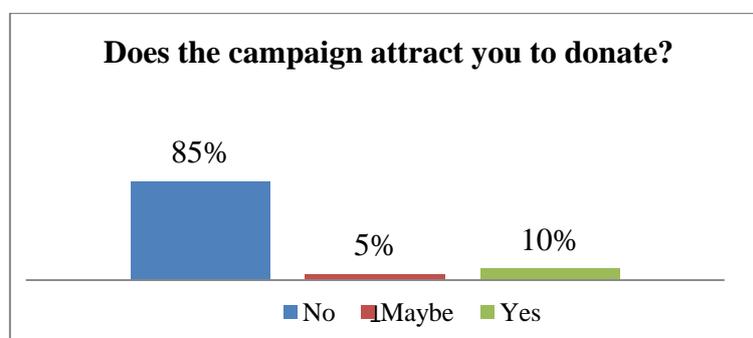
“They would say: Do you really think our live looks like this?” (Maria, 64)*

Additionally, eight respondents openly criticized the simplicity of the fundraising campaigns. The ironical reaction of Maria exemplifies the absurdity, they thought to have detected in the pictures. They described the pictures within one of the subsequent categories: full of clichés, made⁴⁹, not authentic⁴⁹, absurd, cheesy or artificial. As a result, the campaigns were not taken serious. *“Can I buy Therese the world with my donation to her?” (Linda, 24*)/ “Ambivalent for Europeans created pictures (Nina, 22*)/ “The picture seems very much arranged and not real” (Marie, 24*)*. The eight women that described the picture in these terms could be described as *oppositional readers*. Oppositional reading^{ix} means to put into question not only the content of the pictures but also of the NGO behind, respectively, to reject the content message (Hall, 1994: 208ff; Watzlawick 1969:53).

5.3.4. Effects on donation behaviour

“The role of women in Africa is anyway hard to improve by donations!” (Jaqueline, 21)

As this answer of a respondent underlines, the decision to donate is not only influenced by the acceptance of the content message. As a result, the following section answers to what extent the interpretations of the commercials influenced donation behaviour. To begin with, graph four shows that the large majority of the respondents rejected the notion that the fundraising campaigns would attract them to donate, although only eight respondents had clearly opposed the content message of the campaign that was shown to them.



Graph 5: Effectiveness

Thus, the impression emerged that the interpretations of the campaigns had little impact on the decision to donate or not. According to the answers, private information about projects,

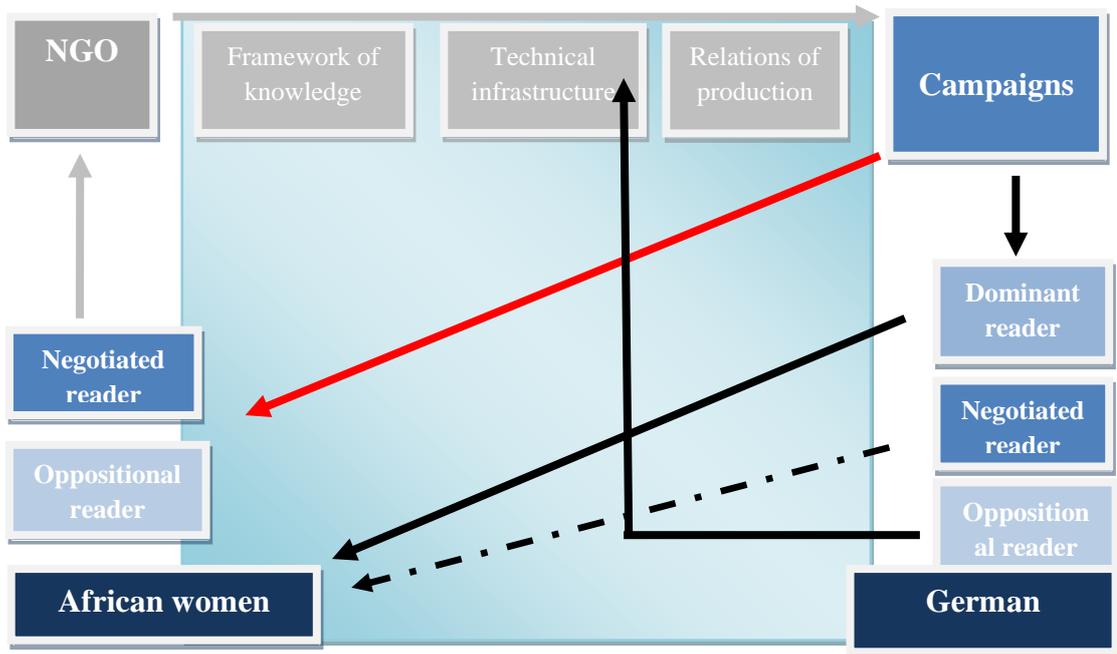
trustworthiness of the organization, private contacts to the organization, traditional donation patterns to one organization and general scepticism towards NGO's effectiveness additionally impact the decision to donate.

Moreover, the respondents seemed to have detailed ideas about the biggest problems in Africa that differed from the problems, which were depicted in the campaigns. Most respondents listed poverty/hunger/misery (18) as the largest problems, closely followed by corruption (17) and then by ideas about HIV/illnesses and bad health care (12). Interestingly seven respondents named that African countries suffer from exploitation by their own elite and Western states and six times the gap between rich and poor was named as a devastating problem. In contrast to the idea that NGOs cannot depict issues of Western responsibility for the current global state of affairs, in order not to offend their donors, the data showed that also this topic is well known by the audience. Dorothea for instance expressed her individual solution to the problems of the protagonists, which differed extensively from the one presented in the campaigns: "*If we would not have so many people speculating on food there would be enough for everyone*" (Dorothea, 51*).

5.4. Summary to Decoding

"I would not have seen it, if I wouldn't have believed it" (McLuhan)

According to these words that were, rumorously, spoken by Marshall McLuhan, the case study showed that interpretations of the images differed extensively. This finding complements previous research that analysed fundraising campaigns regarding the author's interpretation of the content message (Wazlawick 1969:53). The African respondents in this case study were quite critical and could be defined as *negotiated or oppositional reader*. Surprisingly similarly critical comments were, however, also made by some German respondents. Among the German audience, the author could detect ten *dominant*, twenty-two *negotiated* as well as eight *oppositional readers*. Whereas *dominant* readers do not distinguish between 'African women' in the campaigns and women that are actually living on the African continent, *negotiated readers* draw only some parallels and *oppositional readers* distinguish sharply between both, as model seven illustrates.



Model 7: Findings to Research Question 2

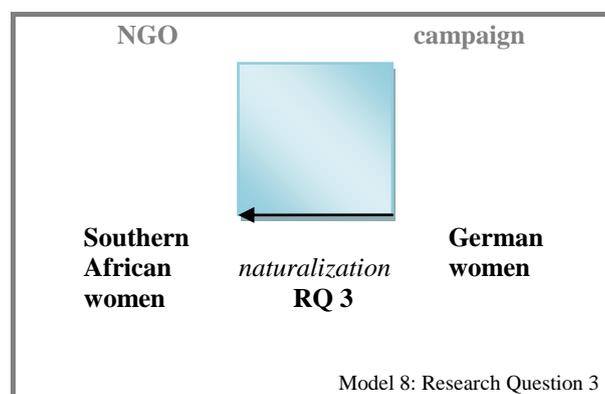
Another important finding can be made with regard to western responsibility. The German respondents were well aware about the connection between Western consumption and development in other parts of the world. The impression emerged that the campaigns are too hesitant to address this topic in order not to offend the audience. Regarding the great impact that the audience could have on enforcing change of their own governments, by keeping silence, the three NGOs miss out a great opportunity to inform their audience.

However, as explained beforehand communication exists of content and relationship aspect (Watzlawick, 1969:53). This chapter evaluated to what extent the content aspect of the communication via the campaign between NGO and audience was accepted or rejected by the audience. To analyse communication comprehensively, the following chapter dwells on the relationship aspect.

CHAPTER 6: To what extent can campaigns shape ideas about 'African women'?

6.1. Introduction to Naturalization

Having recognized the variety of interpretations of the campaigns, this chapter analyses the extent to which the existing discourses naturalizes into ideas about 'African women' of the German sample. For this means, German women were asked to describe the life of an 'African woman' independently of questions that focused on the interpretation of the campaigns. 'African women' were chosen as a topic of this study because their depiction by NGOs differs extensively from other representations. NGOs actively promote the narrative that women are a homogenous group, economic agents and drivers of change (Wilson 2011). It was therefore of great interest to see to what extent developmental discourse had naturalized into thinking patterns. To test this impression, the data was analysed for the reoccurrence of two ideas. Firstly, NGOs promotes the idea that women around the globe form a homogenous group to enhance empathy among them. Secondly, development discourse enhanced the idea that women in developing countries are the drivers of change which need to be supported, in contrast to men.

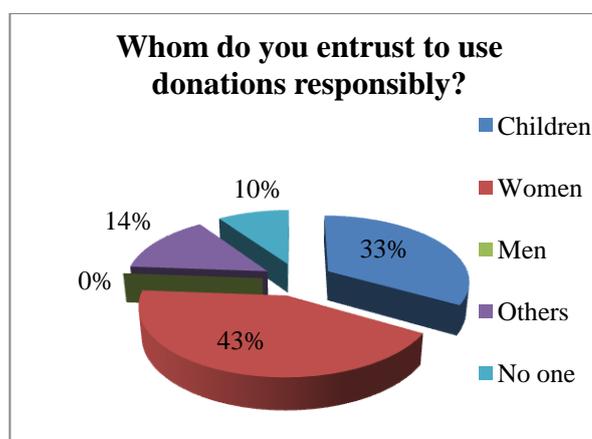


6.2. Naturalization of the relationship message

"I think the men are just arranged to work for the picture" (Elisabeth, 55)*

As this quote exemplifies, although the respondents were very critical to the three cases, their answers also hinted to the impression that certain messages of development discourse had deeply influenced their ideas about 'Africa'. To test this impression, the German respondents were asked whether they feel more empathy with women than with men in Africa in the first

place. It needs to be kept in mind, that although the Southern African respondents rejected the idea of “universal womanhood”, the campaigns particularly try to appeal to this feeling. When clustered into yes and no answers, sixteen women indicated that they feel more empathy with women and children than with men in Africa. The respondents reasoned their answer with arguments that are in line with developmental discourse, as the following answer exemplifies: “Women and children face are a group that faces more risks, they are more often exposed to hunger than men” (Anne, 23*). Subsequently, respondents were asked whom they trust most that their donations are efficiently used. As graph six underlines, women trust most in female recipients to use donations responsibly.



Graph 6: Trust

In fact, the idea that women account for the good spending is an idea which is actively promoted by developmental actors, including NGOs. According to the graph, 43%, of the respondents trusted ‘African women’ most, closely followed by children and “others” (e.g. well established organisations, good projects and concepts, local NGOs, personal contacts). In sum, German women nowadays seem to consider women around the world as a homogenous group. This is particularly interesting, when keeping in mind that ‘African women’ were depicted as the opposite of European women until the 1960s in Western media.

Moreover, German perceived ‘African women’ to face the greatest gender related disadvantages in economic terms (27 times), in contrast to cultural terms or political ones. This is in line with developmental discourse, which stresses the need to include women in developing economies. Moreover, ‘African women’ were considered as the drivers of change by the German respondents. “I think the men are just arranged to work for the picture. In reality women are carrying the responsibility; the social structures are weakened by war and rebellion, so the women have to care for food and survival for their children and families”

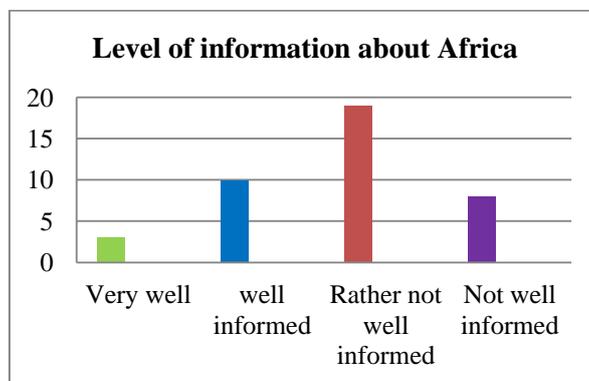
(Elisabeth, 55*)/”They think: If our men would be working our lives would be much better”
(Maria, 50*).

6.3. Summary to Naturalization

Chapter five has underlined the critical discussion of the campaigns by the audience. Thereby, the content message of the communication between NGO and audience was analysed. This chapter complemented the analysis, focusing on the relationship message (Watzlawick 1969:53). It was uncovered that when asked more neutrally, many of the respondents which had been very critical before, had unconsciously accepted and adopted the underlying development narratives.

CHAPTER 7: Discussion of findings

In the data collection process, it became apparent that the German respondents did not to feel very well informed about Africa in general. Graph seven illustrates this impression. Only three women considered themselves as very well informed, whereas nineteen considered themselves as rather not that well informed.



Graph 7: Level of information

Moreover, many expressed that they have realized this deficiency and would like to gain more information, as Nina for instance explained: “I would be more interested if they would show me a part of Africa which I do not know Maybe something that could start a discussion about Africa” (22*). According to this suggestion, the last chapter of this thesis deals with the question how campaigns could possibly present ‘African women’ in a correct way by eliminating the interpretation with stereotypes. Due to the fact that this research calls for a greater say of African women, regarding the question how they could be depicted, subsequently the recommendations of the three Namibian experts are presented.

7.1. Recommendations

To enhance intercultural information, the experts had six messages which should be considered by NGOs.

- 1.) Campaigns should address changes that have taken place on the African continent. They should inform Europeans that not only tribal women but also more modern women would benefit from support (Abrahams, 2011).
- 2.) Pictures need to reflect on the variety of poverty and hunger that exists. Campaigns could also show the urban poor and other problems, aside from a lack of money (Sechogele, 2011).
- 3.) Campaigns should also show men, as they needed to be actively included in women's empowerment because "gender equality provides men with better women" (Sechogole, 2011).
- 4.) Pictures should inform about current problems on the African continent. For Namibia this could mean to depict the emergence of a new elite, which dominates the economic and political structures. Although the pigmentation of rich and poor has changed, a corresponding change in the structure of societies however has rarely taken place: "*If you want to help Africa you need to present neo-colonialism*" (Abrahams, 2011).
- 5.) Campaigns should promote women's empowerment as a positive process, in which people are happy to take part in, instead of being guided by guilty conscience. Sheena Megenya (2011) claimed that the campaigns would subconsciously create a very negative feeling calling for innocence based solidarity.
- 6.) Cooperation between women European and African women should become an intercultural dialogue on a par. "*It would be good for them to come here and for women to go there*" (Abrahams, 2011). By means of personal encounters, women could enhance each other's position. Respectively, by understanding differences, an unbiased perception of each other's life could be created, that would serve empowering to both sides.

These recommendations are made in a crucial moment, because NGOs are undergoing decisive transformations regarding their advertisement strategies, as the following section explains. The author sees great opportunity for a rethinking in the approach to developmental fundraising thanks to two developments:

First, whereas in the past NGOs focused on the poorest of the poor, increasingly developing emerge to transforming economies. These countries have rising power on the international stage and start challenging western hegemony. NGOs could align with this position and put their mandate at the forefront, namely to influence foreign politics within their countries of origin by lobbying and advocacy campaigns. By this means, a rethinking in NGO practices could lead towards a representation with dignity of the third world and a targetization of the first world (Ridelout, 2011:40; Manzo, 2008:647). Correct information and understanding would become decisive, in this respect (Mann, 1998:56). Thereby, NGOs could also reconsider their own position and redefine themselves as fighters for the rights of the poor instead of charity givers (Manzo, 2008:641ff).

The second factor that might strongly influence NGO advertisement is the internet. Even today, campaigns are increasingly published online, as NGO can cheaply reach a broad audience. The internet offers a new forum to dialogue which gives greater space in order to generate comprehensive information about the situation of the recipients to the audience. The assumption that the relation between NGO, audience and recipient will undergo profound changes thanks to the internet is furthermore underlined by McLuhan's theory of media communication (2001). According to this theory, it is the medium and not the message that shapes societies. In line with this assumption, advertisements on two dimensional billboards are indicative for a closed society, in contrast to the internet that allows the emergence of a global community (McLuhan, 2001:8).

7.1. Future

The case study has scratched the surface of a topic that is of high relevance for the NGOs at this point in time. Future research could focus on how NGOs already make use of the internet regarding their online advertisement. Finally, exploring how other cultures can be presented more innovatively in order to increase understanding between continents and therewith empathy between donors and recipients will help development NGOs to reach their goal. Finally, it would be of high relevance to test also the findings of this research against a broader and more representative sample.

CHAPTER 8: Summary of Findings and Conclusion

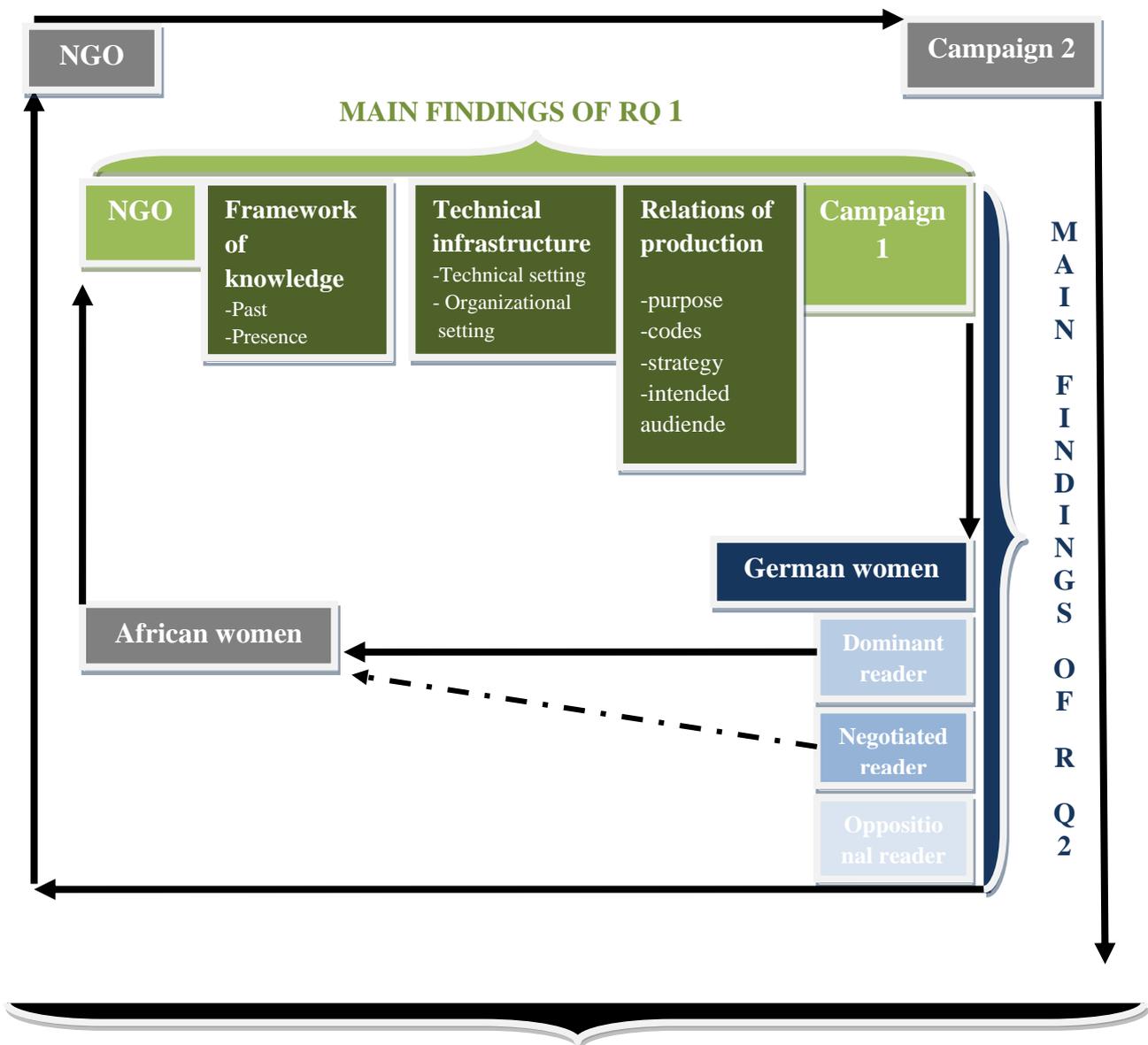
8.1. RQ 1: How are 'African women' encoded as objects of fundraising?

In sum, chapter four has uncovered that discourse naturalization is much more complex than it has been admitted by previous research. The analysis could explain which factors influence the development of the campaigns. Firstly, the campaigns belong to a broader NGO discourse that mirrors the changing ideas within the German audience about 'Africans' as well as about 'women' in general. Additionally, it has been shown that the audience is actively involved in the process of *encoding* as their ideas are part of the framework of knowledge that shapes to what extent *encoding* takes place. Secondly, the campaigns are very much limited by the technical limitations of a two dimensional, two times four meter billboard campaign. Finally, the NGOs are restricted by strategic issues, as for instance not to defend important supporters or to cohere to the code of conduct they have signed. In this respect, they need to make use of common advertisement strategies in order to create interest to donate among the audience. As a result, pictures emerge that are only an advertisement product and differ extensively from comprehensive information about the problems that African women actually face. The green part of model nine reflects on these findings.

8.2. RQ 2: How are fundraising campaigns decoded by different audiences?

Chapter five has underlined that the content message of NGO campaigns can be *decoded* very differently. The analysis has shown that *oppositional*, *negotiated* as well as *dominant* readers existed among the respondents, independent of their country of origin. Thus, not only African but also German women were very critical about the trustworthiness of the pictures. The variety of ideas among the German sample, moreover, underlined that Edward Said's ideas about the naturalization of discourses (1985) are no longer applicable to the contemporary context. Whereas in the past, scientists and ethnographers were the only source of information about the Orient, an information monopoly does no longer exist about Africa. Nowadays, by comparing different sources of information, the audience has the possibility to critically assess the content message of the picture. Additionally, campaigns do not seem to create own ideas. Instead, they merely offer projection space for ideas that the audience has already acquired beforehand. Finally, the impression emerged that NGOs keep silent about certain topics (e.g. German politics) in order not to offend the audience even though the people have

already gained information about this topic. The blue part of model 9 illustrates these findings.



MAIN FINDINGS OF RQ 3

Model 9: A visualized summary of the main findings

8.1.RQ 3: To what extent can campaigns shape ideas about 'African women'?

Finally, chapter six has shown that developmental discourse, as presented in the campaigns, has shaped ideas of the German audience about Africa to a certain extent. Without recognizing, the audience clearly repeated certain development narratives. The portrayal of 'African women' as more productive than their male counterpart can be taken as a lucid example in this respect.

Altogether, the research has underlined the reciprocal relationship between audience and NGO. Advertisement does not only create realities, it also reflects upon them as existing opinions about 'African women' influence the process of *encoding*. Therefore, the audience is both creator and recipient of the message (O`Barr, 1994:2; Hall 1973:509). Whereas previous research focused on the power of the NGO, this research has shown that the audience shapes to a similar extent how Africans - and African women in particular - are depicted. Finally, NGOs and audience are in a flexible relation that also reacts upon new information through other sources. The more critical the audience is the faster the discourse about 'African women' will change. As a result, ideas are produced and reproduced in a snake-like format, as the final model exemplifies.

While discourse about other continents was limited by the need for discourse continuity in the past, it seems that this limitation is decreasing nowadays. NGOs could therefore re-examine their role in intercultural dialogue and reconsider their habitual strategies to advertisement. Whereas right-based participatory development has been introduced in project work of many NGOs, a right-based and participatory campaign strategy is not yet invented (Bendix and Kiesel, 2009:483; Palmberg, 2001:231). By entering into actual dialogue about the depictions with Africans, NGO legitimacy could be strengthened and intercultural understanding enhanced (Andreasson, 2005:974). The internet and the rise of transforming countries could become catalysts for a change of NGOs advertisement to present 'African women' as subjects and no longer as objects. Finally, Bittner gives an interesting advice how intercultural communication needs to look like.

"We must walk this tight rope between similarities and differences armed with knowledge, stories told us by the other, with honest-self-criticism, asking what are our interests as opposed to those of the other, with connection, meeting and hearing the other, and with an understanding of the structures of the political and economic domination which have made white voices louder and the voices of the other often muted" (Bittner G. in Mann 1998:56).

This study is a first step.

Wordcount: 14.316

References

- Amos, V. & Parmar, P. (2005). Challenging imperial feminism. *Feminist review* 80, 44-63.
- Andreasson, S. (2005). Orientalism and African Development Studies: The 'Reductive Repetition' Motif in Theories of African Underdevelopment. *Third World Quarterly* 26(6), 971-986.
- Ali, S. (2007). Feminism and postcolonial: Knowledge/Politics. *Ethnics and Racial Studies* 20(2), 191-212.
- Ashcroft, B. & Ahluwali, P. (2001). *Edward Said*. London: Routledge.
- Bajde, D. (2009) Rethinking the social and cultural dimensions of charitable giving. *Markets & Culture* 12(1), 65-84.
- Bhaba, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Beneria, L. & Sen, G. (1997) Accumulation, reproduction and women's role in economic development. Boserup revised. In Visvanathan N., Duggan, L. Nisonoff L. & Wiegiersma N. [Eds.]. *The Women Gender and Development Reader*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books. 42-50.
- Beoku-Betts, J. (2005). Western Perception of African women in the 19th and early 20th century. In Cornwall A. *Readings in Gender in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 20-24.
- Bendix, D. & Kiesel, T. (2009). White Charity: Eine postkoloniale, rassismuskritische Analyse der entwicklungspolitischen Plakatwerbung in Deutschland. *Peripherie: Zeitung für Politik und Ökonimie in der dritten Welt* 120/2009. Münster: Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot.
- BMZ – Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (2012) Non-governmental Organizations. *Website of the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development*. [online] http://www.bmz.de/en/what_we_do/approaches/bilateral_development_cooperation/players/ngos/index.html, Accessed 2012-01-05.
- Bonsu, S. K.(2009). Colonial images in global times: consumer interpretations of Africa and Africans in advertising. *Consumption Markets & Culture* 12(1), 1-25.
- Boserup, E. (1970). *Women's Role in Economic Development*. London: Earthscan.
- Brot für die Welt (1976). "Aid for life". Campaign. *Website of Brot für die Welt*. [online] <http://www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de/downloadcenter/downloads/index/1>, Accessed 2012-02-01.
- Brot für die Welt (2000). Den Armen Gerechtigkeit. Herausforderungen und Handlungsfelder. Eine Erklärung von „Brot für die Welt“. *Website of Brot für die Welt*. [online] <http://www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de/downloads/ueber-uns/gerechtigkeit2000.pdf>, Accessed 2012-01- 11.

- Brot für die Welt (2010). *Jahresbericht 2009*. Stuttgart: Diakonisches Werk der EKD e.V.
- Bryman, A. (2004). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. 3rd version. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bulbeck, C. (1998). *Re-orienting Western Feminism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Charlton, S. E (1997). Development as history and process. In Visvanathan N., Duggan, L. Nisonoff L. & Wiegiersma N. [Eds.]. *The Women Gender and Development Reader*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books. 7-16.
- Childs, P. & Williams P. (1997). *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*. Prentice Hall: Pearson Longman.
- Concord (2006). Code of Conduct on Images and Messages. *Website of CONCORD*[online] <http://www.deeep.org/images/stories/DARE/CodeofConduct/code%20of%20conduct%20on%20messages%20and%20images.pdf>, Accessed 2011-01-01.
- Dirlik, A. (2002). Rethinking colonialism. Globalization, postcolonialism and the Nation. *Interventions* 4(3), 428-448.
- Dogra, N. (2007). Reading NGOs visually – Implications of visual images for NGO Management. *Journal of International Development* 19, 161-171.
- Doty, R. L. (1996). *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Flitner B. (2012).. Misereor campaign. *Website of Bettina Flitner* [online] <http://www.bettinaflitner.de/725.html>, Accessed 2011-01-31.
- Garner R. (2010). *Social Theory Power and identity in the global era*. 2nd edition. University of Toronto: Broadview Press.
- General Assembly of European NGOs (1989). *Code of Conduct for Images and Messages relating to the third world. NGO EC Liaison Committee*. http://www.dochas.ie/Documents/Code_images_98.htm, Accessed 2011-09-09.
- Gosh D. (2007). Gender and Colonialism: Extension or Marginalization? *The Historical Journal* 47(3), 737-755.
- Hall, S. (1973). Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse. Paper for the Council of Europe Colloquy on “Training in the Critical Reading of Televisual Language”, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, *Stencilled Occasional Paper*, 7. [online] <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/irvinem/theory/SH-Coding.pdf>, Accessed 2011-10-01.
- Hall, S. (1994) Encoding/Decoding. In Graddol, D. & Boyd-Barrett, D. *Media Texts: Authors and Readers*. Bridgend: The Open University.

- Hall, S. (1997). *Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publications.
- Jones, R. B. (2011). Postcolonial Representation of Women. *Exploring of Educational Purpose* 18, 23-38.
- Kelly, A., Lawlor K. & O'Donohoe S. (2005). Encoding Advertisement: The creative perspective. *Journal of Marketing Management* 21, 505-528.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. California: Sage Publications.
- Lamers, M. (2005). Representing Poverty, Impoverishing Representation? A Discursive Analysis of NGO Fundraising Posters. *Graduate Journal of Social Science* 2(1), 37-74.
- Luger, K. (1999). Interkulturelle Kommunikation und kulturelle Identität im globalen Zeitalter. In Renger, R. & Siebert G. [Eds.]. *Kommunikationswelten. Wissenschaftliche Perspektiven zur Medien- und Informationsgesellschaft*. 317-245.
- Mann, J. (1998). Die mediale Konstruktion der dritten Welt. Ihr Bild in der Spendenwerbung. *Medien Impulse*. 26, 25-27.
- Manzo, K. (1999). The international imagination: themes and arguments in international studies. *Review of International Studies* 25, 493-506.
- Manzo, K. (2008). Imaging Humanitarianism: NGO Identity and the Iconography of Childhood. *Antipode*. 40(4), 632-657.
- McEwan, C. (2001). Postcolonialism, feminism and development: intersections and dilemmas. *Progress in Development Studies* 1(2), 93-111.
- McLuhan, M. (2001). *Understanding Media. The extensions of men*. London and New York : Routledge.
- Mezzana, D. (2011). A cancerous image. *African societies*. [online] <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/digitaldemocracy/mezzana.htm#> , Accessed 2011-05-12.
- Miller, C.L. (1985). *Black darkness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Minear, L. (1987). The Other Missions of NGOs: Education and Advocacy. *World Development* 15, 201-211.
- Misereor (1972). "Take the human of the crux" Campaignposter. *Website of Misereor*. [online] <http://www.misereor.de/fileadmin/redaktion/FA-ListeInternet2011.pdf>, Accessed 2011-12-05.
- Misereor (2010). *Jahresbericht 2009*. Aachen: Bischöfliches Hilfswerk Misereor.
- Misereor (2012). Das Misereor Statut. *Website of Misereor*. [online]. <http://www.misereor.de/ueber-uns/auftrag-struktur/statut.html>. Accessed 2012-01-03.
- Missio (2010). *Jahresbericht 2009*. Freiburg: Missio.

- Mitchell, A. (1986). The Effect of Verbal and Visual Components of Advertisements on Brand Attitudes and Attitude towards the Advertisement. *Journal of Consumer Research* 13(1), 12-24.
- Moeller, S. (1998). *Compassion Fatigue*. New York: Routledge.
- Mohanty, C. T. (1997). Under Western Eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. In Visvanathan N., Duggan, L. Nisonoff L. & Wieggersma N. [Eds.]. *The Women Gender and Development Reader*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books. 79-85.
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism without borders*. Decolonizing Theory. Practising Solidarity. Duke University Press: London.
- Morley, D. & Robins K. (1995). *Spaces of identity*. Global media, electronic landscapes and cultural boundaries. London: Routledge.
- Nussbaum, M.C. (2000). *Women and Human Development- The Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Barr, W. M. (1994). *Culture and the Ad. Exploring Otherness in the World of Advertising*. New York: Westview Press.
- Palmberg, M. (ed.) (2001). *Encounter Images in the meeting between Europe and Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Pearson, R. (2000). Moving the goal post: Gender & Globalization in the 21st century. *Gender and Development* 8(1), 10-18.
- Philip, C. (2006). *Weißsein* in den Grundlegendokumenten von Misereor und Brot für die Welt. *Magisterarbeit Universität Potsdam*. <http://www.whitecharity.de/weisssein.pdf> . Accessed 2011-11-02.
- Poonam, P. (1992) Rereading Stuart Hall's Encoding/Decoding Model. *Communication Theory* 2(3), 221-233.
- Prosser (1998) *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers*. Padstow: Routledge Falmer.
- Racine, L. (2011). The Impact of Race, Gender, and Class in Postcolonial Feminist Fieldwork: A Retrospective Critique. *Aporia* 3(1), 15-27.
- Radley, A. & Kennedy, M.(1997). Picturing Needs: Images of overseas aid and Interpretation of Cultural Differences. *Culture Psychology* 3(4), 435-460.
- Ragin, C. (1994). *Constructing Social Research: the Unity and Diversity of Method*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Rideout, L. (2011). 'Representations of the 'Third World' in NGO advertising: Practicalities, colonial discourse and western understandings of development', *Journal of African Media Studies* 3(1), 25-41.

- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Random House, Inc.
- Said, E. (1985). Orientalism reconsidered. *Race & Class* 27(2), 1-15.
- Said, E. (1986). Edward Said Intellectuals in the postcolonial world. *Salmagundi* 70/71, 44-81.
- Said, E. (in memoriam) (2005). Orientalism, Once more. *Development and Change* 35(5), 869-879.
- Scheyvens, R. & Storey, D. (eds.) (2003). *Development fieldwork. A Practical Guide*. London: Sage Publications.
- Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Simpson, A. (1985). Charity begins at home. *Ten:8. Quarterly Photographic Magazine* 19, 21-26.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In Nelson, C. and Grossbergs, L. [Eds.]. *Marxism and the Interpretation of culture*. London: Macmillan. 271-313.
- Stanzak, G.Z. (2007). All photos lie. *Visual Research Methods. Sage Research Methods online* 19, 21-26.
- Sweetman, C. (ed) (2000). *Gender in the 21st century*. Oxford: Oxfam GB.
- Synder, M. & Tadesse, M. (1997). The African Context: Women in the political economy. In Visvanathan N., Duggan, L. Nisonoff L. & Wiegiersma N. [Eds.]. *The Women Gender and Development Reader*. 75-78.
- Tinker, I. (1997). The Making of a Field: Adocates, Practitioners and Scholars. In Visvanathan N., Duggan, L. Nisonoff L. & Wiegiersma N. [Eds.]. *The Women Gender and Development Reader*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books. 33-41.
- UN (2004). *Human Development Report*. [online] http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr04_complete.pdf, Accessed 2011-09- 11.
- United Nations Population Information Network (POPIN). *Guidelines on women empowerment*. [online] <http://www.un.org/popin/unfpa/taskforce/guide/iatfwemp.gdl.html>, Accessed 2011-09-15.
- VENRO (2011). *VENRO Kodex für entwicklungsbezogene Öffentlichkeitsarbeit*. [online] http://www.venro.org/fileadmin/redaktion/dokumente/Dokumente-2011/Januar_2011/Kodex_EBOE_v07.pdf. Accessed 2011-08-15.
- Visvanathan, N. (1997). General Introduction. In Visvanathan N., Duggan, L. Nisonoff L. & Wiegiersma N. *The Women Gender and Development Reader*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books. 1-6.

Watzlawick, P. (1969). *Menschliche Kommunikation. Formen, Störungen, Paradoxien*. Bern: Huber Verlag.

Welthungerhilfe (2010). Satzung des deutschen Welthungerhilfe e.V.. *Website of Welthungerhilfe* [online]
http://www.welthungerhilfe.de/fileadmin/media/pdf/Ueber_uns/Satzung20101125t.pdf ,
Accessed 2012-01-05.

Welthungerhilfe (2010). *Jahresbericht 2009*. Bonn: Deutsche Welthungerhilfe.

Welthungerhilfe (2011). *Official Website of the Organisation*. [online]
www.welthungerhilfe.de, Accessed 2011-11-05.

Welthungerhilfe (2012). Eine bessere Welt. Powered by You. [online]
<http://www.welthungerhilfe.de/powered-by-you-informationen.html>, Accessed 2012-01-15.

Wilson, K. (2011). Race, Gender and Neoliberalism: changing visual representations in development. *Third World Quarterly* 32(2), 315-331.

Winter, R. (1997). Cultural Studies als kritische Medienanalyse: Vom "encoding/decoding" Modell zur Diskursanalyse. In Hepp, A. & Winter R. [Eds.]. *Cultural Studies und Medienanalyse*. Opladen: West Verlag. 47- 63.

Wren-Lewis, J. (1983). The encoding/decoding model: criticism and redevelopments for research on decoding. *Media, Culture and Society* 5, 179-197.

Yeshiareg, D.(2007). Promoting women's economic empowerment in Africa. African Development Bank. Draft version. *Conference Paper. African Economic Conference 2007. Opportunities and Challenges of Development for Africa in the Global Arena. 15-17 November. Addis Ababa. Ethiopia*. [online]
<http://repository.uneca.org/bitstream/handle/10855/4674/Bib.%2031973.pdf?sequence=1>,
Accessed 2011-07-11.

Young, K. (1997). Gender and Development. In Visvanathan N., Duggan, L. Nisonoff L. & Wiegersma N. [Eds.]. *The Women Gender and Development Reader*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books. 51-53.

Young R. C. (2001). *Postcolonialism: A historical introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Questionnaire to African respondents

age: _____

1. What do you understand under the term "WOMEN EMPOWERMENT"?

2. Who could help African women in this process?

- Men
- Government
- Civil Society Organizations
- Women from other continents
- Others:
- No one

3. Do you think to be a woman is the same in all African countries?

4. Do you think women in Europe and in Africa are facing the same challenges?

5. Is there any difference between women's position in society now, than what it has been by independence?

6. Do you think colonialism also had an impact on women's position in society?

7. What are the biggest challenges you face as a women?

8. What do you think about this picture?

Thank you for taking part in this study!

Appendix B: Questionnaire to German respondents (example)*

1. Can you spontaneously name three words when you think about Africa?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

2. What do you think are the major problems on the continent?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

3. Which member of society do you trust most that they use development aid efficiently?

1. Children
2. Women
3. Men

Alternative: _____

4. Do you feel well informed about the situation for people in Africa and where do you have your information from?

5. What do you think about the status of emancipation and women empowerment within Africa?

6. As a woman, do you feel in particular responsible for the well being of women and children on the continent?

Please take a look at the following campaign (one campaign was added) and answer some questions about it.

7. Where is the picture taken?

8. Can you describe your first impression of the present picture?

9. What do you see on the picture?

10. What impression do you have the women would say to you if you would be the photographer?

11. Do you think the picture is representative for the live of African women? If not please justify.

12. Does the campaign attract you to donate?

Thank you for taking part in this study!

Appendix C: Questionnaire to NGOs (example)*

1. Who is responsible in your organisation for the production of advertisement campaigns? Is there an external agency or an internal section that deals with the development?

2. Which factors influence if a picture is used within a campaign or not?

3. Is the effect of a picture tested to an audience before publication?

4. To what extent do ethical guidelines guide the choice of pictures?

5. In case an external agency is contracted for the campaign development, to what extent do their employees have adequate knowledge about the cultures and living conditions of the people they are depicting?

6. As an NGO do you have an educational mandate?

7. In case yes, does the mandate cohere with the aim to collect funds for projects?

In the following picture you can see one of your campaigns (picture was added). The campaign has been chosen for the thesis to serve as an example how African women are depicted in fundraising.

„Wem gehört die Welt? Uns Frauen jedenfalls nicht!“
Thérèse, Elfenbeinküste

Verändern Sie die Welt!
www.misereor.de

MISEREOR
IHR HILFSWERK

Mit Zorn und Zärtlichkeit
an der Seite der Armen

Spendenkonto 10 10 10
Pax Bank · BLZ 370 601 93

8. From which year originates the campaign?

9. A). Where was the picture taken?

B). Was the picture taken for the purpose of the campaign?

10. What idea shall the picture underline?

11. To what extent do you agree with the claim that many European women have an idea about „Third world women“ which misses out to reflect on heterogeneity? As a n NGO do you try to counter this idea?

12. Do you consider which stereotypes and assumptions might exist among the intended audience when you develop a campaign?

13. Is there a reason why women are shown much more often than men on campaign posters?

14. Do women inherit a special role for the development of a country?

15. Does Misereor support projects that target women particularly?

16. Do you have the impression that the German public is well informed about Africa in general?

17. Do you have the impression that the German public has a clear picture in mind talking about Africa?

18. In case you feel there is additional topics that need to be considered for a comprehensive understanding of the topic you could name them here.

Thanks a lot for taking your time to fill out the questionnaire! I will be looking forward to share the final thesis with you in June 2012.

Appendix D: List of interviewees

List of interviewees with all available names, positions and pseudonyms involved in the research. A total of 40 people have been involved in Namibia plus two facilitators and a total of 41 people have been involved in Germany in this research. Names for both samples are just enlisted where needed to identify respondents in the text.

Actor	Position	Pseudonyms in Text	Date and Place
Facilitator			
Natasha Tybynjani	Media Officer at the Delegation of the European Union	-	11-2012, Windhoek, Namibia
Interviews with key stakeholders			
Sheena Megenya	Media Officer at Sister Namibia (Namibian women ´s rights organization)	-	02-12-2011 Windhoek, Namibia
Otilie Abrahams	Principal, Jakob Marengo Tutorial College since 1985, Facilitator of the Namibian Girl Child Organisation and the Director of the Namibia Nationhood Coordinating Committee	-	03-12-2011 Windhoek, Namibia
Immaculate Sechogele	Lecturer at the University of Namibia on Gender	-	02-12-2011 Windhoek, Namibia
Birte Kötter	Marketing Officer, Misereor	<i>Misereor</i>	01-2012 Via email
Questionnaires with women in Namibia			
Respondent1	-	<i>17, not quoted</i>	04-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent2	-	<i>18, not quoted</i>	04-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent3	-	<i>17, not quoted</i>	04-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent4	-	<i>Gina, 22</i>	04-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent5	-	<i>32, not quoted</i>	04-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent6	-	<i>24, not quoted</i>	05-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent7	-	<i>61, not quoted</i>	05-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent8	-	<i>62, not quoted</i>	05-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent9	-	<i>24, not quoted</i>	05-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent10	-	<i>25, not quoted</i>	05-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia

Respondent11	-	<i>22, not quoted</i>	08-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent12	-	<i>43, not quoted</i>	09-11-2011 Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent13	-	<i>45, not quoted</i>	09-11-2011 Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent14	-	<i>48, not quoted</i>	09-11-2011 Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent15	-	<i>20, not quoted</i>	17-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent16	-	<i>Cenecia, 21</i>	17-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent17	-	<i>Rea, 16</i>	17-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent18	-	<i>33, not quoted</i>	17-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent19	-	<i>35, not quoted</i>	17-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent20	-	<i>21, not quoted</i>	17-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent21	-	<i>22, not quoted</i>	17-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent22	-	<i>45, not quoted</i>	17-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent23	-	<i>39, not quoted</i>	17-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent24	-	<i>21, not quoted</i>	18-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent25	-	<i>Tuhafeni, 45</i>	18-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent26	-	<i>Mary, 52</i>	18-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent27	-	<i>22, not quoted</i>	18-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent28	-	<i>20, not quoted</i>	18-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent29	-	<i>Giovanna, 19</i>	18-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent30	-	<i>29, not quoted</i>	19-11-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent31	-	<i>37, not quoted</i>	20-01-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent32	-	<i>25, not quoted</i>	20-01-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent33	-	<i>Florence, 52</i>	20-01-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent34	-	<i>37, not quoted</i>	20-01-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent35	-	<i>41, not quoted</i>	20-01-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent36	-	<i>23, not quoted</i>	20-01-2011, Windhoek, Namibia
Respondent37	-	<i>Nangula, 29</i>	20-01-2011, Windhoek, Namibia

Questionnaires with women in Germany			
RespondentA1	student	Anne, 23	12-2011 Germany
Respondent2	psychologist	Lena, 26	12-2011 Germany
Respondent3	student	Marie, 24	12-2011 Germany
Respondent4	unemployed	24, not quoted	12-2011 Germany
Respondent5	pensioner	Dorothea, 51	01-2012 Germany
Respondent6	psychotherapist	Maria, 55	01-2012 Germany
Respondent7	social worker	Natascha, 58	01-2012 Germany
Respondent8	social worker	Elisabeth, 55	01-2012 Germany
Respondent9	student	18, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent10	secretary	37, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent11	social worker	60, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent12	working in administration	Sarah, 49	01-2012 Germany
Respondent13	remedial teacher	54, not quoted	12-2011 Germany
Respondent14	placement officer	64, not quoted	12-2011 Germany
Respondent15	student	22, not quoted	12-2011 Germany
Respondent16	social worker	Maria, 64	12-2011 Germany
Respondent17	secretary	53, not quoted	12-2011 Germany
Respondent18	student	25, not quoted	12-2011 Germany
Respondent19	student	Nina, 22	12-2011 Germany
Respondent20	chemo-technician	Rita, 55	12-2011 Germany
Respondent21	working in PR	Stefanie, 26	12-2011 Germany
Respondent22	student	24, not quoted	12-2011 Germany
Respondent23	psychologist	56, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent24	administration officer	49, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent25	arts student	Nina, 22	01-2012 Germany
Respondent26	Media designer	Frauuke, 21	01-2012 Germany
Respondent27	student	Frederike, 23	01-2012 Germany
Respondent28	teacher	Margarete, 30	01-2012 Germany
Respondent29	teacher	44, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent30	teacher	60, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent31	teacher	52, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent32	teacher	28, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent33	teacher	Maria, 50	01-2012 Germany
Respondent34	no permanent job	Stefanie, 19	12-2011 Germany
Respondent35	business manager	22, not quoted	12-2011 Germany
Respondent36	student	Linda, 24	12-2011 Germany
Respondent37	therapist	60, not quoted	12-2011 Germany
Respondent38	unemployed	24, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent39	medicine student	21, not quoted	01-2012 Germany
Respondent40	housewife	Brigitte, 52	01-2012 Germany

Endnotes

ⁱ The concept of Western is used as a synonym to European in this thesis.

ⁱⁱ The term Africanism refers to the French word “Africanisme” that describes the discourse about Africa. In English the discipline is nameless. Africanism in English linguistics refers back to speech patterns in particular used by Afro Americans or used in the context of the idea of pan africanism (Miller, 1985:15).

ⁱⁱⁱ Boserup is seen as the first scholar, who acknowledged the negative effects of colonization on the female gender. However, her point of view became later contested for its simplicity which leaves aside any distinction regarding class or technological development (Beneria and Sen, 1997:42, Charlton, 1997:10).

^{iv} The model is used to illustrate the different processes. It is recognized that neither Stuart Hall's model nor the one developed for this research is flawless, as both depict the four corners/triangular as homogenous actors, which they are not. However, they are used to illustrate the ideas behind the research in order to facilitate the reader to follow the flow of ideas.

^v **Details to the selection of cases:**

With criterion three, NGOs that focus on children only (e.g. SOS Kinderdörfer) were excluded, although these organizations received the highest amount of private donations in 2009.

^{vi} The amount of private donations was chosen because fundraising campaigns are primarily addressed to private donors. Consequently, public and church donations, that seem only rarely influenced by the fundraising campaigns, were excluded from this number, to have a pure number that reflects on private-NGO donations. With selection criterion two, NGOs that focus on children only (e.g. SOS Kinderdörfer) were excluded, although these organizations received the highest amount of private donations in 2009. Secondly, the data presented in the table refers to the NGOs descriptions about the money flows to projects in Africa in their annual report 2009. Annual reports from 2009 were used because the data collection took place in summer 2011, when not all organizations had published the 2010 reports. The data in the graph refers to the following references: (Brot für die Welt, 2010:38); (Brot für die Welt, 2010:25); (Misereor, 2009: 42); (Misereor, 2009:27); (Missio, 2009: 32); (Missio, 2009: 28); (Welthungerhilfe, 2009:25); (Welthungerhilfe, 2009:20)

^{vii} A comparative study of female and male interpretation of the campaigns would add a new level to this research and therewith boost the capacities of this thesis. For this reason it was decided to focus on one gender only and compare two different samples.

^{viii} The issue was raised by 7 respondents although no question dealt with the issue particularly.

^{ix} According to Stuart Hall's theory the different reactions of the audiences in decoding resumes from factors such as class education etc. Yet, the available data that reflected on these characteristics of the sample was rather limited. It could only be made an inference on different statements in relation to personal experiences with the African continent and the interpretations of the campaign. However, neither age^{ix}, nor personal experiences had a significant impact on the answers. According to Stuart Hall's theory, it would be of interest to develop a more comprehensive qualitative study to understand which factors are decisive. An answer to this question was however out of the scope of this qualitative approach.