Lund University

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BIDS

Help, Need and Cooperation as Portrayed in the Austrian Press

A critical discourse analysis of the presentation of development aid and cooperation in the

Austrian printed press

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Abstract

Investigating the discourse around development aid and cooperation yields insights into development policy choices and their public legitimisation and justification because of the recognised opinion-forming effect that public information, especially media, has on the public. Hence, public development discourse informs and shapes how ordinary people make sense of development issues and the perceived necessity of development aid and cooperation. Austria has publicly emphasised the importance of development aid and cooperation yet is one of the European countries that is spending the least when it comes to official development assistance, making it an interesting case. The purpose of this study is therefore to analyse how development aid and cooperation is presented in Austrian public information, more precisely in the printed press, in 2021. In connection to this, another focus of analysis is the presentation of developing countries and development problems. Therefore, 20 articles have been selected from popular Austrian newspapers and analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis. Five different themes have been identified to represent development aid and cooperation: stability/exhaustion, charity/heroism, security/protection, conditionality and criticism. Drawing on previous research and the theoretical and conceptual framework World Society Theory and White Saviourism development aid and cooperation has been found to be dominantly portrayed using a dichotomy between developed and developing countries. The former is depicted as stabilising, saving, protecting and disciplining, whereas the latter as crisis-ridden, in need, unstable and irrational. The problems seemingly have been depoliticised and oversimplified by displaying the causes as endemic to developing countries, disconnected from developed countries.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

List of Abbreviations

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

BMEIA   Ministry for European and International Affairs

EU   European Union

GNI   Gross National Income

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

ODA   Official Development Assistance

OECD   Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

UK   United Kingdom

1. Introduction

In today's interconnected world, multiple scholars point out that development issues should not be understood as endemic to developing countries. They are global problems that are systemic in nature which should be a concern to developed countries as well (Bennett 2012). The dichotomy of development and underdevelopment is argued to imply a linearity that misrepresents the systemic and ecological feasibility of development. What is referred to as underdevelopment has been found to be related to a large extent to the unequal power dynamics, that are prevalent in the global political economy. These dynamics have been argued to constitute the nexus between wealth in one region, and poverty in another (Bennett 2012). Global development can therefore not be fully addressed without looking at the mechanisms that reproduce the current system.

According to previous studies, the representation of development shapes perceptions and understanding of the issues, and consequently also plays an important role in justifying and legitimising policies (Cornwall 2007). Especially in the case of the public press, media has been found to play a shaping role in people's perceptions and feelings towards certain issues (Luger 1998). The public discourse constitutes the information delivered to the public about the nature of global issues but also about developing countries themselves. This creates an understanding of the problems that not only influences public perceptions and the sense of responsibility in society (Luger 1998) but also justifies and delimits the measures and interventions to tackle them (Cornwall 2007). Therefore, it establishes the perceived need for development aid and cooperation (Cornwall 2007). For that reason, public discourse about development aid and cooperation is an important subject of investigation, as it gives insight into the nature of public opinions and the affiliated policy choices.

1.1. Purpose and Aims

In order to add to the body of research of development discourse, this study aims to understand trends and patterns in the discourse regarding development aid and cooperation presented in the Austrian printed press. Furthermore, underlying power dynamics between developed and developing countries connected to development work are investigated. Narrowing down the focus to the printed press enables this study to look further into the daily discourse of development. This makes it possible to analyse the information that is offered to the general public. This study applies an analytical qualitative approach (Robson and

McCartan 2016:62, 371), using the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It is a single case study of Austrian public information, more specifically the printed press, focussing on its presentation of development aid and cooperation in 2021. The analysis is based on the most consulted printed newspapers in Austria. The discourses have been analysed using theoretical concepts of Critical Discourse, World Society Theory, and the concept of White Saviourism, all of which constitute the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study. On this basis the following research question has been formulated:

How are development aid and cooperation presented to the public in the printed press in Austria?

The question seeks to understand in which ways development aid and cooperation have been portrayed in Austrian printed newspapers that are widely spread among the public. The discourse about the form of development intervention is connected to differing representations of developing countries and development problems. Therefore, the depiction of development problems and developing countries might provide further insights that should be discovered. The following sub-question aims to further refine the main research question by drawing on this connection:

How are development problems and developing countries presented in relation to different representations of development aid and cooperation?

The focus of the analysis is the language that is used. Thereby, an insight into how language shapes socio-political functioning and creates public images could be gained. The nexus connecting knowledge, actions and practices is a common subject of investigation in CDA (Gill 2000:173). Therefore, this has been chosen as the methodology of this study. CDA is interested in language and is often used to analyse mechanisms of social control and the knowledge-power nexus (Robson and McCartan 2016:371-372). It allows the researcher to assess how knowledge and social reality are shaped by dynamics of power (Phillips and Hardy 2002:14-15), such as those between developed and developing countries in terms of maintaining systems of inequalities. This makes CDA a suitable method to investigate the research questions of this thesis.

1.2.Delimitations

The scope of this study is limited to the case of Austria, the representation of development aid and cooperation, choosing the printed press as the unit of analysis and the year 2021 as the timeframe.

The reason for choosing Austria as a case is firstly because Austria often advocates in international meetings for the strengthening of development aid and cooperation with developing countries, especially in the context of handling migration (Permanent Mission of Austria to the United Nations 2016). Secondly, previous literature has mainly focused on the United Kingdom (UK) for investigating the public development discourse (Dogra 2012; Vossen and Schulpen 2019). The UK presumably has more far-reaching connections to developing countries and development work, since it is a former colonial power. Austria on the other hand does not have historical colonial ties and therefore presumably has lower historical engagement and motivation regarding development work (Phillips 2013). Hence, focussing on Austria further adds another context to the body of knowledge around development discourse.

The representation of development aid and cooperation instead of more specific terms for development work has been chosen because in the German language these two terms cover most forms of development intervention and what is publicly known as the response to development issues. Therefore, they could be argued to be more relevant for investigating the public development discourse. Furthermore, development aid is one of the most prominent means of assistance from developed to developing countries to address development problems (Belhaj 2019).

Although multiple information sources are relevant, particularly news shows in television (Karmasin 2014), given the resources and scope of this study, the object of analysis has been limited to the printed press for two main reasons. Firstly, the printed press is among the two main sources of information about development aid and cooperation for the public in Austria. Additionally, most people do not actively seek information about development aid and cooperation besides what is diffused by the news (Karmasin 2014). This suggests that the printed press is an important media channel to analyse. This is further supported by its consumption rate. More than half of the Austrian population, more precisely 56,3 percent, read the printed press on a regular basis (MA 2021). Given the large reach of the printed press, it is expected to provide relevant data for analysing the circulating public information

regarding development aid and cooperation.

The amount of data that is feasible to analyse is limited to the scope of this research, wherefore the timeframe is another factor that had to be delimited. 2021 has been chosen for multiple reasons. Firstly, it is the most recent year to observe, thereby relevant in providing a good overview of the current discourse about development aid and cooperation in the printed press. Secondly, when Covid-19 was first reported on in 2020 it overtook the coverage of the news reporting while other matters had been pushed aside (Von Pokrzywnicki 2022). Therefore, it was important to pick a time where Covid-19 was no longer dominating the news coverage to that extent. However, as Covid-19 poses new development challenges (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 2021a), it is important to choose a year where it is already of relevance. In 2021 the matter of Covid-19 still played a relevant role, yet it has not been as all-encompassing as it had been in 2020 (Von Pokrzywnicki 2022).

1.3. Disposition

This thesis seeks to present the research problem and answer the research question in seven sections. Following this introductory section, the background will lay out the context of the research area. This includes the role of media, the media landscape of the printed press in Austria, and Austrian development aid and cooperation. The subsequent section outlines previous research, both in a general manner and focussing on the public development discourse. The next section explains the conceptual and theoretical framework that constitutes this study. This includes the conceptual underpinnings of Critical Discourse, as well as World Society Theory and the concept of White Saviourism. Following this, the methodology will be discussed, including the research design, limitations and ethical considerations. Afterwards, the analysis will be laid out presenting the empirical findings. Lastly, the concluding discussion summarises the findings and discusses them in the light of previous studies and theory, as well as provides suggestions for further research.

2. Background

2.1. The Role of Media

The news media represents one window through which reality is being constructed on an everyday basis, rather than depicting reality itself. This reality is influenced by the dominant

ideologies that are in turn affected by entities such as governments and dominant social groups. This makes the media a place for reproducing ideologies, that already have legitimacy, potentially at the cost of the objective reporting of events and issues (Van Dijk 1988:8-11). Because of this connection between media and ideology, newspapers can be viewed as power-maintaining mechanisms in society (Van Dijk 1988:13).

Large groups in society gain their understanding of situations and events – either partially or entirely – based on this public discourse, such as the discourse found in the media (Van Dijk 1988:107). Public media discourse and society are however not connected through a one-way street of news influencing the public, rather they mutually influence each other. The news producer is part of society and as such is influenced by dominant social norms, values and beliefs. When producing public discourse, the producer is therefore enacting those common understandings of their respective group, and is reproducing, confirming and diffusing socio-political structures simultaneously (Van Dijk 1988:110). The diffusion of certain discourses about events influences consumers to subscribe to a certain interpretation and not another, which may not be in line with the dominant ideology. In the case of newspapers, the news represents the main locus of public discourse, which shape public knowledge and attitudes towards socio-political, cultural and socio-economic events. It is an everyday mechanism that incorporates and diffuses the dominant structures and ideologies (Van Dijk 1988:182). The relationship between the shaping and forming of attitudes and public perceptions and the media discourse is especially evident, if the reporting is done consonantly, discussing the same themes in a similar fashion (Luger 1998). In the Austrian context, information about development issues is limited, meaning the coverage is not very frequent (Luger 1998). Yet, most people in Austria gain their understanding of development aid and cooperation and issues based on what is being reported in the news (Karmasin 2014). According to Luger (1998), if there is limited reporting of development-related content, yet if reported, done in a consonant and homogenous fashion, that leads to a repetitive medial pattern representation and, hence, perception.

Given that media can influence and shape public opinion, the media discourse plays an important role for policies, especially foreign policies (Baum and Potter 2008), under which also development aid and cooperation fall. A particular framing is employed to discuss foreign issues, in order to justify certain interventions vis-à-vis the public, whereby news stories construct reality to shape the perception of a problem or the understanding (Robinson

2001). This is because, the perceptions of the public affect whether certain policies are considered either legitimate or illegitimate, whereby they are enabled or constrained (Baum and Potter 2008). Thereby, usually, the media depicts and supports dominant interests and views leading to the promotion of these views among society, which functions to legitimise policies, especially if there is a large political consensus behind these policies (Robinson 2001). However, in some instances, because of the opinion-forming effect of media, if policies are politically debated, the media can have a key function in policy formulation. If the media is advocating against certain political views and public perceptions consequently align, pressure is put on governments, since bad press can lead to image and credibility issues (Robinson 2001). In short, the media not only plays an important role in constructing and giving access to a certain understanding and reality, but also in the forming of public opinions. It can consequently legitimise and justify policies vis-à-vis the public (Robinson 2001).

2.2. Print Media in Austria

This section only discusses the newspapers relevant for this research.

The printed press in Austria is highly concentrated, with most newspapers belonging to the same publishing house (Oe1 2017). Among other things, prominent newspapers in Austria can be differentiated by political affiliation as well as the journalistic classification ranging from tabloid, quality newspaper and middle-market. The different classification categories vary in layout, language, transparency of sources, topics and depth of analysis. While tabloid is usually picture led, uses simple scandalous language, and has a lower news content, quality press is usually heavier in text, with more extensive sentences and paragraphs, as well as transparent sources and high news coverage (BBC 2022). An Austrian newspaper considered tabloid would typically be Kronen Zeitung, whereas a quality paper would for example be Der Standard. Middle-market papers include elements of both, focussing on news but also including entertainment, such as the newspaper Kurier (Eurotopics 2019a).

There are strong differences nationally and regionally, regarding which newspapers are the most consumed. Some regions have specific regional newspapers, that are only consumed in the respective region with consumption rates close to 50 percent, yet nationally this translates to only between two and ten percent (MA 2021). Nation-wide Kronen Zeitung, Der Standard, Kurier and Die Presse are the most consumed newspapers (in descending order of reach). On

the regional level, Kleine Zeitung, Salzburger Nachrichten and Vorarlberger Nachrichten reach an even larger number of readers in their respective regions (MA 2021).

Kronen Zeitung is considered tabloid press, without a clear political orientation and therefore can be seen as politically fluid. This is because the newspaper follows the current preferred public views as well as the current political mainstream, thus in different periods it follows contradictive political approaches such as a conservative, right-wing, or social-democratic line. However, in recent years it has increasingly been connected to right-wing populism (Eurotopics 2019b). Der Standard is one of Austria's quality newspapers, which presents as liberal, but is considered left-liberal (Eurotopics 2019c). Kurier presents as a quality medium but should be viewed as a middle-market paper and is liberal in its political orientation (Eurotopics 2019a). Die Presse is a quality medium that reports in a liberal-conservative fashion (Eurotopics 2019d). Kleine Zeitung is a regional newspaper that is closely related to Christian values and politically liberal (Eurotopics 2019e). Salzburger Nachrichten is a regional quality newspaper, that subscribes to Christian values and politically follows a liberal line (Oe1 2017; Eurotopics 2019f). Vorarlberger Nachrichten is a regional liberal newspaper (VN 2022).

2.3. Development Aid and Cooperation in Austria

Austria's development agenda is both surveyed by and the responsibility of the Ministry for European and International Affairs (BMEIA) in terms of designing policies, their coordination and budgeting. The Austrian Development Agency gets funding from the BMEIA and functions as the operational unit for the Austrian Development Coordination. It operationalises development policy from their headquarters in Austria, and coordination offices in the operational regions. The contributions to multilateral development assistance are managed by the Federal Ministry of Finance, which also surveys the Austrian Development Bank. Other ministries and government institutions are also involved in Austria's development work as well as non-governmental actors (OECD 2021b).

The focus of Austrian development policy is poverty reduction, peace building, security, environmental issues and climate change. A lot of this support is given in the form of contributions to multilateral organisations especially in the finance sector. These contributions are mainly channelled towards the European Union (EU) and the World Bank Group (OECD 2021b). However, relative to other European counties, Austria is behind when it comes to official development assistance (ODA). Austria spent 0,29 percent of its gross

national income (GNI) on ODA in 2020 and does not seem to consistently pursue the goal of achieving the 0,7 percent of the GNI ODA-goal, which has internationally been agreed upon (OECD 2021b).

Bilaterally, Austria allocates much of its ODA on the following Sustainable Development Goals: quality education, no poverty, partnerships and peace, justice and strong institutions. Furthermore, 16,5 percent of the ODA is used to pursue the integration of developing countries into the world economy through putting special attention on trade (OECD 2021b).

Geographically, Austria has regional priorities, located in South-East and Eastern Europe, and Africa. In Africa, the focus is especially on environments of crisis and fragility, and the least developed countries. 24,2 percent of the bilateral ODA was used in the context of fragility, most of which in the form of humanitarian assistance. 36,3 percent of the bilateral ODA was not used for another country but for the handling of migrants within Austria (OECD 2021b). Refugees and migration play an increasing role in development spending in Austria, as part of the migration management strategy envisioned by Austrian officials is an increase of development aid and cooperation to provide what is called "help at home" (Permanent Mission of Austria to the United Nations 2016). However, this seems to have not been realised, since, among the countries of the EU, Austria is spending below the EU-average in ODA (OECD 2022).

3. Previous Studies

In order to understand the importance behind further researching the field of development discourse, especially regarding development interventions, such as aid and cooperation, it is necessary to outline its impact on different understandings of development issues, aims, and consequently for development work and policies. How development is framed and discussed leads to a certain understanding of the matter, which influences the problematisation and suggestions for solutions to development issues. Therefore, firstly an overview of previous studies regarding the general development discourse is given. Secondly, the focus will be narrowed down to the development discourse of aid and cooperation in advertisements, media and the public – in short, the public sphere. It is important to further note, that previous studies about general development discourse are heavily dominated by critical scholars because the interest to investigate development discourse often comes from a critical

standpoint. Consequently, although an attempt has been made to provide a nuanced view of the topic, they also dominate the following overview.

3.1.General Development Discourse

In a broader sense, some scholars analyse dominant notions of development in development discourse of development practice, theory and institutions. Kothari (2006) focuses on the role race and racism play in development discourse and finds that racism seems to be inherent to dominant notions of development. Specifically, Kothari refers to the binary language, based on its connection to superiority versus inferiority, that, as she finds, leads to misconception, misrepresentation and inadequacy in development policy and practice, as well as in development theory more broadly. Similarly, Cornwall (2007) provides an overview of different analyses regarding the connection between development discourse and practice and shows how different discourses and labelling of development justify and entitle certain development paradigms, policies and interventions. By drawing a connection between the making of problems and the different measures and strategies for problem solving that are consequently enabled, Cornwall highlights the importance of the investigation of development discourse in understanding which development goals and policies are formulated. The dominant paradigms in development discourse Cornwall finds are mechanisms of justification of certain development policies and practices. Given these findings, if the understanding of problems enables or inhibits policies in terms of justification, the discourse is an important mechanism of socio-economic and socio-political ordering of the world and its power dynamics, as well as their maintenance (Bennett 2012).

Bennett (2012) discusses the depiction of development problems and their nature and also critically reviews the aims development pursues based on dominant development discourse, including the shifting of responsibility that takes place in that context. By examining prevalent notions of development, Bennett critically reflects on the term underdevelopment. Aligning with many post-development claims, the binary understanding of developing or underdeveloped and developed that is dominant in development discourse is misleading as the feasibility of development in this sense is contested. Bennett points to the exploitative socio-economic relations that are inherent to the capitalist world system, as well as to the ecological infeasibility of attaining the same living standards as prevalent in developed countries. Thereby, Bennett opens a discussion about the localisation of development issues and its relevance for understanding why certain solution paths are taken rather than others.

Bennett (2012) questions the legitimacy of the dominant way of depicting development issues as internal to developing countries and problematising underdevelopment leaving out the overdevelopment of developed countries. This critique of western-centrism in development discourse and its implication for development policies and envisioned strategies to solve development issues also resonates with the aforementioned study of Kothari (2006), as she also advocates for a rethinking and reframing of development, away from western-centrism and stereotyping.

3.2.Development Discourse in the Public Sphere

Development discourse has further been previously investigated in the context of non-governmental organisation (NGO) advertisements, portraying developing countries in an oversimplified, helpless way and depicting the causes of their problems as stemming from within these countries (Jerrard 2015; Dogra 2012:68-69,75; Vossen and Schulpen 2019). Jerrard (2015) examines international NGO advertisement images to portray the role of NGOs and discuss their responsibilities, ranging from donors to recipients and the consequences of their portrayal of poverty. How poverty is presented informs the understanding about the issue and the source of inequalities. Poverty is mainly presented as a rural problem and a natural occurrence, that is based on natural endowments, natural disasters, and the inability to self-help, emphasising the need for donations. This, however, depicts the causes of development problems as internal to developing countries, not sensitising the public with the socio-historical context and the political economy of poverty. According to Jerrard's analysis the depiction of the powerless, traditional, backward developing world leads to impressions of powerlessness whereby more money is expected to be donated. Although financially this has been found to be an effective campaign, in terms of legitimacy of the NGO vis-à-vis their donors but also recipients there is a risk of NGOs losing trust (Jerrard 2015).

Jerrard (2015) heavily draws on the book by Dogra (2012) that addresses the problem of representation of poverty in the context of British NGO advertisements. The analysis found an othering process that distinguishes developing countries from the West yet shows a need for intervention because of their shared humanity. The nature of the intervention is communicated as heroic instead of a matter of historical responsibility for the problems found in the Global South, as the historical and consequential prevailing power relations are being left out from the discussion (Dogra 2012:3). The visual analysis showed that poverty,

developing countries and prevalent issues are usually depicted in a helpless, vulnerable and oversimplified manner. On the same token, intervention is being idealised, romanticised and oversimplified (Dogra 2012:66-67). The difference between developing and developed countries is further emphasised through connecting attributes such as rural, close to nature, low-skilled, and underdeveloped to the former, while the latter is modern, rational, developed and urban (Dogra 2012:68-69). What is missing from the representation according to Dogra (2012) are the aspects that address causes connected to the world economy, which help explain why industrialisation has not yet taken place in developing countries (71-73). When it comes to causes of poverty, mostly internal causes such as corruption in developing countries, overpopulation, and violence are represented, without depicting the context in which this occurs. Through emphasising that these issues are endemic to developing countries, the impression that people in developing countries act irresponsibly and irrationally arises (Dogra 2012:75-82). Furthermore, if external causes are addressed, this is only in connection to natural disasters or technical problems whereby poverty is being naturalised, which makes it easier for donors in developed countries to distance themselves enough to not feel overwhelmed and yet evokes their compassion to help. Furthermore, it erases power dynamics from these issues (Dogra 2012:84-87).

The depiction of global poverty and its causes as endemic to developing countries is a common theme in NGO advertising. Vossen and Schulpen (2019) found in their investigation of the framing of global poverty in NGO advertisements in British newspapers that the common definition of developing countries and their depicted poverty is one of destitute victims, lacking development and bad governance. Furthermore, by comparing the frames that they have found with public opinions taken from prior conducted opinion studies, they find a strong relationship between how the media frames global poverty and what and how the public knows and understands or perceives it (Vossen and Schulpen 2019).

The opinion-forming effect of media is especially strong if the media reports with high consonance, meaning the case selection and depiction is highly homogenous, as it is prevalent in Western media's representation of developing countries (Luger 1998). Luger (1998) investigated how developing countries are presented in Austrian media and found that the coverage of developing countries is low, yet if covered it is recurring negative portrayals that are characteristic of the way journalists view and medially create the African continent. Thereby, the media becomes a powerful mechanism and source of prejudiced meanings and

imagined realities, since the constructed reality often translates to prevailing images and the persistence of stereotypes. While the focus is on a reduced and standardised narrative, picturing political instability, war, failed states, terrorism and human rights violations, more central and relevant aspects of the development process, such as cause analysis, background and context, as well as international relations are seldomly mentioned. This however would be necessary in order to better classify the depicted issues (Luger 1998).

The negative portrayals found by Luger (1998) resonate with the aspirations for development aid and cooperation that had been found in a study about public perceptions regarding Austrian development aid and cooperation conducted between 2013 and 2014 by Karmasin (2014). By conducting group discussions and interviews, the study investigated the state of knowledge about Austrian development aid and cooperation and how it is being perceived, as well as if there should be more focus on economic development and conditionality of aid and cooperation according to the public. The main associations of the tasks of development aid and cooperation among Austrians are help and support for poor countries as well as the fight against poverty and promotion of education. In terms of the motivation for development aid and cooperation, people associate it with political face and caritative responsibility as well as economic advantages. The need for the realisation of human rights is commonly recognised, and people are in support of making aid and cooperation conditional to the fulfilment of certain agreements as well as involving trust agents in the process. Austria's potential to deliver development aid and cooperation is especially connected to Austrian know-how, as well as the transfer of knowledge to developing countries. Furthermore, it was found that the printed press is amongst the prime informative sources about developing countries and aid and cooperation for the general public in Austria. Moreover, the general public does not actively consult information about development aid and cooperation (Karmasin 2014), which further highlights the informative role of the media in this matter.

The consensus found in previous literature, is that development discourse informs the understanding of the public about development, as well as the policy makers. Furthermore, the implication of a certain dominant discourse for the legitimacy and justification of certain policies and strategies to tackle development issues has repeatedly been emphasised in previous studies (Kothari 2006; Cornwall 2007; Bennett 2012; Jerrard 2015; Dogra 2012:2; Vossen and Schulpen 2019; Luger 1998). This is because of the constructed understanding of the nature, and the localisation of the causes and responsibilities of development issues

(Bennett 2012; Cornwall 2007). These studies further emphasise the importance of analysing how development, more specifically development aid and cooperation – as these represent the dominant tools through which development issues are tackled – are presented to the public.

4. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework:

4.1. Conceptual Underpinnings

In order to approach this research, the concepts of discourse, power and ideology, which are crucial for applying CDA (Bischoping and Gazso 2016:144-145), need to be further discussed. The two subsequent sections, therefore, lay out, which understanding of these concepts has been used for this research.

4.1.1. Discourse

The concept of discourse is strongly associated with the work of Foucault (Fairclough 2003:123), who identified discourse as the framework in which meaning is being formed. Discourse, thereby, influences the establishment of reality and truth, which is strongly connected to power. Foucault highlighted the nexus between knowledge and power, which enables the legitimisation of certain truths by consistently representing certain meanings which naturalises them. Language is therefore the producing element of discourse (Bischoping and Gazso 2016:134-137; Wodak 2001:4). Discourse, however, goes beyond language, as anything that could spread and carry discourse is part of it, including text, images, social practices, etcetera. Viewing discourse as a form of social practice implies the importance of the frame in which the discourse is found. It is important to note that the dynamic between context and discourse goes both ways, meaning not only the context alters the discourse, but also vice versa. Thus, the established meaning varies depending on the setting in which the discourse appears. This further highlights its connection to power, as it informs the social world about meaning, yet is influenced by and hence reproduces the current dominant social setting, which shaped and conditioned the discourse in the first place. In that way, discourses can function as ideological tools that, through processes of representation and meaning formation, establish or reinforce certain dominant understandings important for power relations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258). It is further only temporary, meaning it is evolving throughout time, which, thereby, also allows for its contestation (Jahedi, Abdullah and Mukundan 2014).

4.1.2. *Power and Ideology*

Within CDA, the concepts of power and ideology play a fundamental role, as discourses are used as tools for establishing or promoting a certain ideology through exercising and, thereby, maintaining power (Wodak 2001:2-3; 10). The power aspect of discourse is about the access to form discourse (Van Dijk 1995:12-13), as well as the motives for certain discourses above others (Wodak 2001:10). It is mainly the powerful actors that have access to shape and form public discourses, which means that they also have the power to shape these discourses in their interest and according to their agenda (Van Dijk 1995:12-13). This is because, especially in the context of discourses in mass media, it influences what the media consumers, representing the broad public, know, think and believe, which is a form of social control and power (Van Dijk 1995:10-12). It is relevant who has the power to influence discourses, as they produce and maintain inequality and ideology, by recurringly representing certain meanings, making these meanings seem natural. This leads to the naturalisation of power relations and ideology (Wodak 2001:4, 10). Ideology represents the fundamental shared belief system, used to justify and legitimise agendas and interests (Van Dijk 2009:193). In the case of media, ideology plays a large role in formulating the media discourse, whereby it is diffused and hence, reproduces certain power relations that are grounded on the respective ideology (Fairclough 1995:12-14).

Considering the knowledge-power nexus emphasised by Foucault (Bischoping and Gazso 2016:134-137), the power dimension in development discourse becomes evident when considering its implication for perception and policy justification and formulation, as it has been emphasised in previous studies (Kothari 2006; Dogra 2012:14-15). The discourse has the power to maintain the perceived difference between developing and developed countries creating distance. The implied stereotyping processes lead to generalised notions of developing countries which justifies locating their problems in inferiority and irrationality, in contrast to the progressive West. This creates the idea that developing countries can be developed through Western intervention, leaving out global power structures (Dogra 2012:14-16).

4.2. World Society Theory

Development aid and cooperation are often connected to the spread of a certain value system, that largely correlates with Western values (Swiss 2016). These universal values are among

others, education, human rights, democracy and technological advancement, which are associated with development (Meyer et al. 1997). Consequently, foreign aid often entails the diffusion of such World Models to other societies. World Society Theory offers a framework for explaining these processes, as its core claim is that through the diffusion of World Culture, including structures and values, societies and states are being integrated into the World Society, by assimilation and practices of isomorphism (Meyer 2010; Meyer et al. 1997). The theory aims to explain why and how nation states and their societies structurally assimilate and share patterns of transformation. The values and norms that are being diffused mainly stem from the dominant societies in World Society, especially the ideas of progress and its implication for institutional and societal structures (Meyer 2007). These World Culture Models are being diffused through the World Culture and are modelled to achieve a consensus, that formulates, enables and shapes World Society and states as well as their policies and structures. They are claimed to be applicable and legitimate universally due to their rational underpinnings. Therefore, the models give a clear instruction for implementation and are strongly morally underpinned, making alternatives to those models seem irrational and illegitimate. In the same sense, if these models are not implemented, within the World Society this counts as inefficiency and rights-violation. This is something that is also observable in the definition of problems (Meyer et al. 1997), for example regarding development.

There are multiple diffusion mechanisms. Firstly, there is active assimilation of successful structures and policies to obtain similar solutions (Strang and Meyer 1993). Secondly, there are international organisations, professionals and experts, that aim to establish norm and value systems that are considered progressive (Meyer et al. 1997). Thirdly, the main driver behind the diffusion of World Culture according to Meyer (2007) are global educational systems who all work along common models. This is because globally education is highly similar and establishes which norms and values need to be learned. It is further also the place where these are taught and learned (Meyer 2007). These mechanisms can either operate through pressure to adopt certain policies and structures, or support ideas that are compatible with World Culture Models (Frank et al. 2000). Development aid and cooperation exemplify the workings and expansion of the World Culture through global organisations or the copying of norm systems, institutions and policies. Organisations involved with development play an especially large role, as their purpose is to change and transform developing nation-states. Development intervention operates as the means of transport of World Models, necessary for

the envisioned development by the World Society. It enables the diffusion of progressive values, expertise and experts between the donors, the organisations or established governments, and the receivers, thereby creating ties. NGOs involved in development further base their agendas on current trends of the World Culture, hence, its development discourse (Swiss 2016). Although the intention of aid and cooperation might be to diffuse structures and norms that promote development, under certain circumstances unintended effects might be triggered instead (Swiss 2016).

This touches upon an observed tendency within the diffusion of World Culture, which is decoupling. Decoupling is the mismatch between the adopted values and putting them into practice. This means that the values have only seemingly been adopted in a superficial manner. One factor that causes decoupling is conflicting principles, as some models that are being diffused are based on a certain context, that is also relevant for its implementation. In a different context the same system might not function as well due to conflict with the existing endowments (Meyer et al. 1997). There is also the possibility that, especially in the context of developing countries, some policies or structures are incompatible due to missing resources in those countries (Meyer 2010). In some instances, the adoption of World Culture Models is for the purpose of legitimacy within the World Society, without the actual aim to implement them (Buhari-Gulmez 2010).

The rationalisation and universalisation of the World Models that are being promoted by World Society give an important insight into understanding which aims are being pursued by development aid and cooperation, because they indicate what development entails. Furthermore, the taken-for-granted status that these models enjoy further affects how the World Society views deviations from these models. In the same way that these models count as rational and progressive, deviations count as irrational and inefficient, which might play a role in the framing of development problems and countries that did not yet fully incorporate World Culture Models (Meyer et al. 1997). Additionally, World Society Theory illuminates the role development aid and cooperation play in the diffusion of World Culture Models. Understanding the connection between the World Society, the development agenda and development work might reveal which mechanisms of global norm diffusions are being applied through development aid and cooperation (Swiss 2016).

4.3. White Saviourism

Development aid and cooperation and its variety of actors furthermore connect to the concept of White Saviourism. As a reaction to a video from an NGO, the author Teju Cole criticised the development interventions of "white privileged" people that simplify present-day issues in developing countries (Cole 2012). In that instance, Cole (2012) coined the concept of the White Saviour Industrial Complex, or White Saviour complex, that, ideologically, has perceived white supremacy at its core. It entails a created dichotomy between those in need of help and those who can provide help, where white people take up the latter role, which is based on a certain narrative of developing countries vis-à-vis Western countries (Allen 2001, Loseke 2007). Characteristic for this narrative is the oversimplification of issues, leaving out Western responsibilities and systems of oppression that privileges white people and the West (Cole 2012). On the one hand, this produces entitlement of the white West to intervene in assumingly help-needing communities. On the other it further takes power and agency away from respective communities to be capable to help and decide for themselves (Loseke 2007). The focus on misery in the context of developing countries without addressing the creation and perpetuation of systems of oppression further fuels the perceived need for external help and saviours. The conception of White Saviourism is that developing countries are perceived as in need for heroic intervention (Cole 2012), which is also why it underpins charitable action rather than system-critical solutions (Flaherty 2016:31-32). Thereby it maintains current power relations and white privilege (Cole 2012; Flaherty 2016:57-58). White Saviourism, therefore, describes the phenomenon, that due to either misconceiving, oversimplifying or disregarding the historical and systemic relations that cause problems in developing countries, these countries are perceived as incapable of addressing their own issues, while the white West sees the need for their help in solving these problems by guiding them towards a solution (Cammarota 2011). Therefore, the White Saviour Industrial Complex allows Westerners to feel altruistic by engaging with issues of less privileged parts of the world, without needing to be reflective about where this imbalance in privilege comes from (Cole 2012).

Through the focus on the oversimplified portrayals of issues in developing countries, which often leaves out the historical and systemic context, as well as the framing of the incapable, passive victims in the Global South (Cook 2012:136-137), the concept of White Saviourism

can help to explain why development aid and cooperation is discussed in a specific way in the media, and where the drive for charitable actions of ordinary people in the West comes from.

5. Methodology

The generated data is being examined through the framework of CDA. This entails applying a qualitative research design, because of the constructivist nature of CDA and its focus on details, context and interpretations (Bryman 2012:537-38). More precisely, this research follows the critical discourse-analytical approach put forward by Siegfried Jäger, to investigate the representation of development aid and cooperation in the Austrian printed press. This is because Jäger's approach focuses on the stereotyping processes of discourse that especially take place in the media (Jäger 2001:35-36), making his approach suitable to examine the research question of this study. By analysing the use of the language to address development aid and cooperation in the Austrian printed press, the study aims to critically assess the encountered development discourse. CDA represents a method that reveals discursive practices with regards to power and the creation of meaning (Jäger 2001:50-51). It is consequently a suitable method for examining the media discourse about development aid and cooperation since the topic of development is arguably power-laden (Bennett 2012). Based on the methodological underpinnings outlined in the following section, this study, therefore, makes use of the constructivist approach of CDA that pays special attention to the power dynamics that underly the media discourse around development aid and cooperation in Austria.

5.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is one variation of Discourse Analysis and, therefore, shares most of its common traits. The ontological underpinning of Discourse Analysis is Social Constructivism, especially regarding the constructiveness of reality using language and discourse. It doubts that reality is directly accessible, and thereby investigates the production of knowledge by viewing it in its respective socio-historical and cultural context. This is due to the assumed social constructiveness of knowledge through social processes (Robson and McCartan 2016:24-26). Therefore, the focus of Discourse Analysis is not merely on the meaning but also heavily on the production of these meanings in the discourse (Phillips and Hardy 2002:12-14). It is hence trying to answer questions regarding how discourse constructs reality and why (Gill 2000:174). In doing that, Discourse Analysis examines language in all its forms, it being text,

talk or image, and more precisely, how language constructs meaning, social phenomena and reality (Phillips and Hardy 2002:2).

CDA takes this focus on the construction of reality and social processes a step further, as it includes the dimension of power into the analysis. It is interested in revealing the underlying relation of power that shapes and influences discourse. Further, it seeks to draw attention to the ways in which discourse is producing and maintaining these power structures. By pointing out the inequality that is being perpetuated through discourse, CDA aims to trigger self-reflection and consequently emancipation from oppressive systems (Wodak and Meyer 2009:7).

Jäger is one of the few discourse theorists that have formulated concrete tools to carry out a CDA (Bartel, Ullrich and Ehrlich 2008:58). This involves five main stages of carrying out the analysis. Firstly, the conceptual phase, where the context, relevance and focus of the research topic is elaborated, which has already been done in section 1 to 4. Second comes the data collection phase, which entails data sampling, documentation and management, and aims to get an overview of the corpus of material that is available for the analysis, described in the following sections 5.2. and 5.3.. What follows next is the structural analysis. This entails the close reading of the texts and noting repetitions, what is left out, overlaps in discourses, common themes and patterns as well as challenges. This process has been touched upon in section 5.3. and is further discussed in section 6. Fourth comes the detailed analysis, where articles that represent typical features of the structural analysis of all texts are examined in greater detail, to check the overall analysis, which is represented through excerpts in section 6.1.. Lastly, the overall interpretation of the CDA is carried out by summing up the different interpretations (Bartel, Ullrich and Ehrlich 2008:60-68). The two last steps have been described in section 6 of this paper. The following sections outline steps two to three of the application of the CDA, and more specifically, the steps that have been taken in the data sampling and collection processes. Moreover, they also touch upon the data analysis.

5.2. Sources and Data Sampling

The material that has been used in the analysis is based on newspaper articles from the most consulted Austrian printed press sources as well as their coverage of development aid and cooperation. The articles have been accessed from the online platform Press Reader, that gives access to all press releases and newspaper formats (PressReader Inc. 2022). The

selected newspapers are Kurier, Die Presse, Kronen Zeitung, Der Standard, Kleine Zeitung, Salzburger Nachrichten and Vorarlberger Nachrichten, since those are the top newspapers used in Austria, taking into account regional differences (MA 2021) as well as whether they showed up in the search from the database. The search in the platform's database has been filtered by indicating the newspapers that have been found relevant based on popularity, as well as the time frame of the year 2021 and certain keywords. Based on previous literature conducting related studies (Vossen and Schulpen 2019; Luger 1998), the database has been searched for the keywords "Entwicklungshilfe" and "Entwicklungszusammenarbeit", which means development aid and cooperation. Entwicklungshilfe used to be the common term in the German language, but it has been criticised for implying superiority of the donor-country. Entwicklungszusammenarbeit on the other hand aims to reduce the distinction between donor and receiving countries and to emphasise the collaboration between countries to solve issues of development (World Vision 2016). Therefore, the keywords correspond to what has been assumed will most likely provide relevant data to answer the research question. It is, however, important to note that different keywords might have resulted in different articles and, hence, articles that might have been further beneficial to analyse might have not been included, based on the chosen sampling procedure.

The choice to select the newspapers based on popularity and to use Press Reader is, on the one hand, because of resource-efficiency, but also to avoid potential biases. These biases include the context of certain newspapers in terms of political affiliation, agenda and influence, which also impacts the anticipated audience. Furthermore, the popularity of the newspapers is a relevant criterium, as the research question is interested in assessing the discourse directed at the public and the most consumed newspapers have the broadest reach. Resource-efficiency means that instead of consulting each newspaper archive individually, Press Reader provided an efficient way to collectively access all newspapers on a single database.

Designing the search in that way was necessary for this study to find relevant articles from the year 2021. Relevant articles entail newspaper articles that discuss development aid and cooperation as the overarching topic of the articles. Based on this procedure, the resulting collection of material incorporated 20 articles, among which five were from Vorarlberger Nachrichten, four were from Salzburger Nachrichten, three from Kleine Zeitung, three from Kurier, two from Die Presse, two from Kronen Zeitung, and one from Der Standard, which is depicted in table 1 below. This means that the articles that have been analysed have not been

heavily from either tabloid or quality press but represent a range from tabloid to quality. In terms of the publishing date, five articles have been published in January, three in March, one in May, one in July, five in September, three in October, and one each in November, and December, thereby covering the whole year.

Table 1 Summarising table of the sample, own table

Classification	Middle-Market			Tabloid	Quality		
Newspaper	Vorarlberger Nachrichten	Kleine Zeitung	Kurier	Kronen Zeitung	Salzburger Nachrichten	Die Presse	Der Standard
Number of Articles	5	3	3	2	4	2	1

In order to check the adequacy of Press Reader, the newspapers have been randomly checked by consulting the national library in Austria, where the online article has been compared to its physical version. This has been done because not only is the content of the text of relevance for the analysis, but also where the articles have been placed in the newspaper in terms of the page number and the effect of the combination of different topics and headings on the same page (Carvalho 2000:21).

5.3. Data Management

The 20 texts have been listed in a source matrix for each newspaper, including the publishing date, page number, headline, citation and abbreviation, which keeps track of the articles used. Additionally, this enabled a good overview of the different headlines used by each newspaper, as well as the page numbers where it appeared, both of which are relevant for analytical reading as they indicate the undertone of the article and the importance given to it (Carvalho 2000:21). Furthermore, the articles have been coded into different recurring themes that have been found in the articles. This has been done by reading the articles several times and simultaneously taking notes for each article. In a following step, by highlighting the notes with different colours per theme, overlaps have been discovered. Afterwards, the common themes have been documented and categorised in a separate document and visually portrayed to enable a better overview.

5.4. Limitations

There are multiple limitations that need to be mentioned regarding this study. Firstly, the methodological shortcomings of CDA are that generally discourse analysis has difficulties in

fulfilling the scientific criteria of good research practice according to traditional concepts of qualitative social research, especially regarding notions of repeatability and objective validity. This is not only because discourse analysis is tied to the respective context of the discourse, but also the social constructivist nature of the methodology. Therefore, based on this constructivist foundation, discourse analysis views reality as interpretive (Phillips and Hardy 2002:79-80). This impacts the generalisability and possibility of universalisation of the findings and limits them to the specific context.

Furthermore, a common critique is that while claiming that discourse creates meaning, it is also through language that research using discourse analysis is conducted, which means the findings are not exempt from the social construction of language that might make the analysis biased (Gill 2000:186-188). Similarly, morality is another point of critique that is often raised in relation to CDA, which highlights the contradiction between this methodology and traditional research practice. It is argued that CDA is subjective to the authors morals, serving as a politically argumentative tool. However, CDA advocates that morals play an important role in the academic arena in terms of reflectiveness, critical or revolutionary thinking and new perspectives in social research (Wodak and Meyer 2009:33). Furthermore, CDA claims that no research is free from bias and readers should take into consideration the respective context, while CDA highlights the importance of transparency (Hussain, Jote and Sajid 2015).

What this tells us about the findings of this study is that they are subject to the limitations that come with the methodological implication, the research design in general and the subjectivity of the researcher regarding the interpretation. It is important to emphasise that the findings that are being presented in this study might not be what other researchers might find analysing the same issue, as the researcher's own social context, the theoretical and conceptual framework and the source and data selection all have implications for the research findings. Since the discourses connected to public information are not limited to the printed press (Robson and McCartan 2016:371-372), and other media outlets might carry useful information as well, by limiting the analysis to the printed press it is important to consider that the data and, hence, conclusions of this study will be limited to the media channels that have been included. Furthermore, the newspaper selection as well as the articles that have been deemed relevant further constrain the findings to these sampling choices. The research design choices and consequently findings of this study are limited to the scope of this research project because of its implications for the available resources in terms of time,

budget and expertise of the researcher. Thus, broader generalisations will be problematic. This research, therefore, only claims to open a discourse analysis, since extending the time frame of the study, as well as going beyond the printed press as the unit of analysis would create a more holistic picture of the discourse. This stems from the methodological aims of discourse analysis to not solely comprehend the patterns and processes, but also to understand why and how these processes have evolved. This, however, would require a longer time period to fully comprehend (Jäger 2001:51-52; Phillips and Hardy 2002:12-14). It has, however, been emphasised by discourse scholars, that analysing a discourse to that extent is an enormous project, thus they emphasise the importance of multiple interpretations from single projects of certain discourse areas, that contribute to the overall body of knowledge (Jäger 2001:51-52).

Albeit all these limitations, this study paid attention to applying scientific criteria of good research applicable to CDA, namely completeness, accessibility and triangulation. Completeness is achieved when new material does not lead to new insights. One can generally stop analysing when there is nothing new being discovered (Wodak and Meyer 2009:31-32), which has been the case for the analysed data sample. Accessibility means that the findings are available for all who it may concern (Wodak and Meyer 2009:31-32), which will be achieved through publicly publishing this thesis online. Lastly, through triangulation it should be assured that the theoretical framework concerns the findings, as well as relations to further literature and reflexivity of the socio-historical context of the research topic (Wodak and Meyer 2009:31-32), which has been considered throughout the research process.

5.5. Ethical concerns

There are some general ethical considerations that apply to discourse analysis as well. Firstly, there is the issue of ownership and permission for data usage. From an ethical perspective, there is a difference between whether the data is considered public or private. In the case that the data is unquestionably public, oftentimes it is not necessary to demand permission to use the data. However, if the source is private as well as if a restrictive access to the source is encountered it requires informed consent from the respective owners in order to be able to use the data (Scheyvens 2014:83-85). In the case of this study, the newspaper articles that are being used for analysis are available on Press Reader. Furthermore, most of them are published online and consultable on the respective websites of the newspapers. However, because some newspapers lean towards a certain political stance or group, to avoid negative

effects of the study for the authors of the given articles, their anonymity was respected and so their names have not been documented or used for the analysis. Furthermore, regardless of personal political affiliation, during the research reflections have been done on the authentic representation of the discourse, without taking it out of context. The material was used in a fair manner regarding interpretation and representation of statements as best as possible, paying attention not to distort conclusions, considering the ethical standards of authentic representation as consulted in Scheyvens (2014:83-85).

6. Analysis:

This section presents the findings of the analysis of the selected articles for the CDA. Overall, this study identified five main representations of development aid and cooperation in the press discourse, referred to as discourse strands (Jäger 2001:47-48). These have been termed stability/exhaustion, charity/heroism, safety/protection, conditionality and criticism. The discourse about development aid and cooperation additionally touches upon topics such as development problems, migration, and security, which is also reflected in the discourse strands. A very dominant and important connection that has been discovered is that the representations often go hand in hand with a specific characterisation of developing countries and the issues they are facing. This could be to further substantiate the specific narrative of development aid and cooperation that is being presented in the discourse. Furthermore, although one representation has been found dominant, most articles combined multiple discourse strands.

The themes have been identified based on repeated reading and note-taking as well as considering the simultaneous representation of development issues. The dominant terms have been made visible by putting the notes that are connected to specific themes into word clouds, as seen in figure 1. The dominant words Hilfe (aid/help), Geld (money), Entwicklungshilfe (development aid), Unterstützung (support) and Bildung (education), describe the form of aid or cooperation and are also connected to the most dominant themes, for example offering money and help, in the case of disaster to stabilise, or providing education, seeing that schools are built by small NGOs.

Figure 1 Word Cloud of Terms for Development Aid/Cooperation, own figure

It should be noted that one discourse strand is not excluding another, they should be seen as interconnected and reinforcing each other, as has been visualised in figure 2. Some discourse strands might build on another or oppose dominant discourse strands, which will be touched upon in the analysis. In the proceeding sections, the five main representations of development aid and cooperation as well as the related characterisations of developing countries and development problems will be further presented and exemplified through small excerpts of the articles, which have been translated from German to English by the author of this study. A complete list containing all articles used for the analysis is included in the Appendix.
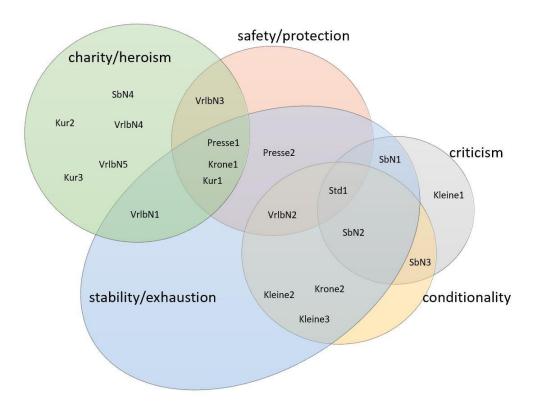
Figure 2 Distribution of Discourse Strands in Articles, own figure

6.1. Discourse Strands of Development Aid and Cooperation

6.1.1.   Stability/Exhaustion

The first representation is stability/exhaustion. It is the most dominant discourse strand, as it appears in 12 out of the 20 articles. Furthermore, this representation was found across all newspapers that were part of the corpus of material. This discourse strand represents development as being carried out in the form of humanitarian and emergency aid through the delivery of aid supplies, development projects and financial support to aid organisations, both international and Austrian. In some instances, aid and cooperation is also depicted as the export of safety and stability, and advisory activity. In articles where this narrative is dominant, the term "Entwicklungshilfe" is used rather than "Entwicklungszusammenarbeit", which could be seen as emphasising the provision of help rather than collaboration. The emphasis is on the support, the financial aid, and interventions which are depicted as a fight against hunger, crisis, catastrophes and conflicts. The following excerpts serve to exemplify this:

"Especially the region [...] is suffering a humanitarian catastrophe. These people urgently need food aid and access to health care. [...] Austria will support with another three million euros from the foreign catastrophes fund [...]. The ICRC, the World Food Program and Austrian NGOs should get one million euros each." (Die Presse 2021a:2)

"[...] the government seeks to increase the foreign catastrophes fund to 60 million euros yearly [...]. [...] in the fight against hunger and poverty there have been large setbacks [...]. We risk being set back for multiple years with the progress we have worked towards." (Die Presse 2021b:5)

"[...] over a billion for humanitarian aid on site and development cooperation. [...] humanitarian aid more than ten folded. We cannot alleviate the suffering of all people in the world, but we should, what we are already doing, make an enormous contribution to help on site. [...] sums mainly go to international organisations such as the UN." (Der Standard 2021:9)

"The work in the crisis-ridden countries of the world is oftentimes not entirely safe. [...] The foreign aid [...] is supported by financial means to provide emergency aid. [...] bulk purchases of foodstuffs, [...] clothing and other materials, that are urgently needed on site, are being organised." (Vorarlberger Nachrichten 2021a:8)

The historical, political and economic causes of the problems that developing countries encounter are barely mentioned, so an account for global political relations is completely left out, which could make problems appear endemic to developing countries. Additionally, developing countries and development problems are being formulated using what could be interpreted as disaster messages, emphasising ongoing crises, war and conflict, catastrophes, violence, crime, terror and corrupt and authoritarian political regimes as well as hunger and natural disasters. Oftentimes the metaphor of fire is used, such as describing developing countries as "seats of fire" (Kronen Zeitung 2021a:14) for crisis. The following excerpts exemplify these observations:

"Europe is surrounded by seats of fire. People were displaced from the regions [...], the rebels there are still in conflict [...]. Almost the whole region is dependent on food aid. In the last days there have been massacres [...]. The minister of foreign affairs [...] offered help." (Kronen Zeitung 2021a:14)

"It is not unusual that massacres happen [...] also by non-state actors [...], for example if enemy groups fight for resources. [...] Austria could support with trust-building [...]." (Die Presse 2021a:2)

"Austria wants to increase humanitarian aid. One is confronted with numerous long multiple crisis [...] the north [of the country] is, following the plague of locusts, haunted by a drought, then flooding and an armed conflict." (Salzburger Nachrichten 2021a:8)

"The countries need to boost their development themselves. The main problem is corrupt political elites in Africa. The Europeans can only advise and financially support during the process [...]." (Salzburger Nachrichten 2021b:4)

Based on the depiction of developing countries and development problems that is mostly found in articles within this discourse strand, one could interpret that this urgent interventionist approach of development aid and cooperation is being justified by the construction of developing countries as places of ongoing crises and disaster, portraying their problems with a connotation of timelessness as well as leaving out social, political, historical and economic ties to developing countries. Similar elements have previously been problematised because one could argue that development problems are being naturalised by using terms such as crisis region or area, crisis-ridden, emphasising the timelessness of the issues as well as describing the regions as haunted by conflict or natural disasters (Dogra 2012:74.). This focus on either internal causes in terms of bad leadership or violence, or external causes in terms of natural disasters such as famines, through a White Saviourist lens, could create a sense of incapability within developing countries themselves or normalise the causes and make them appear backward compared to developed countries. At the same time, the context is left out and social, historical, political, economic, and structural global connections are left unmentioned and make the problems seem unrelated to developed countries. Furthermore, by leaving out man-made aspects of development and inequalities, development problems become apolitical, ahistorical and lose their moral implications. This could take away systemic and structural responsibilities from the question of development and underdevelopment (Cole 2012). Additionally, drawing on World Society Theory one could argue that the focus on rights violations and conflict, both of which are in opposition to the virtues of the World Society (Meyer 2007), creates an impetus for the World Society to help these states to adapt to World Culture (Meyer et al. 1997). This is because of the

universally recognised rationality of World Culture Models that legitimises authoritative intervention to implement them (Meyer et al. 1997).

In sum, one way of interpreting this discourse strand is as the creation of an image that Austria and development aid organisations are doing everything possible to help and support developing countries. However, developing countries are depicted as so deeply crisis-ridden that development aid and cooperation is at its limits. In this interpretation, developing countries are represented as hopeless cases, where misery has always happened, will always happen and all that can be done is easing the impacts. A possible explanation for the creation of this image is a justification for ongoing conflicts and crisis in developing countries. This could explain why the socio-historical context and global power structures – how they maintain global inequalities and how the world is interconnected in these crises – are left unmentioned, as put forward in previous studies by Bennett (2012), Dogra (2012:74) or the concept of White Saviourism (Cole 2012).

6.1.2. Charity/Heroism

The second most dominant discourse strand is charity/heroism, which is represented in half of the articles, and in five out of the seven newspapers. In the light of this representation, development is usually referred to as aid, support and care, especially in the form of food, shelter and education, and the caritative aspects of development work are being emphasised. Within this narrative, a dichotomy often used is the one between us, the developed, and them, the developing, implying a dependency of the developing world on the developed. In the articles, one could observe that the developed "we" play an active role in giving "them", the developing, prospects and care. "They", the developing, on the other hand are depicted as in need, often emphasising disadvantaged children and youth, underlining vulnerability as can be observed from the following excerpts:

> *"Organisations like [...] Jugend Eine Welt are engaged in enabling the sheltered growing up and life prospects for young people through education. Jugend Eine Welt is engaged since 1997 in the improvement of life prospects of disadvantaged children and youth. Hundred thousands of children can, thanks to Jugend Eine Welt, go to school, get job training or get a home if they are living on the streets."* (Kurier 2021c:11)

> *"We also at times provided over 250 families regularly with basic foodstuffs. Through this and above all through the chance to education, the children and youth acquire prospects."* (Vorarlberger Nachrichten 2021c:2)

> *"Education overcomes poverty – that is the leading thought. The Austrian aid organisation supports education and social programmes globally for children and youth in need."* (Kurier 2021b:23)

There is no discussion about the broader context of the depicted problems and issues in developing countries. Development work is being described as volunteer work for "thrilling social programmes", where knowledge transfers happen through "Senior Experts" (Kurier 2021b:23) providing their expertise when wanting to do something meaningful. Oftentimes, development actors in this discourse strand are ordinary people who found their own NGOs or development initiatives, through which they claim ownership of the projects. Furthermore, the needs and aims of people in developing countries are being portrayed as frugal by contrasting luxury in developed countries with "their" poverty.

> *"No matter if as a nurse in the Amazon, as a carpenter in Ghana or as a teacher in India – the possibilities to have a meaningful impact as Senior Experts in global development through thrilling social programmes are manyfold. Sustainability is guaranteed – the teacher is still regularly in contact with the teachers in her school[...]."* (Kurier 2021b:23)

> *"Voluntary team members are the connective organs between people in poverty and the donors [...]. We in a wealthy country cannot imagine how immense the need and poverty are [...]. Here, the used furniture would have had to be disposed at a high cost. Over there, this delivery is a luxury."* (Vorarlberger Nachrichten 2021c:2)

One way of approaching this could be to say that this results in the binary understanding of the passively receiving developing countries and the actively giving developed countries. It on the one hand depicts developing countries as vulnerable, and on the other points out the kindness, generosity and benevolence of usually Western development agents. The vulnerability of developing countries is highlighted in narratives of unprivileged, needy children and the emphasis on suffering and neediness in developing countries. Furthermore, one could argue that by leaving out the discussion about the context of the problems, the problems become decontextualised, as it has also been argued in previous studies (Dogra 2012:74) and through White Saviourism (Cole 2012).

According to White Saviourism, the decontextualisation of problems as well as oversimplification might result in the misconception of simple unsystematic and unpolitical causes of development issues. This might make development appear easily achievable and promote simplistic development solutions. Thereby structural underpinnings of inequalities are being ignored, which, according to White Saviourism, maintains systems of oppression favouring the West (Cole 2012). Furthermore, one could interpret that the simplification and reduction of development work to basic needs like food, shelter and education, as well as the portrayal of aspirations of people in developing countries as frugal could lead to making development work seem approachable by any actor and giving the impression that anything can make a difference. Following this interpretation, this could lead to establishing ordinary people of developed countries as suitable experts to teach developing countries how to overcome their challenges. This romanticised representation of development work and issues, one could argue, entails a saviour-saved dichotomy as put forward by the concept of White Saviourism. The concept lays out the importance of the help-needing developing communities and help-giving developed countries binary in development discourse that entitles any members of the developed, predominately white, world to intervene. Perceived calls for help and saviours are especially fuelled by the neglect of historical contexts and the recurring portrayal of misery and helplessness (Cole 2012). This can also be seen in the depiction of children, who according to previous studies have oftentimes been used as a symbol for a powerless, innocent, apolitical group. This, combined with leaving out the socio-historical context of underdevelopment, one could argue, results in the infantilisation of development issues and developing countries. This narrative potentially allows for the interpretation of child-stage developing countries, that need guidance from developed countries, as has been argued in previous studies (Dogra 2012:36-40).

Another dimension that could be observed through World Society Theory is the involvement of civil society, and the focus on education in this narrative. Education is seen as the prime diffuser of World Culture, as it produces and teaches it at the same time. It is also a highly valued good within World Society, legitimising the need for it (Meyer 2007). Furthermore, societies are seen as dominant actors promoting the World Culture, which might offer another way to explain their involvement (Meyer 2007).

6.1.3. Safety/Protection

The discourse strand safety/protection appears in seven out of the 20 articles. It is found in almost all analysed newspapers and highlights the importance of development aid and cooperation to protect and safeguard Europe or Austria. When talking about development aid and cooperation, in this discourse strand the negative consequences of crisis in other regions are emphasised, viewing development as a tool to counteract them. These negative consequences are most dominantly framed as migration to Europe or Austria, but also the formation of internationally operating terrorist groups, or the risk of conflicts and crisis to spill over internationally. Similarly to the first discourse strand, this representation often comes with an emphasis on the instability, conflicts and wars, violence and terror of developing countries as well as using fire as a metaphorical accentuation. It creates the image of foreign danger that is threatening Europe, through phrases like "Europe is surrounded by a ring of fire" (Kurier 2021a:5). The need to help is reasoned not only to avoid a humanitarian catastrophe but also to avoid "importing instability and uncertainty" (Kurier 2021a:5). While recognising the need to help through humanitarian aid, it is being emphasised that "we", as Austrians or Europeans, "cannot alleviate the suffering of all people" (Der Standard 2021:9). The help needs to be provided on site as help at home rather than accepting refugees in the wake of crisis. The causes for catastrophes and crises in developing countries are not mentioned, and developing regions are being depicted as prone to crisis, crisis-ridden, and highlight authoritarianism, violence and conflict within these countries. The following excerpts aim to exemplify these observations:

> *Europe is surrounded by a ring of fire. [...] Either it will be managed to export stability and safety, or we risk importing instability and uncertainty. [...] The discussions [...] are primarily about the crisis province [...]. We have to make sure that the aid organisations can do their job."* (Kurier 2021a:5)

> *"Austria [...] wants to strengthen countries so that people do not start fleeing to Austria. [...] We cannot alleviate the suffering of all people in the world, but we should, what we are already doing, make an enormous contribution to help on site."* (Der Standard 2021:9)

> *"The procedure is to enable development aid as soon as possible, to avoid a humanitarian catastrophe and migration flows to Europe. [...] In exchange [for development aid] they need to make sure, that there will not be a base for*

internationally operating terrorist groups. [...] the management of migration movements and the fight against terrorism and drug and human trafficking should be discussed" (Vorarlberger Nachrichten 2021b:11)

"Europe is surrounded by seats of fire. People were displaced from the regions [...], the rebels there are still in conflict [...]. In the last days there have been massacres [...]. Schallenberg [Austrian minister of foreign affairs] fears a domino effect, the spill over of the conflict [...]. The minister of foreign affairs [...] offered help."
(Kronen Zeitung 2021a:14)

Drawing on World Society Theory, conflict and generally violent opposition to the progressive virtues of World Culture are seen as irrational and threatening geopolitical stability, which further highlights the need for intervening (Meyer 2007; Meyer et al. 1997). Further, the focus on violence and disaster are elements, which have been found in earlier studies as well, that have previously been interpreted as highlighting the perception of foreign danger and implying irrationality of developing countries. This has been viewed as not only helping to justify paternalising developing countries and foreign intervention, but also creating distance from developed countries, which ultimately neglects the global interconnectedness of crisis, conflict and development in general (Dogra 2012:82). Following this interpretation, the predominant depiction of violent brutal conflict combined with terms that imply continuity and an unchanging situation, such as crisis- or disaster-regions, and leaving out global historical, social, political and economic interconnectedness, one could argue, leads to the representation of humanly induced causes as ahistorical and apolitical. Thereby, by not mentioning the historical and political context, causes are being naturalised and located within developing countries. This might take away responsibility from developed countries and represents the issue as a distant problem of the others. Thus, it eases the avoidance to accept responsibility for global issues, as well as creates the image that it is decoupled from developed countries. This might lead to the White Saviourist perception that there is no need to question global structures of dominance (Cole 2012) and justifies the narrative that not everyone can be helped, or not all refugees can be taken in. In this understanding, one could view the problems that are leading to, for example, migration as not developed countries' responsibility and assistance can be provided as a safety measure from the foreign danger or out of generosity. The construction of the dangerous, irrational other often leads to arising racism vis-à-vis other countries as has previously been pointed out by scholars such as Kothari (2006), highlighting the role racist stereotypes plays in development

policy and work or the concept of White Saviourism (Cole 2012), but also the othering of opposition to the values of the World Society (Meyer et al. 1997).

6.1.4.   Conditionality

Conditionality is found in seven out of the 20 articles and is observable in most newspapers that have been included in the analysis, except two. It circulates around the conditionality of aid and cooperation in exchange for the adoption of certain values and norms, which are considered progressive, such as human rights, democratic institutions, freedom of the press and the rule of law. In articles that discuss development in this sense, developing countries are discussed in terms of their authoritarian oppressive leaders, corruption of political elites and human rights violations. By exercising power in the form of aid conditionality, the leaders of the countries should be forced to align their behaviour according to progressive norms. The developed world on the other hand is presented as a powerful watchdog, who holds responsibility in spreading progressive values to developing countries. There is no discussion about historical, political or economic interlinkages with the developed world that might have added to the issues.

> *"The ministries are prescribing conditions for the limited cooperation. They should in exchange form a government, that represents as many segments of the population as possible […] respect human rights, the rule of law and freedom of the press […] and make sure that there will not be a base for internationally operating terrorist groups. […] The intended contacts are about an operative engagement that dependent on the behaviour could increase."* (Vorarlberger Nachrichten 2021b:11)

> *"Development aid frozen. No support for coup generals […]. After the escalating violence against protesters […] the development is being suspended. […] According to the UN, the government killed at least 64 people since the coup. […] the head of the military […] has been warned that hash measures and isolation are coming"* (Kleine Zeitung 2021b:17)

> *"Development aid for the country, as granted until now, is aimed by the EU-countries to be coupled to certain conditions: The new ruling powers should form a proper government and respect human rights, the rule of law and the freedom of the press."* (Kleine Zeitung 2021c:10)

"The main problem is the inability and unwillingness of corrupt political elites. The Europeans [...] need to be tougher with those in power with it [development aid and cooperation]." (Salzburger Nachrichten 2021b:4)

One interpretation of this discourse strand could be that through the emphasis on bad leaders, violence and human rights violations in combination with disregarding or leaving out the role of history and global power structures as well as interconnectedness in these issues, the problems are depicted as natural, on-going and typical for those regions and become de-historicised and de-politicised, as it would be supported by the concept of White Saviourism (Cole 2012). Thereby, one could get the impression that the problem causes are located internally to developing countries, emphasising perceived irrationality and inability while at the same time overlooking global power structures that contributed to this matter. Developed countries on the contrary are presented as rational, progressive actors that, therefore, have a duty of ensuring that global norms and values are being respected and met. These norms are proposed by the Western standards, adding to the binary between the superior developed world and inferior developing world, that has also been observed by previous studies about development discourse (Dogra 2012:62-53) and the concept of White Saviourism (Cole 2012). This connects to what World Society Theory emphasises, as one could argue that development aid and cooperation in this discourse strand acts as a diffusing mechanism aimed to ensure isomorphic change, more precisely the adoption of World Culture and, further, the integration into the World Society (Swiss 2016). The difficulty of and factors hindering the implementation of such norms is left untouched in these articles, nor is it being questioned that there might be alternative ways of organising society. This over-simplification of implementing norms and values which, in line with World Society Theory, have an inherently rational and good connotation (Meyer et al. 1997), one could argue, leads to the impression of unwillingness and hence irrationality of developing countries, as societies that resist World Culture are seen as inefficient and unprogressive (Meyer et al. 1997).

6.1.5.   Criticism

Criticism is the least dominant discourse strand as it only appeared in five out of the 20 articles that have been analysed. It is furthermore only represented in three of the seven analysed newspapers. It is critical of the common forms of development aid and cooperation, claiming that the right approach to carry out development has not yet been pursued, that not

enough is being done to assist or that developed countries are not fulfilling their responsibilities for global development. This is being represented by pointing towards the insufficiency, inadequacy or negative side-effects of current development work, thereby also touching upon other discourse strands that have been mentioned above. It takes for example a critical stance towards stability/exhaustion, as it reacts to the claim that aid organisations and developed countries are already doing everything possible and giving an overproportioned amount of money to developing countries and aid organisations. It is pointed out that the goal of spending 0,7 percent of the GNI to ODA is far from being reached and that NGOs are not receiving enough money to work efficiently.

> *"Kurz [Austrian ex-chancellor] speaks about the enormous contribution of Austria. This is however not the case: [...] Austria is [...] approximately at 0,29 percent. [...] thereby not only far away from the 0,7 percent [...] but also below OECD-average."* (Der Standard 2021:9)

> *"Plannability and more predictability are the two most important points that representatives of aid organisations request. There needs to be a refocussing of Austrian humanitarian aid such as the collaboration with local actors."* (Salzburger Nachrichten 2021a:8)

Furthermore, it criticises other discourse strands as it points out that instead of giving aid, it would be more beneficial to regard developing countries as equal trade partners, which would lead to positive incentives, advocating for a new face for development assistance. In that instance, this discourse strand criticises prejudices against developing countries, for example as trading partners, that act as a barrier to trade and touches upon global political and economic relations that have an impact on the situations in developing countries. Thereby, this discourse strand is suggesting a different approach and criticising what is hindering the realisation of this approach, whereby it points towards problematic behaviour of developed countries.

> *"Europe's neighbour does not need charity but positive impulses. [...] It is pleaded for an equal partnership. [...] it is important to reduce prejudices, that are very prevalent in Europe and thereby blocking trade. Europe itself finally needs to reduce the barriers to trade, which they are always pushing for in Africa."* (Kleine Zeitung 2021a:14)

The criticism also takes reference to conditionality. It addresses the decoupling effects of structural and institutional isomorphism, meaning the global diffusion and assimilation of norms and structures, as put forward by World Society Theory (Meyer et al. 1997; Swiss 2016), for instance when trying to implement democracy and well-being from outside. In that instance it mentions the negative side effects that are being triggered through aid conditionality to promote democracy in authoritarian settings. Here this discourse again links the suffering of the broad population as partly stemming from side effects of sanctions or the freeze of development assistance meant to provoke world cultural norm adoption by the regime leaders. This discourse strand, thereby, is the only strand that mentions or touches upon global power relations that play a role in development and the power that is being exercised through development aid and cooperation.

> *"Over 22,8 million people are threatened with hunger. The catastrophe is due to bad harvest caused by drought, flooding and the fleeing of farmers from war. Additionally, there is a lack of money since the change of powers [...]. Because of the frozen international payments, the regime is not liquid. [...] The international community needs to act now and provide more money to humanitarian aid. [...] Governments around the world have stopped their development aid in august, because they did not want to provide money for the government. Even the EU, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have put their aid on ice and stopped payments. This leads to an enormous growing gap."* (Salzburger Nachrichten 2021c:9)

7. Concluding Discussion

In line with the aims of this study, the trends and patterns regarding the discourse around development aid and cooperation in the Austrian printed press during 2021 have been investigated. This revealed the need to include the depiction of developing countries and development problems in connection to the investigated development discourse. The aim has further been to discuss in which way dynamics of power between developing and developed countries are visible in this discourse, which has been done by drawing on previous studies as well as the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study, namely White Saviourism and World Society Theory. The research questions have been answered by conducting a CDA of 20 articles found in seven different Austrian printed newspapers. Through seeking to answer the main research question *How are development aid and cooperation presented to the public in*

the printed press in Austria? five main discourse strands have been identified, each representing one way of portraying development aid or cooperation.

The most dominant representation was the one of stability/exhaustion, which emphasises the persistence of the status quo meaning everything possible is already done to help and the focus is on stabilising in the form of humanitarian and emergency aid. This discourse strand was found in more than half of the articles. The second most dominant representation was found to be charity/heroism, which has been present in half of the articles. It depicts development aid and cooperation as small-scale initiatives by NGOs or ordinary people, propagating easily-doable development with a focus on the benevolent nature of development work. The discourse strands safety/protection as well as conditionality were less dominant, with a prevalence of only seven out of 20 articles. Safety/Protection discusses development aid and cooperation as a means to protect Austria and Europe from the negative consequences of development issues, them being the spread of instability and conflict as well as migration to Europe. Conditionality emphasises the importance of coupling development aid and cooperation to certain conditions such as the adoption of certain policies and standards. The last representation of development aid and cooperation found in this analysis of the press articles was criticism, which was the least dominant. It was the only representation that criticises the status quo of development aid and cooperation, highlighting insufficiencies and suggesting improvements. Substantial differences concerning the prevalence of certain discourse strands amongst the different newspapers have not been found in the analysis.

In relation to what has been found by answering the main research question, it has further been discovered that the way development aid and cooperation are discussed is connected to a certain discourse about developing countries and development issues. This led to the evolvement of the sub-research question *How are development problems and developing countries presented in relation to different representations of development aid and cooperation?*. Especially in the stability/exhaustion, the security/protection, and the conditionality discourse strand it has been discovered that developing countries are often represented as places of ongoing crises, conflict and disaster, and of bad governance. The charity/heroism discourse strand oftentimes emphasises vulnerability through depicting neediness and children, and modesty of developing countries by highlighting that, given their poverty, any form of help is already better than before. No discourse strand, except criticism, mentions any factors that concerned the role developed countries could have played in contributing to the described

issues or impacting the development of these countries and only potentially internal causes have been mentioned in relation to development problems.

Since a CDA has been applied, the study further presented the findings in a critical light, drawing on findings and interpretations from previous studies, as well as the theoretical and conceptual framework. Overall, the interpretation of the representations of development aid and cooperation combined with the representation of developing countries and development issues has been the following: There is little critical reflection on development efforts, which are predominantly positively portrayed as stabilising, caritative and small-scale, a means to protect from dangers or to spread progressive norms and values. The terms used to describe developing countries and development issues as well as the omission of the socio-economic, political, and historical context point towards a de-historisation, de-politisation and, hence, naturalisation of underdevelopment and problems found in developing countries. This has been interpreted as potentially being a means to disconnect development problems from more systemic issues that also concern the developed world, as well as justifying the status quo not only of the current system, but also of the state of development aid and cooperation.

In comparison with previous studies, the findings of this study align with observations regarding the eradication of social, historical, political and economic factors of development problems and the localisation of problem causes as endemic to developing countries in public development discourse. Furthermore, by finding resonating themes in the depiction of developing countries and the development work of Western countries, this study supports the findings from previous studies (Dogra 2012:71, 77, 82-87; Vossen and Schulpen 2019), which point towards a simplification and romantisation of development in some discourse strands, especially in charity/heroism. This study thereby strengthens the points raised in previous studies. It finds similarities between poverty discourse in NGO advertisements as well as its depictions of developing countries and the discourse around development aid and cooperation in the context of this study. Therefore, these could be common patterns and themes in general development discourse as well, although further studies would be necessary to verify such a generalised claim, given the limitations of this study. This study further adds the themes of stability/exhaustion, security/protection and conditionality to the ways in which development aid and cooperation are depicted. What is also interesting is that the two most dominant representations of development aid and cooperation found in this study seemingly align with the perceptions of the Austrian population regarding development

aid and cooperation that have been assessed by Karmasin (2014), which further suggests a possible relationship between media discourse and public perceptions. This claim is again, however, limited to the sample choice of this study and its respective interpretation.

Besides the findings from previous studies, the conceptual and theoretical framework helped to contextualise the findings of the analysis. World Society Theory offers an important insight into the motives and aims behind certain development interventions, and, hence, their depiction, but can also be useful for explaining why developing countries and issues are being portrayed in that manner. Since World Society Theory argues that the World Culture that is sought to be diffused stems from dominant, hence, Western societies, it is also these values and norms that are being seen as normative within the World Society. These collective norms not only influence the societies that subscribe to them, but also those who do not or do not yet (Meyer, 2007), since deviances from World Culture are seen as irrational, inefficient and a violation of rights (Meyer et al. 1997). This has also been observed in the depiction of developing countries and their issues in this study. Furthermore, development efforts, through this lens, are a means to align developing countries with World Culture through institutional and structural isomorphism (Meyer et al. 1997), which is especially evident in the discourse strands, conditionality, charity/heroism, and safety/protection. Conditionality could be seen as exemplifying this theory best, as it discussed aid and cooperation in exchange for the adoption of certain conditions, which align with World Culture Models. Additionally, the connection to the charity/heroism strand has also been insightful, since here the development actors have mainly been civil society actors, which according to the theory is a locus where the norm models originate from. Furthermore, a typical approach in this discourse strand was overcoming poverty through education, which is seen as a prime diffuser of World Culture. The concept of White Saviourism addresses the consequences of the eradication of important contexts to simplify development issues and the depiction of developing countries (Cole 2012). The concept is best exemplified through the charity/heroism discourse strand, since here the neediness of developing countries has been emphasised, creating a need for Western people to intervene. Furthermore, the intervention can be carried out by ordinary people, who are depicted as benevolent, since through the eradication of more complex layers to the problems, development seems easily-doable. Lastly, by emphasising the modesty of people in developing countries, development work appears as even more effective, regardless of how much it is actually helping or improving.

It is important to note that the point is not that the West should have no role in development, but rather recognise their role in development problems and envision more structural solutions, that address socio-economic and political inequalities in the world and the global political economy. By promoting solutions that are separated from socio-economic structures – meaning disregarding their social, political, economic and historical context – development problems are not being addressed from the root causes and can therefore not be sustainably eradicated. Furthermore, a rethinking of development by recognising structural implications would be needed to be able to account for problems that address global inequalities. The representations of development aid and cooperation function in the binary thinking of developed and developing, which in itself is contradictory because of the systemic limitations of universalising the living conditions of developed countries. World Society Theory for example envisions a scenario where all countries assimilate, which cannot sustainably be achieved considering the limitations to growth and the resource distribution of the current economic system. Thereby, structural reasons for the discrepancies in development are being left out.

Once again it is important to note that this study can only account for the material that has been covered in terms of the article selection but also the media outlets that have been included in the analysis. Furthermore, this is only representing one interpretation that should add on to or contribute to the discourse of development aid and cooperation in the Austrian printed press. Other researchers with different contexts might offer different interpretations, which further emphasises the importance of adding more interpretations and, thereby, contributing to a more holistic picture of the discourse. Furthermore, a suggestion for broadening the discourse on the topic could be extending the research from a single case to a comparative case study with other countries. Here it would be especially interesting to connect the discourses with variances between countries regarding policy landscapes, public opinions as well as exploring a possible connection to levels of xenophobia. Given the scope of this study, however, this has been beyond its feasibility.

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9. Appendix: Articles used in Critical Discourse Analysis

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