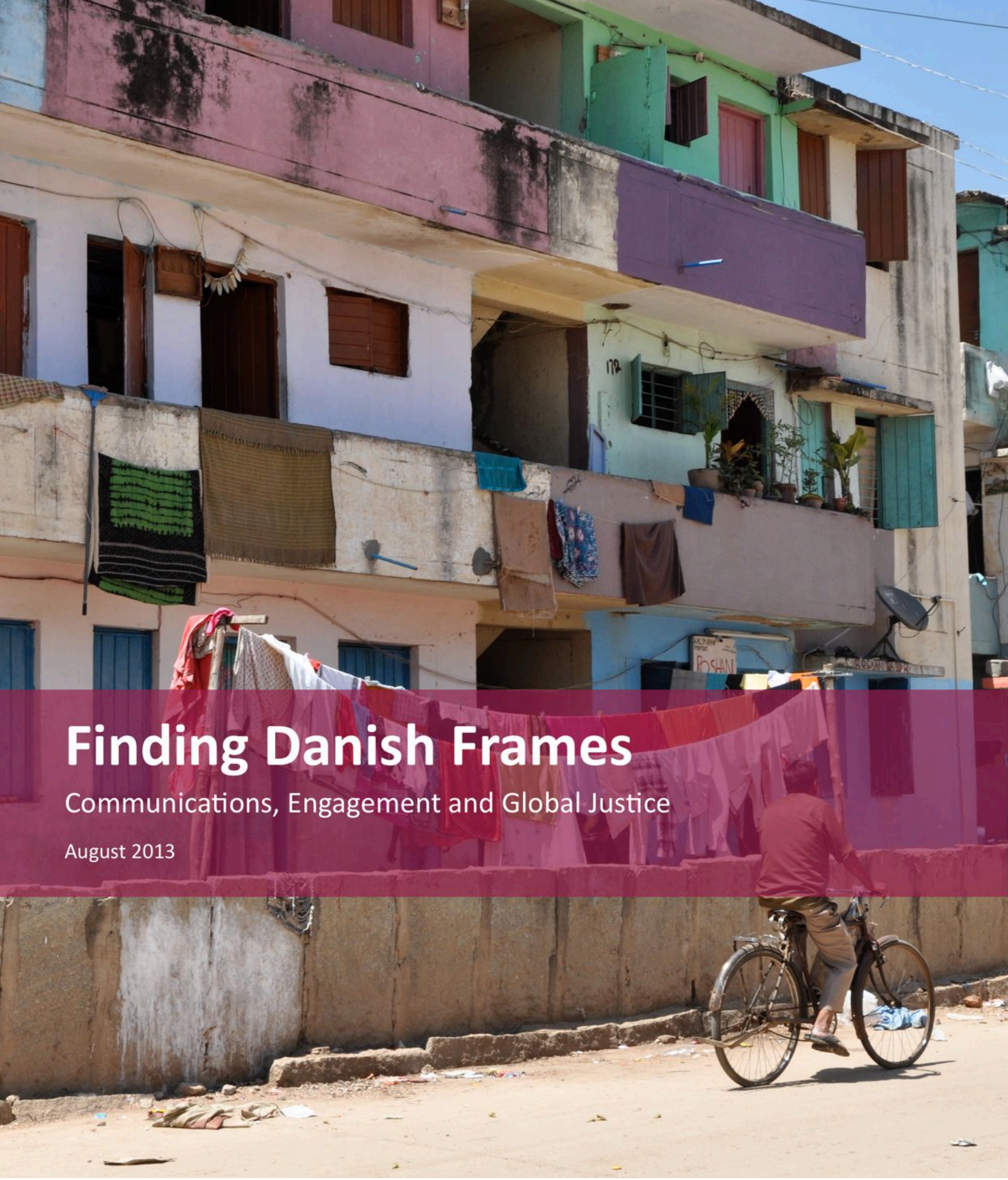

Finding Danish Frames

Communications, Engagement and Global Justice

August 2013

VERDENS BEDSTE NYHEDER

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Finding Danish Frames

Communications, Engagement and Global Justice

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Introduction

This report documents a six-month long pilot study of Danish development communications, initiated by Verdens Bedste Nyheder, and supported by IBIS, CISU - Civilsamfund i Udvikling, ADRA, Afrika Kontakt, CARE, Folkekirkens Nødhjælp and NGO Forum's funding for minor capacity-building initiatives. Recent UK research, Oxfam-UK Finding Frames: New Ways of engaging the UK public in global poverty (2011), has sparked an international debate on how issues related to global poverty are framed. This research questioned whether much of the current NGO campaigning might be counterproductive to the overall goal of engaging the public in global justice. These questions were taken seriously by Danish NGOs who commissioned this pilot study to begin to understand how the Danish public can become engaged in a constructive way in issues of international development and global justice.

Our goal with this endeavor is two-pronged. First of all, we wish to contribute to further scientific research on Danish NGO campaign communication and its possible effects on public engagement and support for global justice. In order gain an understanding of the campaigns, we analyzed material from five major Danish development organizations over a three-year period (2010-2012) to understand how issues of global development are communicated and framed by Danish NGOs. In this pilot study of Finding Frames Denmark, we examine how issues of global poverty are framed, what values are triggered, and what solutions are proposed.

Our goal is not only to study what Danish NGOs are communicating, but how. We examine how development organizations define a problem, how they interpret it, what moral stance they take, and which solutions they suggest. We conduct this analysis through the lens of frames and values theory. Recent research from the UK has demonstrated how frames and values theory can be used to re-frame and re-engage the public in global development. Inspired by the UK research, we examine how their findings apply in a Danish international development context arguably different from the UK. Frames and values theory and their use as practical campaign tools in international development is relatively new hence our research is exploratory and based on mixed methods. Five major Danish development organizations have participated in the study and contributed data and resource persons necessary for the analysis.

Secondly, based on findings from the research, in active collaboration with the Danish NGO Forum, we develop guidelines and tools for reflection for Danish NGOs to evaluate and adapt their communication in a way that strengthens the overall fight for global justice. Hence, the second part of this publication takes what we have learned from the analysis of contemporary Danish NGO campaigns, and together

with the Danish NGO Forum, transforms it into what organizations themselves can use for self-evaluation and formulation of future campaigns and communication related to global development.

The project has been inspired by Andrew Darnton's Rapid Review in the UK (2009) stressing the need to 'prioritize public engagement over public support for development aid, and to aim for no less than a deep-cut values shift in society.' With this report, we hope to contribute to a discussion and debate about how issues and challenges related to global development are framed, which values are promoted, and ultimately how we maintain and strengthen Danish public engagement for global justice.

Eroding Public Engagement?

One of the main findings from the UK Finding Frames research is that the UK public is ill informed about progress in developing countries, which negatively impacts public engagement. Causes of poverty are largely seen as internal to developing countries and the public understands and relates to global poverty no differently now than they did in the 1980s, despite quite impressive strides forward in poverty reduction and global justice in recent years.

But how does that relate to a Danish context that is arguably quite different from the British? Although, we do not have the same amount of data as in the UK, data from Danida (Danida 2013), suggests some similarities to the UK findings. In Denmark we have a long tradition for being one of the top spenders on foreign aid. We are currently donating 0.83 percent of GDP, and the majority of the Danish public is largely in favor of public spending on foreign aid, yet this may be changing. Recent data from Danida show a drop from 76 percent in 2010 to 69 percent in 2012 of Danes largely in favor of government spending on foreign aid. In the same period there has been a small increase in individuals largely against public spending on foreign aid, from 7 percent in 2010 to 11 percent in 2012 (ibid: 6). While the limited time frame of the data suggests care in interpreting these shifts, it is important to consider that Danish public opinion on development issues may be becoming less favorable.

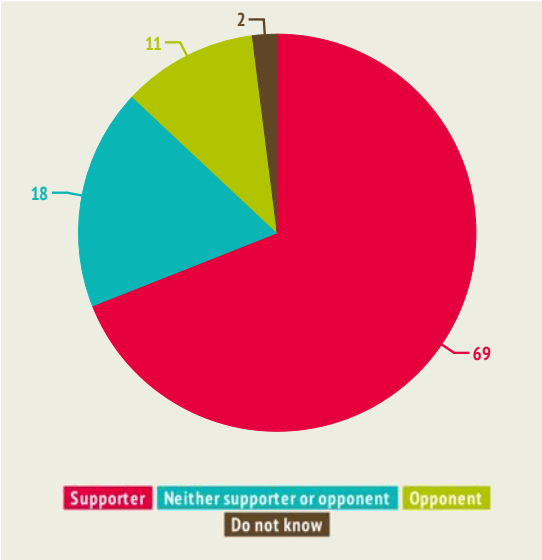


Fig. 1. Attitudes towards development assistance

We do, however, have more robust data on the Danish public's attitude towards the amount of money spent on foreign development aid. Since 1990, Danida has conducted surveys asking the public if they consider the amount of spending to be 'too high,' 'appropriate,' or 'too low.' The figures from this period show that from 1990 to 1998, Danes who considered spending on development aid as being 'too high' rose from 35 percent to 47 percent. However, from 1998 to 2005, that trend changed, and by 2005 only 21 percent considered spending 'too high'. In the same period, the part of the public that considered spending too low rose from only 7 percent to 21 percent. Danida does not have any conclusive arguments on why such a change occurred, however, it coincided with major cutbacks in government spending on foreign aid, which is likely to have played a part in the increasing goodwill towards development aid. From 2005, the amount of people considering spending too high has risen to 32 percent, whereas the part of the population considering the amount to be appropriate has dropped from 49 percent to 36 percent. The part considering spending too low has been relatively stable. We will not speculate over what has caused these variations, although it seems likely that economic recession plays a part in influencing public attitudes on foreign spending. Fig. 2. shows the Danish populations attitudes towards the amount spent on foreign aid from 1990 to 2012 (Ibid: 8).

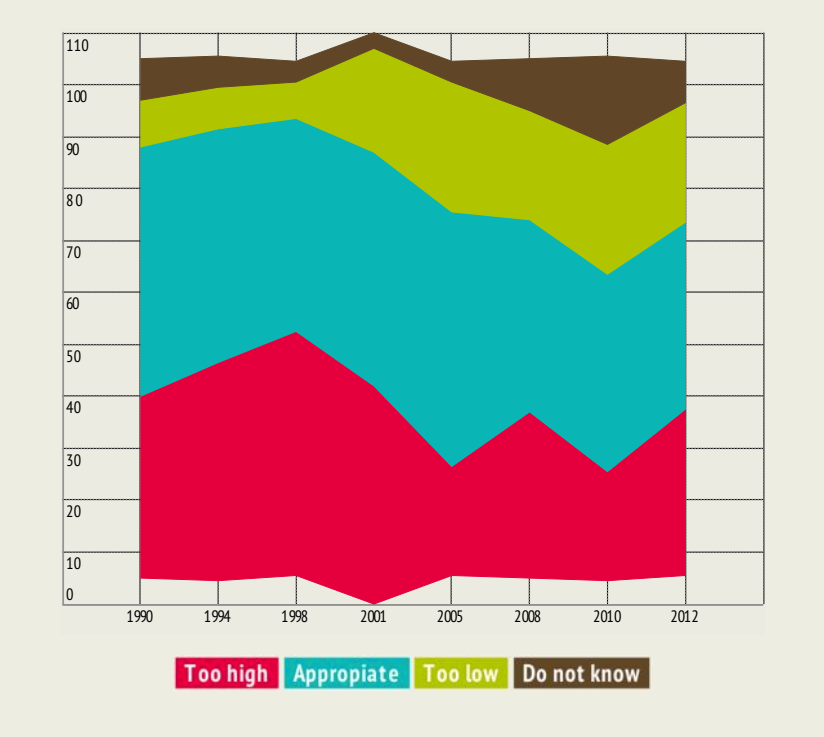


Fig. 2. Attitudes towards the amount spent on foreign aid

More interesting to us is the additional six detailed questions that were asked of the public about their attitudes towards development assistance. Data from the survey show that while 70 percent of respondents agree that we have a moral obligation to help others, only 50 percent believe that the development assistance has any effect.

In addition, the data show that the public's expectation of how developing countries' progress is far more negative than actual data suggest. For example, when asked if the number of people living in extreme poverty in the world had increased or decreased since 1990, 25 percent of Danes answered that the number of people living in extreme poverty was the same, 29 percent answered that there were approximately 20 million more, and 24 percent answered that there were approximately 100 million more. Only 3 percent answered that the number of people in the world living in extreme poverty had decreased by approximately 400 million, which was the correct answer. Similarly when asked what percentage of the children in developing countries go to school today, the Danish public perception is quite far from the current education data. In this case, 19 percent answered that approximately 10 percent of developing country children attend school; 24 percent answered approximately 20 percent; and 23 percent answered approximately 30 percent. Only 2 percent of respondents answered correctly, recognizing that approximately 90 percent of children in developing countries attend school. Common for all of the results in the Danida study is that the Danish public perceives the situation in the developing countries as being much worse than it actually is. (ibid:12-16).

The fact that Danish public opinion on developing countries' progress appears to be consistently more negative than empirical data actually indicate suggests a concern for Danish communications about issues of international development and global justice. As some NGO campaigns have disseminated, more than 400 million people have come out of extreme poverty and many of the MDGs have been reached or are close to being reached. But who should be telling these stories and sharing facts with the Danish public? According to the Danida survey, the main sources of information and knowledge about the developing world is broadcast media such as television, newspapers and radio (ibid:21). However, development NGOs and civil-society organizations also play a key role in creating communications about the situation in developing countries and the nature of development problems and solutions. These communications are also likely to shape Danish public perceptions and attitudes about the developing world and our engagement with it. Through information campaigns, fundraising and lobbying the Danish NGOs communicate directly to the Danish public about the challenges facing the Global South, so these communications are worthy of serious consideration when trying to understand why people think what they think and how attitudes might be changed.

Framing global poverty

The use of frames theory and motivational values, and their practical application in NGO campaigning is a recent phenomenon, and up until now there has not been much, if any, research done in Denmark with an explicit focus on frames and values related to NGO campaigns. Finding Frames draws on the theories of the American specialist in cognitive linguistics George Lakoff who explains: 'Frames are mental structures that allow human beings to understand reality—and sometimes to create what we take to be reality... they structure our ideas and concepts, they shape how we reason, and they even impact how we perceive and how we act. For the most part, our use of frames is unconscious and automatic- we use them without realizing it.' (Darnton & Kirk 2011: 67)

Frames are cognitive devices that we use to understand words and things, and by which we structure our thoughts. This means that when we hear a word it automatically evokes a set of feelings, values and ideas, which can be described as the 'conceptual frame' for that word (Darnton & Kirk 2011: 66). In other words, frames are basic cognitive structures, which guide the perception and representation of reality and are the chunks of factual knowledge in the mind, which we use to understand discourses, situations, and ideas in everyday life. Although framing is relatively new in relation to NGO campaigns it has a long tradition in many different academic disciplines. Its origins lie in the fields of cognitive psychology and anthropology, but have since been adopted by other disciplines, often with a shift in meaning, including sociology, economics, social movement research, policy research, communication science, and public relations research (Van Gorp, 2007:60). Frames can be used to shape public opinion as understood through the process of framing:

> Select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 1993:52)

In this interpretation frames *define* problems (determine what a causal agent is doing), *diagnose* causes (identifying what is causing the problem), *make moral judgements* (evaluate causal agents and their effects), and *suggests remedies* (offer treatments for the problems) (Entman 1993:52). In this sense *framing* is used to describe the manner in which we as human beings package messages in order to bring about a particular interpretation in the receiver and *frames* are the discursive cues, consciously or not, used to evoke, or align, its message with certain pre-existing understandings. Frames have at least *four locations in the communication process*; the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture:

1. Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames (often called schemata) that organize their belief system.

2. The text contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.

3. The frames that guide the receiver's thinking and conclusion may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator.

4. The culture is the stock of commonly invoked frames, in fact; culture may be defined as the empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking in a social grouping. (Entman, 1993:52-53).

As the quote above illustrates frames do not represent something that is present in a text, independently of readers of the texts. Framing requires the intervention of an individual to connect the framing and reasoning devices in a text with a frame as a cultural phenomenon. Hence, communicators are applying the frames that are part of the repertoire of frames that we dispose of in our culture to represent reality, and the frame itself is made by the reader in interaction with his or her perception of the text. (Van Gorp, 2005:487) Also, the receiver tends not to be aware of the frames he is activating as he does so, since they become a part of the automatic brain, the 'cognitive unconscious', which according to George Lakoff is responsible for 98% of the thinking the brain does (Darnton & Kirk, 2011:71). While one person may take a framing device strongly into consideration, another may decide to ignore that element even though they are exposed to the same frame. Van Gorp refers to the constituent elements of a frame as a *frame package* consisting of a core frame, framing devices, and reasoning devises. The core frame is the implicit cultural phenomenon that defines the package as a whole, for example a value or an archetype. The framing devices are elements in the text that function as indicators of the frame, such as vocabulary or catchphrases, and the reasoning devices are the causal reasoning that are evoked when a certain subject is associated with a culturally embedded frame (Van Gorp, 2012:1275). Hence, a fundamental part of frame analysis is the reconstruction of these frame packages.

An example of frames in action: Fjumreår and betalingsring

In a Danish political context the recent use of the word 'fjumreår' is a powerful frame created by politicians eager to put pressure on students to go through their studies faster. According to Infomedia the word fjumreår was first used in 1989 by the former Minister for Education Bertel Haarder in connection with a reform of the Danish students' grants and loans scheme. By using the negatively charged word 'fjumre' (clumsy, unsure, confused) when referring to students gap year, or to breaks during their education, politicians create a frame where any type of extension of their studies is negative by default. Since the conclusion is embedded in the word, politicians do not need to argue their case, which kills any type of informed debate. This is further exacerbated when the media uncritically starts to reproduce the frame, making it even more powerful. But politicians do not always get it right when they try to frame political issues or proposals.

The recent political proposal and debate about whether Copenhagen should introduce a congestion charge for drivers in inner Copenhagen could be seen as an example of poor political framing. The politicians opted for naming the initiative 'betalingsringen' including the word 'betaling' (payment) in the initiative. By putting emphasis on the fact that citizens would have to pay for the initiative, instead of the positive effects derived from the proposal, such as less traffic and a more environmentally friendly city, they had already damaged their case considerably. Instead of applying the payment frame they could have opted for an environmental frame 'miljøringen' which carries much more positive connotations than the payment frame. The proposal failed and it is impossible to say whether a different frame would have changed anything, but it is clear that the choice of words changed the debate. Instead of being a debate on protecting the capital from pollution and traffic, it quickly became a debate about who needed to pay.

Frames and values in NGO campaigns

Sparked by Tom Crompton's 'Common Cause' report (2010) and Darnton and Kirk's 'Finding Frames: New ways to engage the UK public' (2011), frames and values has gained increased attention in the NGO community. The main argument proposed by the authors is that there is a problem in terms of the UK public's levels of engagement with global poverty, and that frames and values should be used to re-engage the public. According to Darnton and Kirk (2011) the UK public discourse is dominated by a transaction frame in which support for poverty is perceived as solely being about donation, rather than social justice, consumer decisions, debate, advocacy and discussion. Essentially the public understands and relates to global poverty no differently now than they did in the 1980s, despite massive campaigns such as the Jubilee 2000 debt initiative and Make Poverty History. The causes of poverty are to a large extent seen as internal to developing countries (such as wars,

famine, natural disasters and bad governance) and the relationship between interest group and supporter is one characterized by the authors as 'cheap participation' defined by low barriers to entry, engagement and exit, generating a high churn.

As the NGOs have become more savvy fundraisers their membership levels and revenues have increased, but public levels of engagement and knowledge of development issues have in turn stagnated or decreased. Increasing incomes have been gained by changing the nature of engagement: by turning members into supporters, and setting them at arm's length (Darnton & Kirk, 2011:6). This, the authors argue, erodes support for global development and creates a sense of development fatigued in the public. Research referred to in the report shows that young people in the UK aged 14 to 20 are relatively informed, but broadly disengaged, partly due to static perceptions of the nature of development. Overly simplistic campaigns and emotional appeals depicting Africans as helpless and suffering are partly to blame for this. These campaigns might generate a lot of funding in the short run, but who will keep donating to problems that never gets solved? To counter this, the authors argue for a shift in NGO activities away from 'transactions' and towards 'transformations', placing less emphasis on '100 kr. buys' appeals and more emphasis on providing supporters with opportunities to engage more deeply (Darnton & Kirk, 2011:10). That is not to say that organizations should completely move away from emotional and simplistic appeals; however they should be a complementary tactic that supports in-depth engagement and not the dominant model as it is now. To do so Darnton and Kirk advocate the use of values and frames as practical campaign tools to reframe those practices, and to re-engage the public in global development.

Promoting positive values in global development

Drawing mainly on Shalom Schwartz and Tim Kasser's work on motivational values, Darnton and Kirk advocate the use of positive values in development communication. Values have various meanings and definitions in different disciplines, but when we refer to values we use the definition given by social psychologist, and pioneer in the research on pro-social and altruistic behavior Shalom Schwartz, who defines values as:

> *...desirable, transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Schwartz, 1996:122)*

Values have a robust and substantial body of literature and especially Shalom Schwartz' values system is considered one of the best known and widely applied of the values systems. Schwartz has studied values across cultures in more than 70 countries worldwide and has identified 57 distinct types of values present in all human beings, which he has divided into 10 overall motivational values. The table below lists, according to Schwartz, the ten motivational values, each defined in terms

of their central goal, and followed in parentheses, by specific single values that primarily represent it:

- Power: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources. (Social Power, Authority, Wealth)
- Achievement: Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. (Successful, Capable, Ambitious, Influential)
- Hedonism: Pleasure and sensuous gratification for one's self. (Pleasure, Enjoying Life)
- Stimulation: Excitement, novelty and challenge in life. (Daring, a Varied Life, an Exciting Life)
- Self-direction: Independent thought and action choosing, creating, exploring. (Creativity, Freedom, Independent, Curious, Choosing own Goals)
- Universalism: Understanding, appreciating, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. (Broadminded, Wisdom, Social Justice, Equality, a World at Peace, a World of Beauty, Unity With Nature, Protecting the Environment)
- Benevolence: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact. (Helpful, Honest, Forgiving, Loyal, Responsible)
- Tradition: Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self. (Humble, Accepting my Portion in Life, Devout, Respect for Tradition, Moderate)
- Conformity: Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others or violate social expectations and norms. (Politeness, Obedient, Self-Discipline, Honoring Parents and Elders)
- Security: Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self. (Family Security, National Security, Social Order, Clean, Reciprocation of Favors) (Schwartz, 1996:122-123)

All of these values are present in people all the time to some extent, but the balance between the values varies from individual to individual. That means that when Darnton and Kirk advocate the use of positive values in development communication, they do not mean creating new values and introducing them into the system in place of old values, but instead changing the level of importance accorded to each value (Darnton & Kirk, 2011:41). Although all of the values are present at all times, a central thesis in Schwartz' work is the dynamic relationship among the types of values. Actions taken in pursuit of any specific value have psychological, practical, and social consequences that may conflict with or may be compatible with the pursuit of other value types. The conflicts and compatibility among value priorities have given rise to a circular structure of value systems (see fig. 4. below) where the nature of compatibilities among value types is clarified by noting the shared motivational orientations of the adjacent values. (Schwartz, 1996:123)

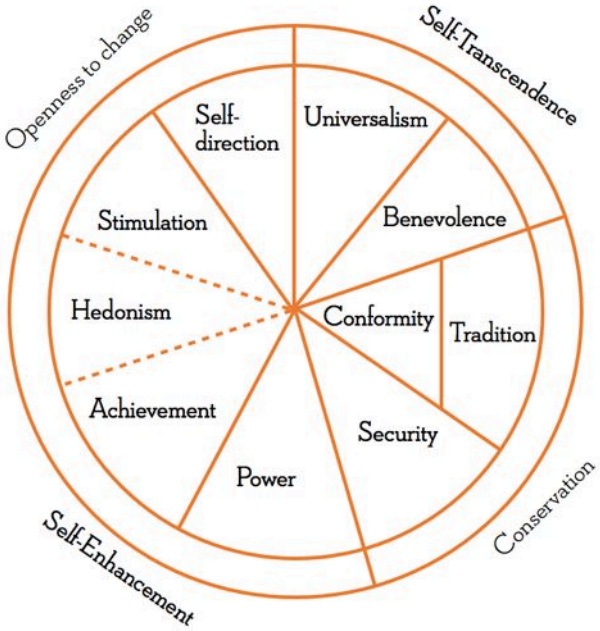


Fig. 4. Schwartz circular values system

It is possible to pursue different values that share the same motivational goal at the same time; however the motivational goals of the value types in opposing positions around the circle cannot easily be pursued at the same time. For example the pursuit of stimulation values may conflict with the pursuit of conformity values, whereas achievement and power values may easily be pursued at the same time. In the context of global development this is a central point, since campaigners will often try to engage and mobilize supporters by appealing to conflicting value types. If a campaign on the one hand targets people's positive universalism value by appealing to an individual's sense of social justice, but at the same time appealing to the individual's self-interested concerns for money, profit, or status (achievement/ power values) it generates a conflict, since people cannot pursue these value types concurrently. By activating one set of values we diminish the opposing set.

Hence, campaigners and practitioners cannot have it both ways at the same time. They must decide which set of values to focus on, and in so doing must decide whether short-term gains are worth the risk of longer-term losses. Because of the antagonistic relationship between opposing values, it is argued that the positive values that will deepen and sustain support for development are the self-transcendence values such as benevolence and universalism. (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:40-43) Schwartz defines both benevolence and universalism values as pro-social value types; however where benevolence only concern individuals close to oneself, universalism values such as equality and social justice concerns all people and nature. This makes concern for global justice and development a core component of universalism. Targeting universalism values taps right into the positive values that we normally would want to promote when engaging and mobilizing individuals to causes bigger than themselves. This is not to say that practitioners completely need to move away from extrinsic motivations and self-

enhancement values; however they need to be aware that their use will reinforce these values and diminish people's intrinsic motivations and pro-social actions.

Methodology

At the inception meetings for this work, it was agreed that the methodology would draw on the UK Finding Frames loosely, but remain based on a Danish-focused desk study with methodological flexibility and a commitment toward forward-thinking constructive recommendations developed through a collaborative process between the research team and the NGO Forum members. This is a different methodological process than the UK-Oxfam Finding Frames study, which began with an expert-group staged conversation of senior NGO staff with a cognitive psychologist observing. His observations were the basis for identifying the British frames. In the Danish case, frames were identified in a dialogue between the researchers and the NGO Forum participants on the basis of the empirical materials collected from the development communications that we will describe here below.

Since this is a pilot study envisaged to feed into a larger research program, the scope and aspirations are necessarily limited. Although NGO campaigns play a key role in the public perception of global poverty, the public is influenced by many other actors and communicative channels. The media play a key role in the public perception of poverty through their representation of the Global South in newspaper articles, TV and radio. Compared to NGO campaigns, commercial media have a much broader and larger reach, and provide the primary source of information about the developing world for much of the Danish public. While media representations of global poverty and the Global South are important areas of study, this lies beyond the scope of the current project. However, already existing literature on media framing in relation to global poverty by researchers such as Heerde and Hudson (2010) and others have been brought in at the literature review stage. Similarly reception studies of actual framing effects on readers, viewers, and listeners are beyond the scope of this research. The data included in this study about the Danish population and their views on global poverty come from Danida's annual survey reports. However, since it is an assumption of this research that frames and framing practiced by development NGOs *influence* public perception and attitudes, reception studies are a next step to be part of the second phase of this research. Social media is another communicative channel that we had to leave out of this initial study, although we are aware that they are used increasingly by the NGOs to inform and gain support for campaigns and initiatives. However, since posts on social media typically reach already existing supporters or individuals who have 'liked' the organizations pages or posts, they are not included in the analysis, since we only focus on the communications with a broad public reach. Nonetheless, social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr and other platforms have an increasingly large impact and will be included in the envisaged second phase of the research.

After a discussion in the Danish working group, it was decided that the language of this report would be English to allow the possibility of dialogue across partner organizations in developing countries. The importance of comparing the Danish case to the ongoing Frames work in the UK is also facilitated by the language choice. Most of the material was produced in Denmark, by Danish-based NGOs and targeting a Danish national audience; thus, it is written in Danish. When original text is in English, this is noted in the report. In the following discussion, we concentrate on information provision, lobbying and fundraising campaigns conducted by the participating NGOs in the time period 2010 to 2012. We focus solely on campaign material addressed to the broad public and not material addressed at existing members, individuals, or groups. While newsletters, member magazines, social media and other communication targeting specific individuals also provide valuable knowledge of how development issues are framed - we decided to focus on the data with the furthest reach and the biggest audience. The data material included in the analysis includes home- and webpages, press releases, video, flyers, posters, stickers, direct mail, publications, analysis and articles related to the campaigns. The primary question the empirical work in this study seeks to address is:

How do Danish NGOs frame global poverty and international development cooperation and which frames and values are dominating contemporary campaign discourse?

To answer this question in the scope of the current project, we engaged in a two-pronged approach to the collection of empirical data. First, we conducted a systematic review of the communications from the collaborating NGOs. Then, we supplemented this with a case study of one of the largest fundraising initiatives in international development, Danmarks Indsamling. The analysis that follows draws most heavily on the overall review from across the campaigns.

To collect the source material, we asked each of the five participating organizations to collect as much material as they could from each of the campaigns that they had implemented between January of 2010 and December 2012. This exercise did not provide an exhaustive list of data material, since some data had been lost or for various reasons were inaccessible; hence we had to disregard some campaigns, which did not provide the minimal data, which would be sufficient for analysis. Because of the different nature of the campaigns the set of data material for each of the campaigns varied widely. Some campaigns only consisted of few advertisements, internet banners and posters, whereas others consisted of numerous articles, analysis reports, and other publications. Once we had collected all the data material from the collaborating organizations, we printed, numbered and catalogued each piece of material. This amounted to 22 campaigns, 211 individual pieces of data material, and 224 photos from the five organizations. Because the data material consisted of a wide variety of communication output, and in order examine the data

across media types, we broke down all the material into eight different categories of communication that could capture all of the material:

1. Analysis (print and web) - 4
2. Articles (print and web) - 68
3. Press releases - 13
4. Direct mail - 4
5. Websites - 38
6. Advertisements (including posters, flyers, print and web) - 62
7. Video (web and TV) - 22
8. Photos - 224

The analysis category consisted of larger articles and publications; the article category consisted of articles written in connection with the campaign either for the campaign website, in newspapers or other media; press releases included press releases produced for the campaign; direct mail consisted of printed mail sent out to households; websites included the campaign website and any pages concerning the campaign on the NGO website, advertisements included any material were the purpose was to advertise the campaign; video included any videos produced for the campaign either online or for TV; photos included any photo or illustration produced for the campaign.

Out of the 22 campaigns four were not geographically specific but referenced political and economic links; three campaigns focused on several different continents; nine focused exclusively on Africa; two focused on South America; and five were geographically unspecified. The campaigns were diverse and varied in scope and spread. Some campaigns had been running for several years, whereas others were annual campaigns seeking donations and running only for a couple of weeks. The thematic areas covered by the campaigns include: child labor, speculation in food commodities, trade, environment, indigenous people, children's rights, flight of capital from developing countries, hunger, HIV, political violence, and oppression of political groups. Although the campaigns differed in their scope and target, common for all was that their main goal was to either raise funds, inform, lobby or a combination of the three.

We individually analyzed each of the campaigns asking the following four questions: First, what is the main problem or issue the campaign seeks to address? Second, what is, according to the NGO, the cause(s) of this problem? We examined causes across four categories: individual behavior, national environment, global or structural factors, and causes not mentioned. Third, we asked what are the solutions/actions promoted by the NGO to address the problem? Here we focused on

the actors responsible for solving the problem and examined responsibility across four categories: Western countries (such as Denmark, the US or other European countries), developing countries, businesses, or the campaign NGO (either alone or with partners). Fourth, we asked what type of agency is the campaign asking of the public? We examined agency across three categories: Is the campaign asking people to act and if so how? What modes of individual engagement is the campaign promoting? Is the campaign primarily promoting extrinsic or intrinsic values or a combination of both? In addition to the four areas above, we paid close attention to the visual representation of the campaigns as well as metaphors and choice of vocabulary used by the NGOs. In our visual analysis we examined if recipients were portrayed as passive or active, if recipients were primarily children or adults, women or men, and finally, if images and portrayals were primarily from the countryside or cities.

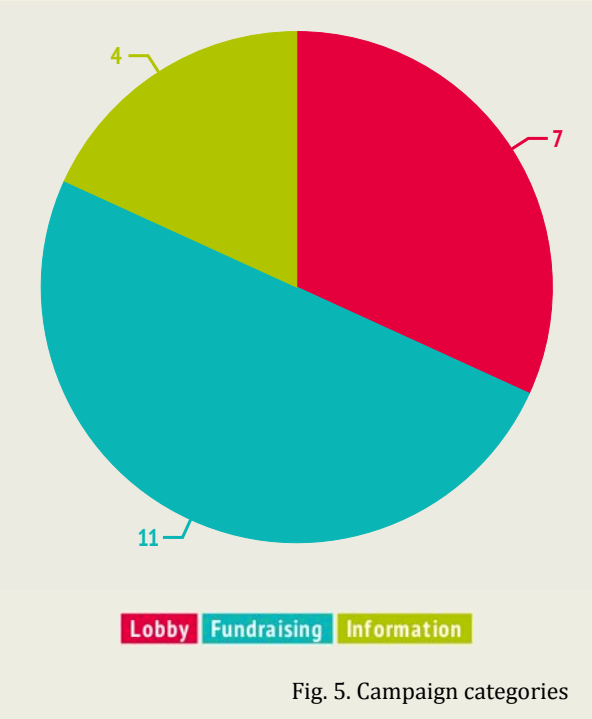


Fig. 5. Campaign categories

Individual analysis and open coding

The initial analysis of each of the campaigns was done in order to gain an overall understanding of the campaign material, but it also served as an open coding process from which the frames started to emerge. The frame packages gradually took shape during the process of simultaneously collecting, coding and analyzing the data material. According to Van Gorp (2010) the use of a constant comparative method offers the opportunity to support and document preliminary findings. Using this methodology we had two procedures of coding: open coding and selective coding. These two steps were not necessarily sequential, since some dominant frames emerged quite easily while others escaped notice during the first step of the analysis.

From the initial analysis, we were able to divide the campaigns into three overall categories; fundraising, lobbying, and information campaigns (see fig. 5). Although some of the campaigns fit into two or all three of the categories, we divided them according to the main aim and scope. Out of the twenty-two campaigns, seven had lobbying as the primary aim, eleven had fundraising as the primary aim, and four had information as the primary aim.

The overall aim of the campaign did not have any impact on the process of developing the frames; however due to the different nature and scope of these types of campaigns, we wanted to see if there were any differences in how they defined the challenges and problems, as well as the solutions they prescribed.

Causes and responsibility

Of the four overall causes we tested the campaigns against, 10 presented national environment alone as the primary problem; six presented national environment and global or structural factors; one presented individual behavior and national environment as the primary cause; and five did not mention any cause (see fig 6-9). Here the fundraising campaigns stood out by almost solely presenting national environment or no causes at all, as opposed to the information and lobby campaigns, which focused more on structural and global factors.

We were able to group responsibility into five categories: western countries, western countries and developing countries, the campaign NGO alone, the campaign NGO with local partners, the campaign NGO and businesses. Here we saw that eleven of the campaigns presented the campaign NGO alone as responsible for solving the problem; five presented Western countries and developing countries as responsible; three presented the campaign NGO with local partners; two presented Western countries, and one presented the campaign NGO and businesses. Again, it is the fundraising campaigns that differ from the other two. Whereas the information and lobbying campaigns presents different actors as responsible for solving the problem, out of the eleven fundraising campaigns we analyzed, only two included a partner. Fig. 10-13 shows responsibility listed for all the twenty-three campaigns according to the three overall aims of the campaigns.

As mentioned above while doing this initial analysis, we were also doing an open coding of the data material noting key words, phrases, visual representations and tentatively starting to arrange ideas and codes around ‘axes of meaning’ (Van Gorp: 2010).

Causes presented by the campaigns

Fig. 6. Causes according to all campaigns

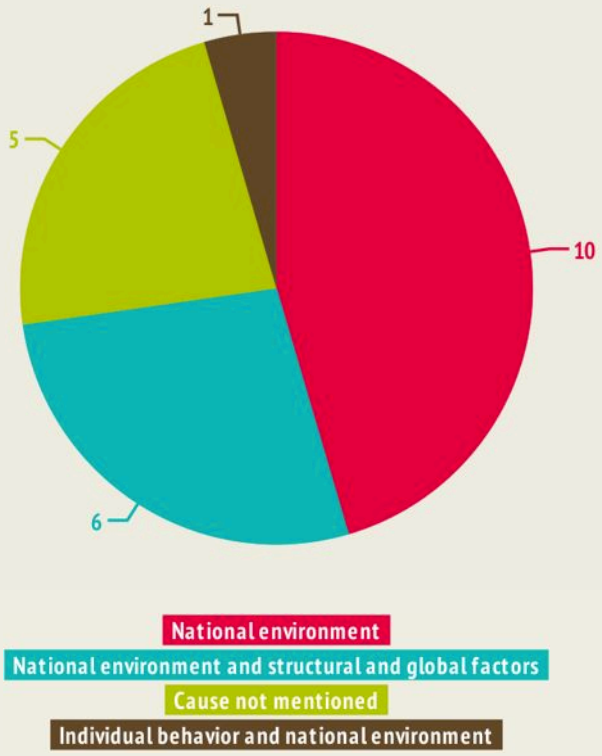
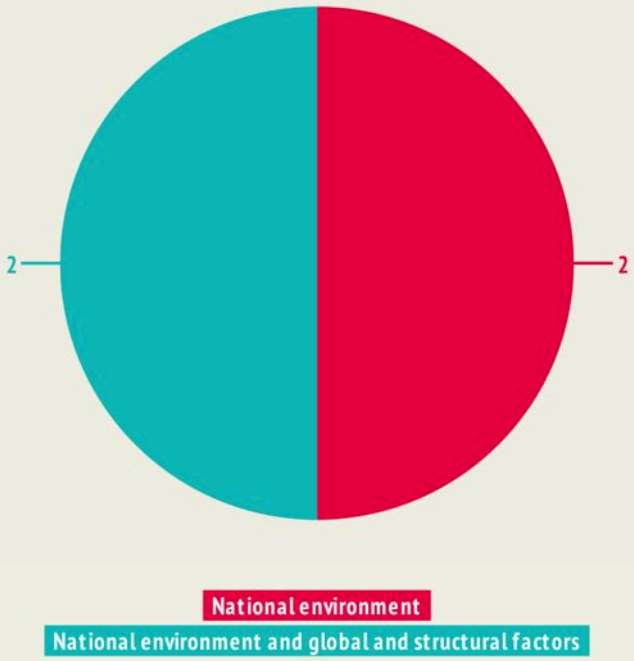


Fig. 7. Causes according to Information campaigns



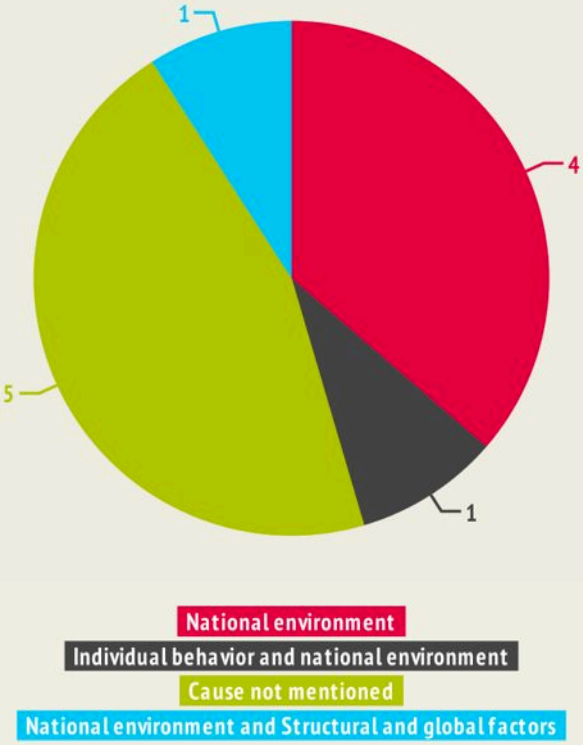


Fig. 8. Causes according to Fundraising campaigns

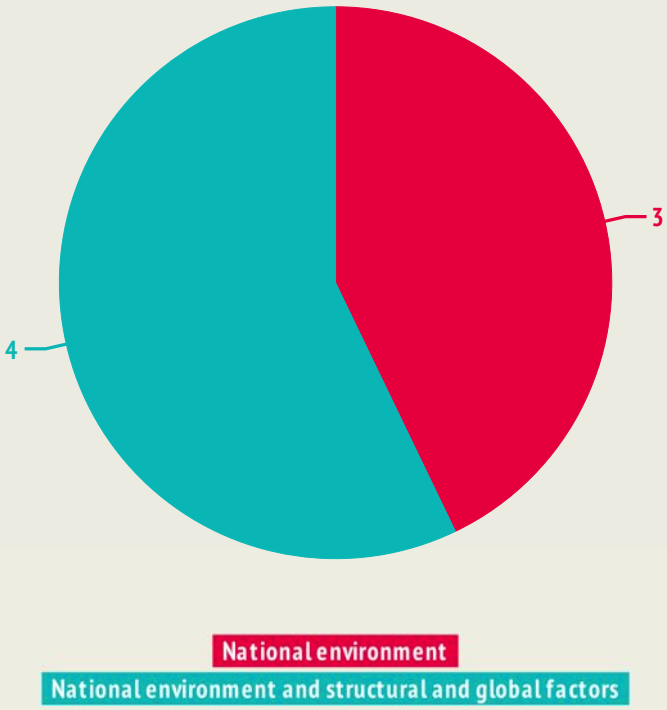


Fig. 9. Causes according to Lobbying campaigns

Responsibility presented by the campaigns:

Fig. 10. Responsibility according to all campaigns

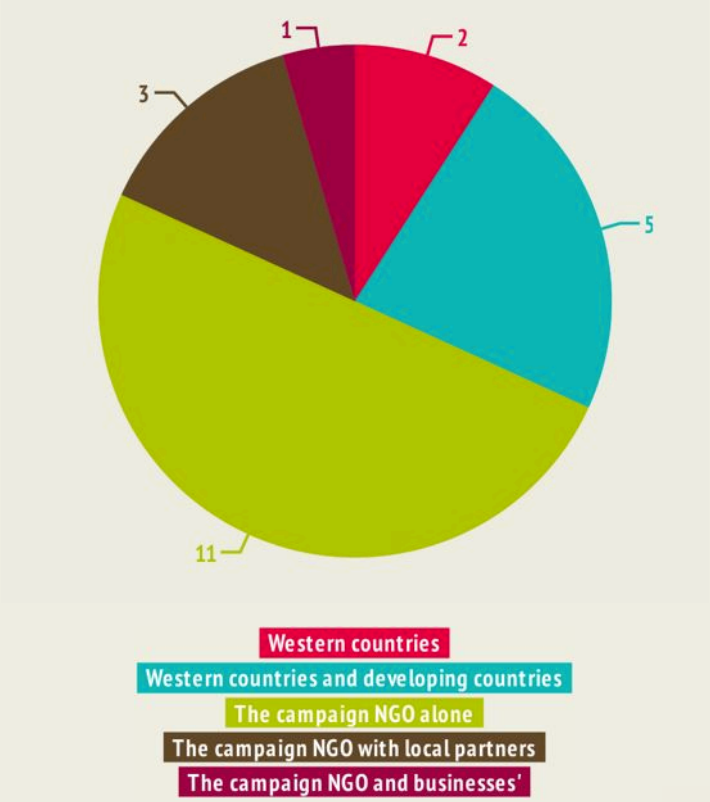


Fig. 11. Responsibility according to Information campaigns

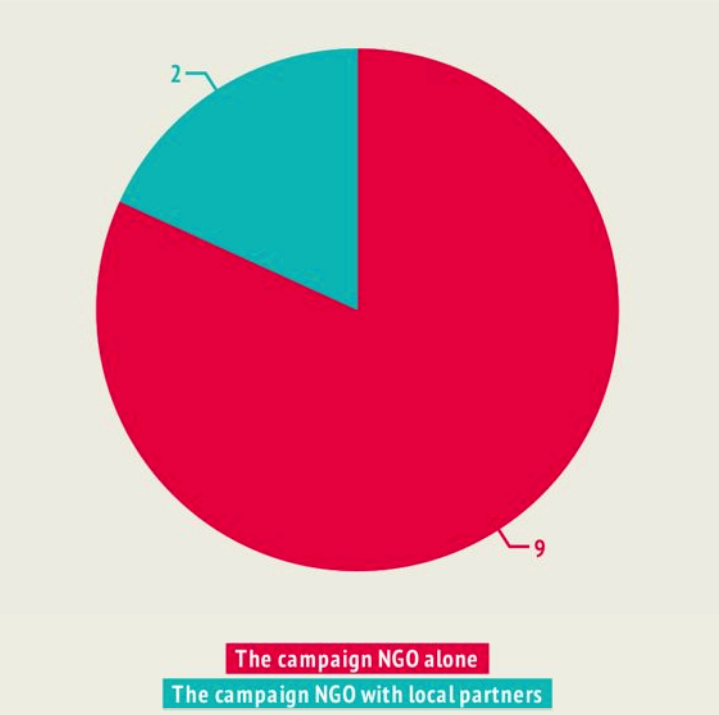


Fig. 12. Responsibility according to Fundraising campaigns

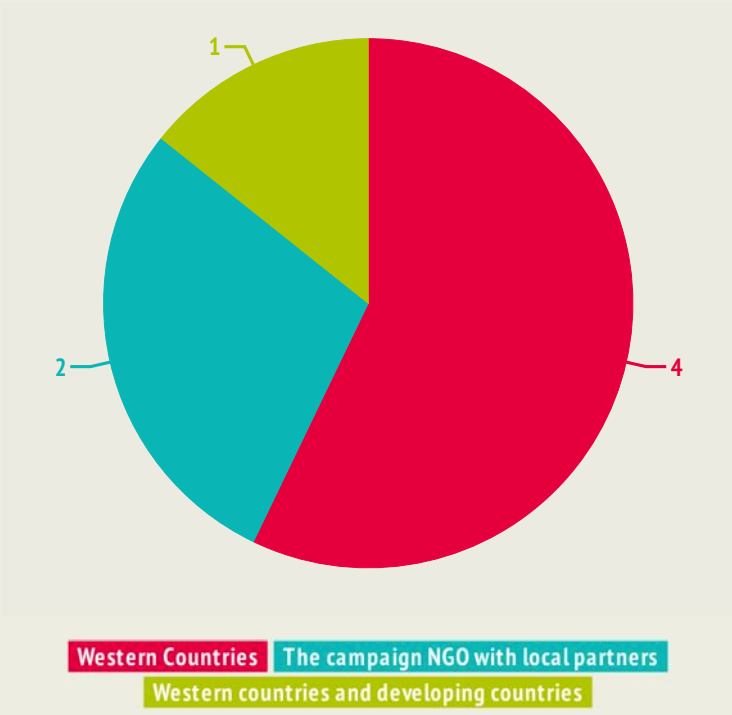


Fig. 13. Responsibility according to Lobbying campaigns

Selective coding

At this stage we were ready to start filling in the cells of the frame matrix. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 1993: 52). Hence, each of the frames we developed consists of eight components that together make up the frame: a frame description, causal reasoning, actors and roles, moral basis, emotional basis, possible solutions/actions, metaphors and choice of vocabulary, and visual devices.

From the selective coding we were able to identify six frames present in the twenty-three campaigns we analyzed. Although some of the campaigns used multiple frames they did not do so in equal proportions, hence we were able to identify a dominant frame in each of the campaigns. Once we had developed the tentative frames we then went back to the data material and deductively tested each campaign against the frame and its components.

The frames that emerged are a work in progress and further research needs to done to sufficiently validate each frame. One frame is only dominating in two campaigns, but with elements of it present in other campaigns, whereas other frames have been dominant in several campaigns.

Frames present in the analyzed campaigns:

- Fighting for Rights
- Solidarity
- Charity
- Economy as a Competitive Game
- Tragedy
- Renaissance

In the following discussion we present the six frames, their components, and the campaigns that employ them. This is not an exhaustive list of frames present in Danish NGO campaigning. If more organizations had participated and more campaigns been included it is likely that more frames would have emerged.

Fighting for Rights

Fighting for Rights

Frame description

Human rights violations lead to injustice and poverty.

Causal reasoning

In this frame, the causes are either global structures or national environments and concern the rights of children, indigenous people, oppressed individuals or groups. Because international conventions on human rights are not upheld in North and South, human rights are being violated in developing countries causing injustice, abuse, lack of opportunities and poverty.

Actors and roles

The main actors in this frame are the campaign NGO and recipient interest groups in the South, public institutions, and partner NGOs or grassroots organizations. The campaign NGO is working with local forces to ensure the rights of oppressed people by supporting local initiatives, assisting projects and putting pressure on rulers and elites to adhere to international conventions.

Moral basis

Fundamental human rights concern all people and groups and everyone deserves equal opportunities to pursue their dreams. As citizens in the North we have a moral and ethical obligation to ensure the rights of people and groups in the South. The motivational values involved from the Schwartz model (as described on p. 12 in this report) are *universalism* with the individual values of *social justice* and *equality*.

Emotional basis

Emotions connected to the frame include compassion (with oppressed people and groups), indignation and anger (over injustices), worry and concern (for the equality and rights of all people).

Possible solutions/actions

Solutions to challenges in this frame concern structural and system changes through rights-based approaches. NGOs and interest groups should lobby politicians to support and adhere to international conventions and policies - and inform the public about injustices and human rights violations. Furthermore solutions in this frame concern empowerment of local people and groups and support to local initiatives.

Metaphors and choice of vocabulary

Human rights, international conventions, universal rights, child rights, millennium development goals, injustice, stigmatization, empowerment, ownership.

Visual devices

Context specific photos of injustice such as child labor visualized by bloated-belly children lifting heavy burdens, but also depictions of Danish supporters (children and political leaders; empowered children/disempowered children in the same frame)

Campaigns

Stop Børnearbejde

The Stop Børnearbejde campaign is an information and lobbying campaign targeting child labor in developing countries, which targets consumers, schools, businesses and politicians. The campaign has a rights based approach with a clear message ('Stop Child Labor') and context specific images. Overall the campaign explains what the problem is, what the campaign is doing, and why they are doing it. The campaign presents several causes to the problem as well as concrete solutions - and presents easily understandable facts about the problem. In the printed material there are portraits of the target group – working children in developing countries – explaining why they are unable to go to school and giving them voice to share their thoughts and dreams. Other images mainly depict children and youth, and portray them as active and smiling, as well as middle-class school children in a Danish classroom, working on the campaign on their computer with the campaign poster of hard-working African children in their background. This inspires hope in the reader or viewer which is underscored by language used such as '*many people assume there is no solution […] but there is a solution'*. In terms of agency, the campaign makes it very clear and easy to understand what you can do in different roles as a company, consumer, politician, or procurement officer and presents several actions you can undertake as an individual.

HIV er ikke for Børn

The HIV er ikke for Børn campaign is an information campaign addressing the prevention and consequences of HIV/AIDS among children in Burundi. The campaign has a clear message and presents several causes of the problem, consequences, as well as solutions. On the campaign website there are links, which explain general and specific causes and the consequences for the affected families as well as the country as a whole. From the campaign material it is easy to get an understanding of the scope of the problem, the causes and consequences for the people affected. However, in terms of solutions the campaign only presents the campaign NGO's own project in the country. In terms of engagement Danish children are invited to make videos that are uploaded to the campaign website. Visually recipients are presented as children and as active and dynamic. The campaign is accompanied by three short films that can be viewed on the campaign website and Youtube. The films are fictional educational stories about HIV/AIDS stigma in Burundi. Two of the films are performed by Burundian children with a Danish narrator telling the story. The third is performed and narrated in English by a young teen-age Burundian explaining and debunking myths about HIV/AIDS. The movies

take point of departure in the lives of Burundian children and tell the stories from a child's perspective.

Demokrati til Tiden

Demokrati til Tiden is an information campaign celebrating democracy and human rights. We had limited data material from the campaign (one campaign poster, one press release, and one webpage); however with its focus on democracy and its rights-based approach it still fit with the Fighting for Rights frame. The campaign is centered around a musical at Christansborg performed by more than 500 children, which the Prime Minister and other celebrities attended. The message and focus of the campaign is that many of the rights we take for granted in Denmark do not exist in many other countries around the world. In the data material there are no causes presented, however it is likely that the musical itself would have presented some. The only visual material we have from the campaign is the campaign poster, which is a drawing of a man and a woman holding hands with four children in a line. The man is carrying a flag with the text: Demokrati til Tiden. Regarding the issue of agency, the campaign involved more than 500 children in the campaign.

Hele Verden I Skole

Hele verden I skole is an information campaign advocating children's right to education in developing countries. Although it mainly targets Danish school children, the broad public and politicians is a secondary target group; hence we decided to include it in the analysis. The campaign is built up around activities for school children such as school visits, events, and teaching material. The main campaign communication device is LæseRaketten, which is an educational book for school children with contributions by well-known Danish writers and illustrators. It is divided into four themes; children in Nicaragua, everyday life in Nicaragua, nature and climate, and society and democracy. In the book there are stories about children in developing countries, some of them told by the children themselves. The book gives a nuanced image of how life can be for children in developing countries and presents the children as engaged and passionate. In the book the Danish school children are encouraged to participate in a global action week. Here they can print out a template, which they can color and send to either the town hall, parliament or to the campaign organization, in order to advocate education. The children may be further engaged through thematic weeks, flea markets, and plays in order to collect money for the campaign if they choose to.

Solidarity

Solidarity

Frame description

Political oppression causes injustice and poverty and suppresses development.

Causal reasoning

Powerful elites and corrupt politicians repress populations, and this unfairness in participation, representation and institutions is the main obstacle to development and global justice.

Actors and roles

Governments, NGOs, political groups, and passionate activists are the main actors in this frame. North and South NGOs are working together in equal partnerships to pressure institutions and governments. The NGO functions as a watchdog that fights for the underdog.

Moral basis

The main moral basis in this frame is solidarity with oppressed people and groups. The oppressed people and groups are like brothers and sisters whom we have a moral obligation to help. The motivational values involved from the Schwartz are *benevolence* with the individual values of *helpful* and *responsible*, and *universalism* with the individual value of *social justice*

Emotional basis

In this frame the NGO is not just helping or assisting, but is in an equal partnership with the oppressed people and groups. This fosters strong emotional ties between activists in the NGO and the concerned groups, which is often reflected in emotional descriptions of accounts and people.

Possible solutions/actions

In this frame the solutions are mainly political and address structural injustices and human rights violations. Pressure needs to be put on governments in both North and South to ensure human rights are upheld, and free democracies can prosper.

Metaphors and choice of vocabulary

The rulers, fighting together, the system, grassroots, freedom movement, anger, liberation front, occupation force, ocean grabbing, neocolonial instrument, pillage and plunder.

Visual devices

The recipients are generally presented in context specific situations, giving talks at conferences, at rallies or demonstrations. They are presented as active and concerned.

Campaigns

Stop Politisk Vold mod Kvinder i Zimbabwe

Stop Politisk Vold mod Kvinder i Zimbabwe is a lobby and information campaign targeting political violence against women in Zimbabwe. The campaign has a clear message, explains the causes according to the campaign, and presents solutions to the problem. It is a long running campaign and there are numerous articles accompanying the campaign with current news and analysis of events for anyone wanting more in-depth knowledge about the issue. The language in the campaign is political and emotional; *'political active women are always on guard towards the police, military and youth militia. These are the ones that beat, torture, and rape on request of the government'.* The various actors and roles are clearly defined, and it is clear that there are strong ties between the campaign NGO and the local actors who are presented as equal partners and given voice in articles and videos. There are three videos accompanying the campaign with women given testimony of how they have been raped and tortured narrating their stories themselves. In the many photos accompanying the articles, recipients are portrayed in context specific situations often giving speeches or at rallies. Regarding the issue of agency the campaign gives the public the opportunity to donate funds for the campaign and/or give a virtual signature.

Jeg er Yasuni

The overall goal of the Jeg er Yasuni campaign is to influence Danish politicians to support the Yasuni initiative with funds from the Danish climate fund ('klima pulje'). It is a campaign with easily identifiable heroes and villains. On the one side we have the indigenous Indians who are losing their natural habitat. Fighting on their behalf is the Ecuadorian President who initiated the Yasuni initiative and the Danish NGO. Opposing them are the oil and lumber companies who are penetrating deeper and deeper into the forest destroying the Yasuni indians habitat and homes. The campaign has a clear message and cause as well as concrete solutions to the problem. Although the causes are due national environment, the actions and solutions are international in scope and effect.

Visually the campaign has hundreds of photos of Danish supporters on the campaign website. Here individuals are invited to upload a picture of themselves wearing a traditional Yasuni mask as a message to the Danish politicians that they should support the initiative. The image is uploaded to the website with the caption *'I have shown my face and supported the Yasuni forest on jegeryasuni.dk. You can do the same.'* These photos were then handed over to the Danish Climate Minister during an event. Apart from the many photos of Danes wearing a Yasuni mask, the only other image is of a Yasuni indian woman. She is depicted as a bare-breasted native, gazing

away from the camera looking sad and helpless. In terms of agency the campaign asked the public for their visual signature (the photo) in support of the initiative. This way the public had to perform a small action in support of the initiative instead of just giving their signature.

Støt Vestsaharas Befrielse

The Støt Vestsaharas Befrielse campaign is a lobbying and fundraising campaign supporting the liberation of Western Sahara from Morocco. The campaign has a clear message and presents causes as regional but affected by structural and global factors. The main actors are the campaign NGO, local NGOs and political groups. The solutions are political, and the campaign seeks to lobby politicians and parliamentarians to change legislation. In addition the campaign targets businesses that are doing illegal business in the territories. The visual representation of recipients is context and specific and shows activists, politicians and events. On the campaign website there are three videos with a local activist who is explaining about the conflict. It is a long running campaign (since at least 2010), and there are numerous articles accompanying the campaign with current news and analysis of events. Regarding the issue of agency the campaign offers the public to join a working group, to contact the NGO for more information, or to donate.

Frit Swaziland

The Frit Swaziland campaign is a campaign working for a free and democratic Swaziland by capacity building the local democracy movement. The main actors in the campaign are the campaign NGO and a range of local partners and to lesser extent western politicians. The campaign has a clear message and goal and presents causes as internal and due to national environment. It is easy to differentiate between the two factions in the campaign with the autocratic king, the elite, and Coca Cola on the one side, and the campaign NGO and local democracy movement on the other. The visual representation of partners and recipients is context specific and is showing activists, the Swaziland King, rallies and events. Local actors and partners are given voice in the campaign and are quoted and interviewed in articles and stories. In terms of agency and public involvement the campaign invites the public to join a working group, to boycott Coca Cola, to contact them for more information, and to donate.

Charity

Charity

Frame description

Poverty is endemic but donations can create a positive change

Causal reasoning

In this frame causes of poverty are seen as internal to developing countries or not mentioned at all. There is very little focus on what has caused recipients to be poor, uneducated, or in a crisis – instead emphasis is on what has already been done by the NGO and what can be done in the future.

Actors and roles

The main actor in this frame is the NGO. Other actors are individual donors and recipients in the South who are presented as powerful givers and grateful receivers. People in the wealthy North should help people in the poor South by donating money through the campaign NGO. The South recipients are presented as grateful receivers whose lives have been positively changed through the individual donations.

Moral basis

As wealthy westerners we have a moral obligation to help poor people in the South. To some extent extrinsic values are promoted through gifts and competitions but the main motivational values involved from the Schwartz model are *benevolence* with the individual values of *helpful* and *responsible*, and *universalism* with the individual value *social justice*.

Emotional basis

The main emotion promoted by this frame is 'hope'. Although people in the South are poor we can do something about it, which is illustrated by positive stories of change. By contributing a little as a donor you can actually make a significant change for a person/family in the South.

Possible solutions/actions

Donations or gifts from individual donors are the solution to the challenges presented in this frame. By supporting and empowering individuals or families a positive transformation can happen in otherwise destitute communities.

Metaphors and choice of vocabulary

Hope for the future, change, gifts, grateful, dreams, stories of change, a new start, belief in a better life.

Visual devices

Recipients are presented as happy and grateful for the gifts that they have received. Although many of them have previously lived in destitute poverty - due to the gifts that they have received, they are now prospering and hopeful for the future. Photos of the gifts and products the donors can donate.

Campaigns

Giv en Ged 2011 and 2012

The two Giv en Ged campaigns are fundraising campaigns offering the public the opportunity to donate anything from chickens, goats, and rabbits to footballs and leg prosthesis to people in need in the Global South. In newspaper and internet ads we are presented with smiling recipients displaying their gifts or gift certificates or just photographs of the gifts. The main message in the two campaigns is *'giv en gave, der virkelig er en gave'*, (give a gift that really is a gift) and it is stated that the gift will be given to children or adults 'in need'. In the majority of our data material, there is no mention of who will receive the gift, any geographical areas mentioned, or any causes presented. Instead people are just encouraged to give a gift, since there are people in need.

However, on the campaign website there are links to many personal stories from the recipients of the gifts. Common for the majority of these personal accounts is that they all start with the gift. We almost never hear how the recipients got to the situation of needing help. Instead we hear how much of an impact the gift has had on the life of the recipient and how they are prospering because of it. By and large the recipients are presented as unable to do anything about their desperate situation without the help of donations, and we are shown how happy and grateful they are to have received the gifts. The only agency promoted by the campaign is to donate.

Sogne Indsamling 2011 and 2012

Of the four Sogne Indsamling campaigns that we analyzed, the 2011 and 2012 both employed the charity frame (the other two are primarily in the tragedy frame). They are fundraising campaigns, and leading up to the annual parish collection, the campaigns serve two purposes. First to inform about the campaign and its purpose and second to recruit volunteers to go door to door and collect donations. Hence, most of the material served to communicate two messages. In terms of recruiting volunteers, the main message is that 'you can be a hero' and that 'you can fight hunger'. The campaign posters are showing happy Danes out collecting donations with confetti flying around them. In one of the posters there is also a direct moral plea explaining how well we are living in Denmark and how hard life is in the developing world. The main message with regards to the poverty challenge is identical in the two campaigns. According to the campaigns there are about one billion people that are starving around the world and 25.000 people who starve to death each day. The campaigns do not mention any geographical areas or specific groups of people in need. They also do not mention any causes of the problem or any additional solutions than donating.

Common for both campaigns is that recipients in the South are almost completely absent. In the four photos where recipients are present; one is of a woman with a bucket on her head, one is of a small child looking into the camera, one is of a small child sitting on the ground looking away from the camera, and one is of a mother with two children where one of the children is crying. Except from the first photo, recipients are not presented as active or as people that have any type of will or agency to do anything about their current situation. In terms of agency, the campaigns encourage the public to actively go out and collect money for the cause or alternatively to donate.

Køb et Hus i Burundi

The Køb et Hus I Burundi campaign is a fundraising campaign offering the public the opportunity to buy a house for a displaced family in Burundi. The campaign addresses a clearly defined problem, and contrary to many of the other campaigns employing the charity frame, it also presents and explains causes and issues related to the problem. In general, there is a lot of information about whom the recipients are and why they are in need of a house, including very specific information on the selection process. All in all the campaign is transparent about all the steps from when the donation is given until the house is built. Once the house has been built the donor will receive a photo of the family in front of the house.

The recipients are presented in their rural setting in context specific photos, for example at their houses or during a selection process and in a video where a recipient family is showing their house. Furthermore, there are three portraits of recipients where they are presented as grateful receivers e.g. a seventy year old woman who explains that *'for many years we lived like animals [...] I will never forget the person who has given me this house* or a forty year old woman *'The children and I will never forget the person that has given us this house. I have nothing to give except my heartfelt gratitude'.* Donation is the only action promoted.

Walk in Her Shoes

The Walk in Her Shoes campaign is a fundraising campaign where donors can participate in an event by counting their steps for a week. This is the way the campaign raises awareness about the many kilometers women in Niger have to walk each day to collect water. The campaign has a clear message and a clearly defined problem, and also presents the consequences for the affected women, however; it neglects to present or discuss any causes. We are told that women cannot provide an income for their families because they have to spend time each day collecting water, which negatively affects their children who are unable to go to school. Although the campaign focus is on Niger, there are several places where the campaign references

Africa instead e.g. *'in Africa thousands of women have to walk more than six kilometers each day to collect water and food'.* Since the campaign focus is Niger this blurs the message scope.

The campaign has one dominant image of an African woman holding a water bucket on her head and a child in her hand who is presented as the grateful receiver. It states *'with the donkey I can easily collect water, and now Tchima (her daughter) can go to school'.* In none of the photos, do viewers see the feet, or shoes of the recipients of the charity donation. The main agency promoted is to donate, however through actively taking part in the campaign and event.

Annual Christmas Campaign

The Christmas Campaign is an annual fundraising campaign where the public can donate either a donkey for girls in Niger, a kitchen garden for casteless women in Nepal, or ducks for farmers in Vietnam. The massage of the campaign is that we as wealthy westerners can help improve the lives of poor people in the Global South. The campaign is good at explaining how the gifts will be put to use by the recipients, and the problems they are facing. It also, unlike most other campaigns within this frame, mentions some causes to the problems they are addressing without going into detail though. The causes mentioned are due to national environment and local problems such as customary laws in Nepal, barren land in Niger, and typhoons in Vietnam. The solution to their problems is donations.

Visually the recipients are presented in traditional dresses either working in the fields or with their gifts. None of the recipients are given voice in the campaign.

Economy as a Competitive Game

Economy as a Competitive Game

Frame description

Poverty is a result of structural economic inequality and injustice.

Causal reasoning

Global poverty is man-made and caused by structural and systemic injustices. A set of financial rules has been introduced and is governed by an elite minority to game the economy. Tax havens, speculation, and transfer pricing extracts wealth from developing countries.

Actors and roles

The frame portrays Northern governments as unwilling to act responsibly. Western governments should be actively addressing the problem through legislation and regulation and the NGOs should pressure them to do so. The villains are the multinational companies, banks, and corrupt politicians who are acting irresponsibly and need regulation.

Moral basis

We can and should act to stop global inequality. We need political courage to stop the developing countries being exploited by multinationals and corrupt politicians. The motivational value involved from the Schwartz model is *universalism* with the individual values of *equality* and *social justice*.

Emotional basis

Emotions linked to this frame are indignation, outrage and frustration (at the injustices happening in developing countries).

Possible solutions/actions

The wealthy Northern countries should introduce financial taxes, ban speculation in food commodities, and demand transparency in international companies' audits. The developing countries should strengthen national tax authorities, tax the production of the extractive industries (and not just the surplus), and spend taxes on the poor. The multinationals should act responsibly.

Metaphors and choice of vocabulary

Shadow economies, exposure of injustice, elite minority, political courage, we demand justice.

Visual devices

Few visual devices. Portrayals of politicians discussing. Many graphs and illustrations accompanying articles and publications. Context specific photos such as politicians discussing and giving speeches, protests.

Campaigns

Kapitalflugten

Kapitalflugten is a lobby and information campaign targeting the flight of capital from developing countries and tax havens. The campaign addresses a very complex issue, but has a clear message and makes it easy for the public to understand the various issues and consequences. Among other things, the campaign offers the public the option to download a package of three PDFs, which explain tax havens and flight of capital, as well as what could be done to stop it. Although it might only be a small minority of the public that actually downloads the package, it is commendable that they share this type of information and make it accessible to the public. The causes presented by the campaign are structural and global and include many actors. However, even though it is an extremely complex problem, the campaign manages to present solutions that are understandable even for laypersons. Although the solutions to the problem are political, the campaign offers the public the opportunity to engage by helping to put pressure on Danish politicians and by signing a signature collection. Many of the signatures were then made into a poster, which was printed in a national newspaper with the headline *'Dear Tax Minister - we demand action now!'*

The main visual device to accompany the campaign is a well-crafted poster of an expensive speedboat in the ocean where the reflection is of an old battered fishing boat full of refugees. It shows that there is a hidden side to our wealth, which is underscored by the text on the poster *'An ungrateful and shocking story from a shady reality'.* The poster was made to promote the film Kapitalflugten, which is a short animated film with a narrator explaining the concepts and what could be done to stop it. The film manages to explain the problem, the causes, consequences and solutions in 2.34 minutes. The campaign has a sense of urgency exemplified by a ticking clock in the movie and by statements such as *'we demand action now!'*

Speculation in Food Commodities

Speculation in Food Commodities is a lobbying and information campaign addressing unregulated speculation in food commodities. The campaign has a clear message although it targets a complex problem. The causes presented are both due to national environment and global and structural factors. Likewise the solutions presented are a combination of local and regional initiatives as well as international political solutions. The main actors responsible for solving the problem, according to the campaign, are countries and governments in the west, businesses, as well as the EU. Although it is a complex problem the communication material produced for the campaign presents causes, consequences and solutions in an easily understandable way. It does not however, present any possible actions for the public to undertake or

promote any type of concrete action in response to the problem. Visually the campaign is dominated by images of white western politicians in suits and poor and destitute recipients in the South. The recipients are given voice in small portraits but are presented as victims and only used to confirm what is otherwise stated. They are presented as innocent victims of circumstances who are struggling to survive and fearful for the future *'I fear the future, and I am afraid that I will not have enough food for my children'.*

Tragedy

Tragedy

Frame description

Poverty is a tragedy with innocent victims.

Causal reasoning

In this frame causes are internal and due to national environment and often related to disasters, droughts, hunger, and wars. The poor and destitute people are unable to do anything about their situation and are suffering due to lack of food and water, no medical care, and lack of money. The poor are trapped in a cycle of poverty.

Actors and roles

The main actor in this frame is the campaign NGO who is responsible for alleviating the suffering and tragedy through donations obtained in the west. Recipients are portrayed as innocent and passive victims unable to change their own situation.

Moral basis

Since they are innocent victims it is our duty to help them. The motivational value involved from the Schwartz model is *universalism* with the individual values of *protection of the welfare of all people and nature*.

Emotional basis

Emotions linked to this frame are sadness and compassion. Sadness for the people that are suffering and an urge and moral obligation to help them.

Possible solutions/actions

The campaign NGO is responsible for solving the problem through emergency relief and providing basic needs such as food, money, and shelter. To do so they call upon the public to donate money to fund their operations.

Metaphors and choice of vocabulary

The world is starving, Africa is starving, generations lost, helpless, help him! Help the families, 100 kr. buys appeals.

Visual devices

Portrayals of sad and malnourished children and adults. Often depicted as passive looking away from the camera. Few photos of smiling children.

Campaigns

Afrikas Horn

Afrikas Horn is a fundraising campaign for the hunger catastrophe in the Horn of Africa in 2012. The campaign has a clearly defined problem, a clear message, and presents regional challenges and national environment as the cause of the problem. The only actor presented in the campaign is the campaign NGO, and the only solution and agency promoted is to donate to the NGO. Visually the campaign is dominated by disturbing images of sad malnourished children. The images are powerful and upsetting reflecting the desperate situation at the time. Some of the wording in the campaign goes beyond asking and is pleading or almost commanding. One poster shows a malnourished child looking away from the camera. With large letters across the image it says *help him!* Other messages are more subtle such as *'You can stop hunger'* and *'Help the families in the Horn of Africa'.* Although the campaign is focusing on a specific geographical location, the Horn of Africa, many of the posters and other communication material has the headline '*Africa is starving'* blurring the message about what the problem is and who the recipients are.

Sogne Indsamling 2010

The 2010 Sogne Indsamling campaign is an annual fundraising campaign addressing hunger in the developing world. The campaign leads up to the annual parish collection and serves two purposes. First to inform about the campaign and its purpose and second, to recruit volunteers to go door to door and collect donations. Although the campaign has a clear message - the world is starving - it neglects to give any clues as to what could be causes or consequences of the problem. The solutions and agency promoted is to take part in the parish collection or donate to the NGO. The main communicative channels used in the campaign are the campaign poster and two videos. The poster depicts an African child holding his head in his hands and looking directly into the camera. He looks distraught and almost pleading. The headline for the poster reads *'What are you doing while the world is starving'.* The two videos are showing two different Danes who are making excuses for why they do not have time to go out and collect donations. Suddenly the video cuts to a distraught African child and a narrator asks *'what are doing while the world is starving?'* Both the poster and the two videos play on the viewer's moral conscience.

Sogne Indsamling 2013

Like the 2010 Sogne Indsamling, the 2013 campaign is an annual fundraising campaign addressing hunger in the developing world. The main message of the

campaign is that '*No mother should see her child die',* and it presents facts and consequences about world hunger e.g. that 868 million people around the world are experiencing hunger and that a child dies of starvation every 12th minute. The main campaign poster depicts an African woman holding a child. The woman looks away from the camera and the child is crying.

The campaign does not present any causes of the problem except through a story about the mother and child (from the poster) which is printed in flyers, in two videos, and on the campaign website. Here we hear the story of mother Annet and her child Leya who had fled war and violence in DRC and escaped to a refugee camp in Uganda. The story is a success story of survival and the good work that the campaign NGO is performing. The entire campaign is built around the mother and child, and they are present in all the data material including print, web and video. On the campaign website there are two videos of a humanitarian worker from the campaign NGO telling about her first encounter with the mother and child. In the second video the same humanitarian worker explains how she returned to the refugee camp several months later and met the mother and child again. She explains how pleased she was to see that they were both healthy and happy and that the work they were doing really had an impact. The story serves to put a face on the misery and suffering and give it a positive spin. Although the entire campaign is built around the two the mother is at no point given any voice to tell the story herself. Like the 2010 campaign the solution and agency promoted is to take part in the parish collection or donate.

Renaissance

Renaissance

Frame description

The Global South is full of (business) opportunities

Causal reasoning

The causes of poverty are presented as internal to poor countries such as local production challenges, lacking knowledge/training, and poor quality of produce. This prevents Southern farmers from doing business with western countries, which causes poverty and lack of opportunities for citizens in the South. Moreover, with an ever-expanding world population, and an increasing need for food produce globally, there is a need to include producers, consumers and businesses into the world market.

Actors and roles

This frame portrays Southern farmers and businesses as resourceful and productive, but lacking the quality and professionalism needed to penetrate western markets. Western NGOs and businesses are presented as superior partners with the expertise and skill sets needed to improve production, trade and entrepreneurship.

Moral basis

We should assist in supporting growth in the Global South (equality), which will also indirectly benefit western suppliers and consumers. The motivational values involved from the Schwartz model are *benevolence* with the individual values of *helpful* and *responsible*, and *universalism* with the individual values of *equality* and *social justice*, and to a lesser extent *power* with the individual values of *wealth*.

Emotional basis

Although this frame appeals to individuals' sense of equality in terms of supporting economic growth in developing countries, there is also a unemotional motivation associated with this frame, where Africa is presented as an attractive partner for foreign businesses and investments.

Possible solutions/actions

Improving the production and quality of Southern products through trade, NGO/ business partnerships and foreign direct investments. Trade is seen as the biggest driving force for growth across the continents and an aspiring Southern middle class as the solution to many of the Global South's challenges.

Metaphors and choice of vocabulary

Words associated with this frame are generally positive and forward thinking; the new Africa, economic growth, middle class, a continent of opportunities.

Visual devices

Southern countries are presented as in growth showing urban scenes and production sites. Individuals are presented as working and active often wearing western clothes, and as middle class. The frame presents a nuanced image of the Global South showing both urban and rural scenes.

Campaigns

Savannah Storytellers

The Savannah Storytellers campaign distinguishes itself from the other campaigns by having a distinctly positive message, a focus on business and trade, and visual depictions of middle class people and urban environments. The campaign has a clear message and solution to poverty – development through trade - that is not present in any of the other campaigns. The causes presented are a combination of national environment and structural and global factors. The actors involved include the campaign NGO and businesses in North and South. The campaign presents and explains various facts and solutions in an easily understandable way, and there is a general sense of positivity and hope throughout the campaign. There are four videos that accompany the campaign. The videos have a positive message and present African countries as attractive partners for investments and business opportunities. They explain that seven out the world's ten fastest growing economies are African and that there is a need to include African businesses and farmers into the world economy. The recipients in the videos are presented as active and resourceful and unlike any of the other campaigns we see images of middle class people and bustling cities.

As part of the campaign the organization invites the Danish public to apply to become ambassadors for the project as Savannah Storytellers. If selected, the person travels to a selected African country and are then expected to give lectures and talks upon returning.

Madskolen i Bolivia

The Madskolen i Bolivia campaign is a fundraising campaign concerning a project aiming to revitalize Bolivian food culture. It is a social project started by celebrity chef Claus Meyer, which aspires to create a future for young and poor Bolivians who receive an education in gastronomy and entrepreneurship. In addition, the campaign and project also focuses on strengthening and developing Bolivian food culture through cooperation with local producers. The campaign has a positive message and Bolivia is presented as a country full of resources, but struggling with local challenges. Visually, recipients are presented as active and resourceful either working in the fields or in the restaurant in their chef clothes. In terms of agency the campaign offers several opportunities for engagement and involvement. The public can become *friends* of Madskolen by contributing 90 kr. each month. A friend of Madskolen is given a bracelet from Bolivia, recipes, and offers to participate in events. Furthermore, the public are offered the opportunity to be part of focus groups each month or to have Madskolen visit their work canteen.

Case Study - Danmarks Indsamling

The annual aid-telethon Danmarks Indsamling has a relatively rigid mandate for fundraising. As such, the overall aim of the communication output of the DI show, the run-up TV-documentary, TV-coverage (mainly in 'Aftenshowet') and radio-coverage (mainly in P3 and P4) places 'folkeoplysning' – by which we mean – knowledge about development aid and portrayals of what we could broadly call 'African lives' as a secondary objective. Any findings from Danmarks Indsamling must therefore be viewed in light of this overall objective. Furthermore, because the content of journalistic output connected to the media campaign is shared within Danmarks Radio and the Danmarks Indsamling organization, the output of the campaign is not directly connected with the communications strategies of a single individual NGO, but a result of a collaboration between NGOs, sponsors and the organization itself.

Nevertheless, Danmarks Indsamling remains the single largest annual Danish media campaign that focuses on African development issues. It is therefore an important frame of reference for the investigation at hand. For a number of the NGOs involved in Danmarks Indsamling, the airtime and exposure they get via the show is their only (or most substantial) nationwide media exposure throughout the year, wherefore we cannot separate Danmarks Indsamling entirely from our reading of the NGOs' communication output.

The research project 'From Denmark with Love':

The following findings are derived from an academic research project, funded by the Social Science Research Council (FSE). The project's overall aim is not linked to the 'Finding Frames' initiative, and the research methodology of this project differs on a number of points from the frames analysis -methodology. The research project is still in its data collection phase; the findings, which are presented here, are derived from preliminary research working papers, and do not reflect a fully developed analyses of the total output of the research project.

The research project deals with output from Danmarks Indsamling in 2012 and 2013 (TV, radio, news-media and social media). The methodological framework for the project is derived from narrative discourse analysis, which differs from the frames methodology in its theoretical foundations in literary analysis and its conceptualization of discourses (rather than frames). Also, the time frame between the components of the study is different, which may limit the scope of the data for analysis from Danmarks Indsamling (the overall NGO analysis covers material between January 2010 and December 2012).

The aim of the research project is to understand the wider cultural and political function of the narrative interconnection between discourses of 'Denmark in the world' and 'Africans in need of aid' in the communications output of Danmarks Indsamling.

Relevant frames:

When comparing the preliminary findings of the Danmarks Indsamling research with the findings of the Finding Frames report, two main discursive frames stand out as predominant; that is: 'Charity' and 'Tragedy', and these two are supported by references to the frames 'Fighting for Rights' and 'Solidarity'. The 'Renaissance' and 'Economy as a Competitive Game' –frames are rarely represented in the material from Danmarks Indsamling under study.

Overall Preliminary Findings:

The following discussion presents some preliminary findings when Danmarks Indsamling communications are examined from a 'Frames' perspective. First, *the causal reasoning* presented throughout the two years of Danmarks Indsamling under study places the causes of poverty and suffering in the developing countries and or local communities. Causes of poverty and suffering are depicted as either based in the general state of a country or in local injustices, such as civil war, local cultural traditions, longtime natural disasters (mainly droughts), gendered inequality or ethnic strife. In the 'intro' to specific case stories, a description of the general state of a country might be for example 'Malawi is one of the poorest countries in the world' a statement that will be followed by the particularities of the target group for the development project which is being depicted. The longer historical trajectories, which could place root causes of civil war or ethnic strife in colonial histories or place gendered inequalities in complicated interplays between pre-colonial social organization and colonial policies are largely ignored; just as the global economic inequalities that would place 'Malawi as one of the poorest countries in the world' are left out of these representations.

The main focus area of the 'From Denmark with Love' project is the roles ascribed to Africans and Danes respectively. The narrative analysis of this project is focused on understanding the narrative interconnection of 'we the Danes' with the 'Africans in need of aid' in a 'loving relationship' which is established via Danish development aid. In this narrative there is (even within the span of the two year period of this study) an increasing focus on the role of 'we Danes.' The overall frame of the telethon is a national narrative in which the agency of 'the Danes that have donated to Danmarks Indsamling' is reiterated throughout the show as the determining factor in narratives of suffering and transformation. An increasing focus is furthermore placed on the defining characteristics of the Danes: caring, generous, committed and creative. This focus is displayed in three ways:

1) Via short 'docu'-entries in the show itself, which depicts the ways in which

'ordinary people' have created their own small donation initiatives: Day-care workers who bake cupcakes to sell to parents; a local sports club which has created their own collection; school children who wash cars for donations or local businesses that sell Africa-themed items for donations. These overall characteristics are also ascribed to the corporate donors, whose donations are read out throughout the show and in interviews with 'core' corporate donors, who describe the reasons for their long-term commitment to Danmarks Indsamling.

2) Corporate donors and celebrities are the main protagonists in installments in the show and in the run-up documentary and general media coverage, where they are seen traveling to Africa to visit projects and people in need of assistance and/or projects and people who have benefitted from support by Danmarks Indsamling. Here the category of 'witness' is ascribed to the representative of a corporate donor or celebrity; the focus is on the feeling of obligation and connectedness, which their encounter with individual Africans in need of aid creates in them.

3) Authoritative pronouncements where a characteristic of 'global caring' is ascribed to the Danes are produced in the meta-narratives throughout the media campaign. These are articulated mainly by the hosts of the show, in installments featuring prominent figures, such as the prime minister, politicians or public figures or via celebrity activists. Such pronouncements are also made by celebrities who are either 'manning the phones' during the telethon or function as hosts/activists in the run-up media coverage.

Africans in need of aid are ascribed mainly the role of beneficiaries. The predominant focus is on individuals, who are suffering because they need some form of assistance. There is an overrepresentation of children and of women and adult males are either depicted as somehow connected to 'the problem', particularly when issues of gender inequality are the focus, or men are absent from the narratives or background figures. (The overrepresentation of children is expected in 2012 when the theme was specifically child-focused). There are however a few important exceptions to this overall tendency. For example, one of the prominently figured narratives both in 2012 and 2013 is the 'Ester story' in which in 2012 a young visibly sick girl is seen sitting by her rural traditional home together with her siblings and single parent father. In 2013, the father is shown telling the story of how his daughter Ester was helped by a project, which is funded by Danmarks Indsamling. The overall message however depicts the care of Africans as relying on the work of foreign aid projects and not on the role of the father, or siblings or other local community members. Africans are shown as predominantly rural poor, with limited agency, struggling and in need. However, in some installments, African aid workers are depicted as actors, however they tend to be limited to supporting roles in the projects of the NGOs of Danmarks Indsamling.

The *moral basis* of the messages disseminated via Danmarks Indsamling is that of obligation; a shared humanity based in an emotional imperative to act. Involved in this moral discourse is a depiction of the needy Africans as 'innocent' – this is most easily depicted via children. Two examples illustrate this discourse:

1) 2012: The host in the afternoon radio show on P3 fills airtime between segments with a motivating talk about 'why it is a universal moral good' to support the causes connected to the 2012 show, which is themed 'Børn på Flugt' (literally, 'Child Refugees' – however this often becomes conflated with just 'African Children'). The host pronounces a logic that goes like this: We can all get behind this cause. We might think that Africans are part of their own problems – but the children – They are innocent of all this – they are in need – and who can in good conscience refuse to help innocent children in need of aid?!

2) 2013: In the introduction to the pre-show documentary on DR1 a schoolteacher is shown describing why she supports Danmarks Indsamling: When I see Danmarks Indsamling, and when I see the installments of –particularly children – yes, particularly pictures of children touch me. When I see that they don't have a home or access to clean drinking water or food; then I think that it is my duty to do something – then I want to give what I can.

An articulation of victimhood (depicted via innocent suffering) is interconnected with the moral imperative to act. There is a complex interplay between the above depicted causal reasoning, where causes of suffering is placed at a local level, and the categorization of beneficiaries as 'worthy recipients.' Furthermore, there is an emotional imperative connected to the moral obligation to act. In the 2013 show, this discourse was most directly depicted by the X-Factor judge Thomas Blackmann in his introduction to the X-Factor song 'One World' (En verden): You have so much love – you say – but – who gets all this love? The chosen few? – or do you have enough love for the whole world? The lyrics of the song itself then goes on to depicting the roles and obligations of a community which encompasses the whole world, but, where 'we who have so much' are capable and obligated to 'carry those who cannot walk themselves'. The text depicts a global community in which we have an obligation to act when 'the community (fællesskabet) calls'. Here we see a link to the 'Fighting for Rights' frame as well.

The emotional basis for the moral imperative to act is that of need, and secondary to this, hope of a better future. Hope is particularly depicted via narratives of suffering and transformation made possible by Danmarks Indsamling. Here again the 'Ester story' is exemplary. Ester is shown in 2012 as sick and suffering, and in need of medical attention, which will be made possible by the project, in a 'Tragedy Frame.' In 2013, we return to Ester and her family. Ester is now shown in full vigor playing football with the other children. The 'Charity Frame' suggests that donations to Danmarks Indsamling made in 2012 have been responsible for the change viewers

can see in Ester's life. However, the 'Charity Frame' is complicated when another factor of Danmarks Indsamling is taken into consideration: the lottery. A considerable amount of time is spent both in radio and on TV on lotteries where viewers can win items such as a celebrity donation of clothing or a concert tickets, or a corporate donation of a pair of sunglasses or even a car. As such the airtime is divided between the moral imperative of alleviating innocent suffering, and the lottery spirit of wanting to win something while helping. In 2013 this relationship between donation and competition was further complicated by the division of Denmark into 4 regions, who were set to compete with each other on 'who is the most charitable.' This kind of competition does not fit easily into the main frames identified in the communications of Danish NGOs; however, it is notable how it shifts the focus of the communication from the partners or recipients in the South and onto the Danish audience.

In Danmarks Indsamling the solutions and actions are depicted as straight forward: Donations do make a difference. The theme of the 2013 show 'It works' underlined this feature. While the overall message of 'It works' was that development aid projects have long-term effects and that the Africans who receive development aid via Danmarks Indsamling are helped to affect positive changes in their own lives, the interpretation by journalists and celebrity activists is typically to place this technocratic message on effective aid within the moral discourse of suffering and transformation which can be affected by donations, or the 'Tragedy' or 'Charity' frame. From the Finding Frames UK Report, among others, we know that complex responses to international development and global justice have not been effective in engaging the British public; however, a deeper understanding is needed of the Danish public before conclusions can be drawn on the impact of using one frame over another.

Conclusions and ways forward

On 30 May 2013, a collaborative meeting was held between the three researchers and representatives from all of the participating NGOs to discuss the draft report and the ways forward. On the basis of the active participation of NGO and researcher partners the following conclusions and ways forward were produced.

The analysis of NGO campaigns from 2010 to 2012 in this pilot study found six frames that dominate the contemporary landscape: fighting for rights; solidarity; charity; economy as a competitive game; tragedy; and renaissance. All campaigns analyzed fit into one of these, as its primary frame, and some included more than one frame as described in the previous discussion. There was no single frame that dominated the communications under analysis. The six frames identified are quite evenly distributed between campaigns. However, when considering which frames are most appropriate for supporting positive change in Danish public engagement in international development and global justice, NGOs may wish to shift their focus from one frame to another, depending on the intended purpose of the communication within the campaign goal. In campaigns employing the charity and tragedy frame, the main focus is on the Danish donor or consumer, and the messages convey little information about the sufferer. The agents of change between Denmark and the context of the campaign are usually kept separate, while other frames such as solidarity and renaissance tend to emphasize the connections and interlinked dynamics of change.

In many of the campaign communications the only public engagement action asked for is to donate. This may be explained by the purpose of some campaigns which is to raise funds; however, some campaigns link fundraising with other participation requests as well. Other possible 'asks' of the campaigns could include changing behavior, shifting consumption decisions, taking political action or protest, reaching out to others, contributing special skills or experience. When these might be appropriate or not as part of framing campaigns is a choice to be made by the NGOs, and we can not assume that more participation is always more effective for meeting campaign goals. More research is needed to understand the relationship between campaign engagement of the Danish public and different forms of support (including, but not limited to, donations) for international development and global justice work.

The creation story about global poverty is different when campaigns are framed in different ways. Some but not all of the communications refer implicitly or explicitly to the cause of the problem they are addressing. Mixed media is sometimes used,

where for example, a short message in a campaign communication is linked to a longer explanation in text or video on the NGO website. Concerns were raised amongst NGO collaborators that the public trust is often lessened by too much complexity and potentially confusing information. To what extent this holds true in the Danish case is an area worthy of future audience studies of specific campaign interventions. Relying on a dominant frame is one way of sorting through perceptions of complexity, so the choices should be deliberate and thoughtful for each campaign.

Framing involves giving implicit and explicit voice in naming and claiming the problems and solutions to international development and global justice. In the material analyzed, the voice is often held by the powerful members in the donor society (those who are typically white, well-educated, Danish leaders) and when 'Other' voices are used, they are often supplementary, passive and uni-dimensional. People from the global South are often portrayed only as beneficiaries and not as agents, although some frames are more amenable to using a reciprocal portrayal of citizens from North and South. The internet accessibility is one way to engage recipients in how they understand and interpret the use of their voices and images, and while the obvious barriers of language and logistics must be considered, greater co-production of the frames of campaigns may help shift framing toward better representation and voice.

How do we shift the frames of Danish NGO campaigns to work for better international development and global justice?

The Danish Finding Frames pilot study has found that the Danish social and political context is sufficiently different from that in the UK as to discourage a direct adoption of the recommendations from the UK Finding Frames study. In the UK, 'Lessons Learnt' refer to the need to shift from the 'current negative frame' to an 'alternative (positive) frame': for example, moving from 'aid' to 'mutual support or partnership.' In the Danish case, a clear negative/positive dichotomy is found to be less useful in understanding the framing of the campaigns. Instead, the NGOs and researchers agreed that a collaborative process of ongoing debate over the framing of messages needs to take place in Denmark. This debate must take into account the context of changes in funding of international development and global justice work in Denmark which has led to growing competition between Danish NGOs and an increasingly necessary emphasis on raising funds from individuals and corporate sources. Thus, the intended purposes of the campaigns, how they fit together with other campaigns by the same NGO and within the national landscape must also be taken into account when re-framing debates are held.

The ways forward for finding better Danish frames involve collaborative debate:

(1) Network discussions with the large players in Danish development and global justice, including Danida and the biggest NGOs
(2) Internal discussions within each NGO since framing is very goal-specific to the NGO and its campaign needs
(3) Active dialogue with partner networks in the South and co-production of frames

Critical Research is needed on the following issues in order to frame better Danish communications for international development and global justice:

(1) Understand contemporary communications from all important actors, including Danida

It is essential to expand the scope of the communications to include all the Danish development communication, campaigns and fundraising which calls for a study with all the major players in Denmark (including Danida's U-landskalenderen on DR1, Operation Dagsværk, Danmarks Indsamlingen, Hele Verden i Skole, and Verdens Bedste Nyheder, and also high-level fundraising organizations like MSF, UNICEF, Danish Red Cross, and BørneFonden).

(2) Understand the Danish Public engagement beyond NGO or 'official development' communications

How does the mainstream media present the same issues and which frames are used? Does new media (blogging, twitter, facebook, etc.) work in the same ways as broadcasting or print journalism?

(3) Understand how Frames are affected by new actors and alliances engaging in development issues

How do brand aid campaigns (cause-related marketing campaigns for development) or other CSR campaigns with messages such as "køb denne kildevand og giv en kvinde i Afrika vand…" affect other framing of international development and global justice for the Danish public?

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