

**Exploring the knowledge dimensions of
Nongovernmental organisation campaigning on
global poverty and inequality: A Network Society
perspective**

Son Gyoh

Institute of Education, University College London
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Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my original work, and except for the citations duly acknowledged, no part of it has been previously included in a thesis or dissertation submitted to any other institution for the award of a degree or other qualifications.

Signed:.....

Son Gyoh

Student ID: GYO09068243

Abstract

Beyond taking specific action in challenging global poverty and inequality, Nongovernmental Organisation (NGO) campaigning also aims to increase public awareness and understanding about the campaign issues. However, surveys on public concern about global poverty in the United Kingdom (UK) suggest falling levels of public understanding in spite of the campaigns undertaken by NGOs, and the rise in public donations. This thesis investigates how NGOs identify, frame and communicate the information they disseminate to their campaigners as knowledge about global poverty and inequality. It is concerned with how NGO campaigning can move from providing basic awareness, to enhancing the UK's public understanding about the causes of global poverty.

The practices of two categories of NGOs were investigated in examining the modes of communication they adopt for campaigning, and opportunities for their campaigners to be involved in framing and disseminating knowledge on the campaign issue. It analysed NGO representations of global poverty as part of framing knowledge that shape public perception of global poverty, and explored how NGOs can engage with campaigners as end users of knowledge. The thesis draws on recent discussions on the distinctive modes of communication NGOs use in their advocacy, as well as Castells' concept of Network Society in analysing NGO campaigning in an era where knowledge production is diffused. I adopted organisational knowledge theory, which proposes "knowledge" as pertinent and actionable information. The collective case study approach was used to investigate the practices of two student-led organisations and three International NGOs (INGOs) that engage in campaigning to mobilise public action through raising awareness about global poverty and inequality.

I found that the practices and communication strategies of student-led organisations mediated the involvement of their campaigners in framing the campaign issues, and to become multipliers of knowledge about the campaign issue. The INGOs on the other hand targeted policy makers in their communication. I argued that an approach to campaigning that involved campaigners in identifying and framing the campaign issue provide opportunities to multiply their narratives. I proposed that NGOs could mediate the involvement of their campaigners to become catalysts for multiplying public understanding about global poverty.

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Acronyms

CoP	Communities of Practice
BERA	British educational research association
BOND	British Overseas NGOs for Development
DE	Development Education
DFID	Department for International Development
GE	Global Education
GL	Global Learning
IBT	Independent Broadcasting Trust
ICT	Information and communication technology
IFMSA	International federation of medical students association
INGO	International nongovernmental organisations
IOE	Institute of Education
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
SECI (model)	Socialisation, Externalisation, Combination, Internalisation

Glossary of terms

Global Education: used here to refer to three main fields/forms of organised Global Development knowledge namely: Development Education (DE), Global Citizenship Education (GCE) and Global Learning (GL).

Knowers: used to refer to individuals that come with prior knowledge and perceptions influenced by their cultural location. Such background knowledge could be from experience or schooling.

'Virtual solidarity': refers to digital forms of social practices/association based on common frames of reference and offline familiarity and shared vision.

'Knowledge construction': used to refer to the process of framing, interpreting and communicating knowledge. 'Knowledge' here refers to our understanding of the social world within the context of a specific problem

'Knowledge-based advocacy' is used in the study as campaign and advocacy that is based on factual knowledge of practical performances or relating to lived experience.

Plural knowledge: as knowledge that process is diffused allowing for multiple perspectives, sources and forms of knowledge that leads to the questioning of assumptions

Global poverty/inequality refers to manifestations of the interplay of international structures such as trade and debt that constrain opportunities and sustain low incomes in particular regions.

Global South: as used in development parlance to refer to countries and regions that are less economically and technologically advanced. **Global North** is the opposite category of countries with the wealth and technology

Framing knowledge refers to the presentation and representation of knowledge in ways that privilege a particular interpretation or reproduce a certain pattern of analysing social phenomena.

International nongovernmental organisation (INGO) used to distinguish between international humanitarian organisations, and organisations that operate locally such as student-led campaign groups.

Nongovernmental organisation (NGO) refers to both local and international organisations.

Campaign audience refers to people that are more likely to 'take online action' or attend rallies and the target of NGO campaign action. With INGOs, they are also regarded as 'campaigners'.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 NGO campaigning on global poverty

Nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) that advocate against global poverty and inequality often use campaigning as a communication strategy to raise public awareness about global poverty, as well as solicit public donations for their humanitarian activities. The effort to accommodate these distinct areas of interest has often resulted in mixed messages with regard to the representations of global poverty and inequality in NGO campaigning. While the negative influence of the charity narratives NGOs use in their representations of global poverty has been analysed in a number of studies (see for example, COI, 2011; Darnton, 2009; TNS, 2009; Dogra, 2012), little research is available on NGO communication with their campaigners. This thesis investigates the modes of communication NGOs adopt in the interaction with their campaigners, and the potential for campaigners to act as catalysts that can multiply public understanding about global poverty.

Within the discourse of Development Education (DE), campaigning is often regarded as an activity with predetermined goals, that is indoctrinating, and with a focus on action that offer the public audience little opportunity to reflect on held perceptions (Brown, 2013; Pashby, 2009). However, it is also acknowledged that campaigning has been used to introduce narratives that influence public attitude, as well as achieve specific institutional changes such as in the international campaign to ban Landmines, and in the Jubilee 2000 debt campaigns (Leipold,2002; Chapman & Fisher, 2000). Although a number of authors have stated the need for NGOs to reframe the way global poverty and inequality is represented in communicating their campaign messages (see for example, Hilary, 2013; Sireau, 2009; McCloskey, 2011), not much attention has been given to how the desired narrative can be multiplied. This thesis examined the practices of two categories of NGOs in terms of how the information they use in mobilising their campaigners is framed and communicated, and the implications for public engagement.

Campaigning shares common objectives with fields of Global Education (GE) such as Development Education (DE) and Global Citizenship Education (GCE), to increase public awareness, influence attitudes and mobilise the public to take action in challenging global poverty. However, unlike campaigning, the fields of GE have their foundation in liberal education and therefore, present problems of how their objective to influence public perception avoid accusations of indoctrination (Brown, 2013; Standish, 2012; Elliot, et al.,2010). While it is unclear how the programmes and methodologies

adopted in these educational fields are strengthening action against global poverty, it is even more difficult to discern the form of action they propose (Ni Chasaide, 2009), and the ways in which individuals use the social justice competencies propagated in DE, to challenge the root causes of global inequality.

The involvement of NGOs in development advocacy and international humanitarian intervention place them as important actors in the production and dissemination of knowledge about global poverty and inequality (Minnix, 2007). Considering the role of NGO campaigners as actors that receive, share, propagate and act on information that is framed and presented from a particular perspective (Leipold, 2002), campaigners are conceptualised in this thesis as potential catalysts that can multiply knowledge on global poverty. The important distinction made in the IF campaign evaluation report between *raising public awareness* and *increasing public understanding* (Tibbett & Stalker, 2013) provides the rationale for examining approaches to campaigning that can contribute to increasing public knowledge about global poverty beyond awareness of the issue. This research is therefore concerned with how NGO campaigning can contribute to increasing public understanding on global poverty and inequality through the framing and dissemination of knowledge about the campaign issue.

Using a generic definition of the term ‘campaign’ to mean “a planned and concerted attempt to accomplish an objective by mobilising a variety of tactics” (Cox, 2011:65), this thesis takes a step back to examine the ‘public engagement’ and ‘public understanding’ aspects of NGO campaigning.

1.2 The research problem

Following the unprecedented surge in revenues from public donations in the aftermath of the 1984-85 Ethiopian famine, NGOs have adopted approaches to campaigning that integrate their humanitarian public appeal activities with their advocacy on global poverty and inequality (Dogra, 2012). The research problem is situated in the acknowledgement by studies on public perception about global poverty that suggest, the United Kingdom (UK) public “remains largely detached from, and ill-informed about global poverty, in spite of the campaigning undertaken by NGOs since Jubilee 2000” (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:15; Hilary, 2013; McDonnell et al 2003). This argument is further articulated in the Finding Frames report, an influential publication by BOND¹, which made a link between “public engagement, and the conversations that happen in the public sphere” (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:14; TNS, 2009). The report, an outcome of a survey initiated by Oxfam highlighted the importance of the way campaign messages

¹ BOND is an umbrella organisation of UK NGOs working in international development. www.bond.org.uk

are framed for promoting public engagement and understanding about global poverty. It concluded that NGO communications in major campaigns such as Make Poverty History (MPH) had succeeded in mobilising unprecedented numbers of people behind its demands in challenging global poverty, but had marginal influence on the UK public's understanding of the issues (Hilary, 2013).

The research problem posed in this thesis therefore contribute to addressing gaps in the knowledge about how campaigning, as an activity that is undertaken by NGOs to create public awareness and mobilise action, can increase public engagement with, and understanding about global poverty. Considering that NGOs use campaigning to promote public awareness, and action on global poverty, this thesis is concerned with not only how the campaign issue is framed, but also how such frames can be multiplied. In addition to examining how NGOs identify the informational content of their campaigning about global poverty, this thesis investigate opportunities for the involvement of their campaigners in extending the narrative communicated to the wider public. It is therefore explores how NGO practices can support their campaigners to become catalysts for multiplying knowledge about global poverty and inequality.

This research is problematised within the digital information and communication technology (ICT) era, where NGO campaigning is predominantly undertaken online, and in which interaction with the organisation, and between campaigners occurs predominantly on the Internet. This epoch also referred to as the Network Society, presents challenges and new possibilities for NGOs and their campaigners to generate shared values and activate common frames in the period where face-to-face interaction has diminished. The online mode of NGO campaigning has also introduced new interpretations whereby accomplishing a campaign objective can also mean achieving a target number of online petitions to policy makers, even where the desired change has not been accomplished. The Finding Frames report provides a baseline for some of the key assumptions made in the thesis about ways in which the UK public engage with global poverty, and the importance of shared values in framing the narratives NGOs use in their campaigning on global poverty. It also relates to suggestions that while NGO coalition campaigns such as MPH are able to communicate the need for change to thousands that attend their rallies, they fail in sustaining public engagement beyond the euphoria about the event (McCloskey, 2011).

The literature on the distinctive modes of advocacy NGOs use for achieving their objective was also influential in analysing the implications of the communication strategies they adopt for their campaigning. Lang's (2013) recent work on NGO communication in the public sphere was particularly useful for understanding the

dynamics of 'structure' and 'target audience' for the communication strategies NGOs adopt for their advocacy as civil society organisations. The research questions were designed to understand the conditions under which NGO campaigners can contribute to activating public debate on global poverty, and to consider how NGOs can mediate the involvement of their campaigners as autonomous knowers. The 'autonomous knower' is used in the sense referred to in adult learning, where 'the learner' comes with a prior perspective, and what it is they want to learn (Foley, 1999; Hall, 2006).

The qualitative approach to collective case study research was used to examine the patterns, trends and practices of two categories of NGOs that engage in campaigning on global poverty. The first category comprised of three INGOs, Oxfam, CAFOD, and Trócaire that primarily undertakes not only humanitarian relief, but also engages in development advocacy. The second category comprised two student-led campaign organisations, People and Planet, and Medsin whose core activity centres around campaigning on global development and inequality. The two categories of NGOs were constructed as bounded cases based on their size, structure and resource base as well as their campaign practices.

The acknowledgement that more "radical youth-led organisations are able to introduce new narratives that initiate public debate" (Cox, 2011:50; Jones, 2010; Leipold, 2002) was an important consideration for including student-led advocacy organisation in the research sample. The inclusion of student-led organisations offered a way of understanding NGO campaigning as an activity that can activate public deliberation necessary for extending frames that can increase public understanding of a defined campaign issue. Such an approach also minimise accusations of indoctrination that is associated with educational approaches aimed at transforming the perspective and attitude of learners (Standish, 2012).

In the next two chapters, I offer a more detailed description of my understanding of knowledge. However, the constructivist approach I adopt in this research recognises multiple forms and arenas of knowledge, and offers a framework for exploring how NGO campaigners can be involved in constructing knowledge about global poverty. The glossary of terms in the introductory sections provides the context in which I apply certain terms in this thesis.

1.3 Aim and objective of research

Although NGOs use campaigning to raise public awareness on issues they define as patently unjust, its contribution as a platform for increasing public engagement and understanding about global poverty and inequality remains an uncertain and contested

issue (Brown, 2013; Pashby, 2009; Darnton & Kirk, 2011). The aim of this thesis is to understand the practices and processes NGOs adopt for their campaigning about global poverty, and how they can enable their campaigners to become multipliers for public understanding. The three objectives of the study are: firstly, to examine how NGOs identify, frame and communicate the knowledge they use in their campaigning on global poverty, and secondly, to explore the opportunities whereby NGO campaigners can become catalysts for multiplying knowledge about global poverty.

The third objective is to examine how the communication practices of student-led organisations mediate the involvement of campaigners as stakeholders in constructing their knowledge and the role of their networks in multiplying frames. The overall goal of the thesis is to understand how NGOs engage with their campaigners as end user of knowledge in accomplishing the objective in campaigning to increase public engagement.

I formulated three research questions as part of the methodological tools used in addressing the research objectives. The first and main research question provides the hooks from which to explore the two subsidiary questions that follow:

1. What opportunities exist for NGO campaigners to contribute in identifying knowledge for their campaign against global poverty in terms of how the issues are identified, who is involved in framing the information, and how it is communicated?
2. How do NGOs construct the knowledge they use for their campaigning in order to promote public awareness and mobilise action against global poverty? And, B: How can campaigning by NGOs provide a platform for enhancing public understanding?
3. How can the practices of student-led campaign organisations contribute to understanding NGO campaigning as initiating public engagement with global poverty?

All three questions are explained in more detail in the methodology chapter. The investigation methods included face-to-face interviews, a review of online documents, and questionnaires as well as visual observation of the nature of interaction, and the density of communication on social media. It is important to state that the “B” part of the second question is exploratory and draws on the literature and conceptual framework in its concluding propositions.

1.4 Motivation for undertaking this research

The motivation to investigate this particular problem comes from my experience as a practitioner involved in the design and facilitation of interactive DE sessions for young adults at undergraduate students' level in Ireland. These sessions are organised by NGOs with the aim of stimulating debate and promoting the engagement of young adults on global development issues. They take the form of presentations on basic concepts and values relating to global development and poverty issues. The topics range from international trade, social justice, and climate change to debates around globalisation. The objective of the informal course is to improve young peoples' understanding of global poverty issues, build support for NGOs campaign activities as well as to attract volunteers and public interest in their projects overseas.

After three years as a facilitator on the course, I became aware that while many participants were not familiar with DE, those with some experience in the fields of Global Education (GE) or public campaigns on global inequality came as 'knowers' possessed of a critical mind. Many participants had a rather superficial understanding of such concepts as 'global interdependence' and 'fair trade' and would, for example, see fair trade from a charity aid or 'moral good' perspective. Common questions posed by participants were concerned with the persistent calls for increased international aid, and whether the calls for more could make a difference. For me, these questions raised issues of defining the kind of knowledge young people required in order to engage with global issues, and the role NGO public awareness campaigning could play. Furthermore, I was interested in the processes by which NGO campaign issues were identified, how the issues are framed and presented in messages, as well as the ways autonomous knowers negotiate meanings that mitigate accusations of indoctrination associated with learning in DE.

Existing literature also indicates that young adults constitute an important element of the network of NGO campaign audiences that are interested in knowing more about development and global poverty (Crompton, 2010; Jones, 2010; InterMedia, 2012; Suas, 2013). From the views expressed by participants in the courses, it was apparent to me that an important part of their worldview on global poverty came from the basic knowledge they brought from school and their encounters with NGO representations of developing countries. For example, the reference made in post-primary educational textbooks to the salvaging work of Irish missionaries in Africa coupled with the familiar charity donation boxes and disaster images in NGO aid appeals projected a picture of a desperate and poor people in constant need of support. My encounters with young adults in undergraduate education also revealed low confidence in the information they

obtained from INGO appeal messages on global poverty, a point also noted in the Suas (2010) report. There is also the common use of shallow and patronising public appeal messages in NGO media such as: “*Local African cows produce only a litre of milk a day, while an Irish dairy cow can produce 20 litres, donate a cow now to give a family income and save lives*” from Bothar, an Irish NGO that undertakes livestock aid project. Such narratives of a desperate people portrayed farmers in Africa to be in greater need of charity aid than the access to global markets.

Similar grand narratives of misery and despair were also used in major campaigns such as MPH in which images that evoke compassion made it difficult to activate social justice frames (Darnton and Kirk, 2011). I thought such narratives not only detracted from an understanding of the root causes of the problems, but also served to further what Harrison (2010) referred to as ‘*The Africanization of poverty*’ in NGO representations of global poverty and inequality. This led me to think about approaches to campaigning that might provide the campaign audience with the opportunity to participate as ‘knowers’ in filling their knowledge gap. I considered the possibility of an open environment where young people could encounter diverse forms and sources of knowledge outside formal education, and beyond the acquisition of the skills to be competent citizens.

Getting campaigners involved in the process of identifying and framing knowledge on the campaign issue seemed a way to pursue a greater encounter with global issues. This also relates to the suggestion by Habermas (1992) that if NGOs claim to speak for the public interest, then they should draw their legitimacy from communicating in the public sphere. I thought the role of NGOs in communicating knowledge on development and global poverty should include providing an opportunity where individual ‘knowledge gaps’ can be filled by mediating the involvement of their campaign audience in framing knowledge for campaigning. Such an approach would require examining the communication strategies NGOs adopt in their advocacy, and the opportunities it provides for the involvement of campaigners to identify and multiply knowledge on global poverty. Achieving this would entail adopting practices that promote a more diffused process of identifying and framing knowledge on global poverty that enable pluralism and autonomy.

The influence of my background and experience as a practitioner in the GE sector is discussed in greater detail in the methodology chapter. However, my familiarity with the NGO sector provided background knowledge that helped in formulating the research questions and my choice of the purposive sampling technique. For example, my subscription to the campaign mailing list of a number of NGOs enabled me to identify

quickly, and also gain access to organisations that were included in the pilot study, as well as in undertaking this research. My engagement with the current debates through journal publications also led me to the relevant literature and a way of harnessing the professional knowledge I have gained as a practitioner. The pilot study contributed in clarifying some basic assumptions in selecting the research design, and in deciding the theories for my conceptual framework. The influence of the pilot study is also discussed in a later section of this chapter.

1.5 NGO campaigners as actors and public audience.

As civil society organisations that undertake campaigning on development and global poverty, NGOs see themselves as acting on behalf of citizens, and assume the role of ‘voice’ of the public (Beck, 1996; Lang, 2013). The paradox of their assumed identity as proxy public is that the same public NGOs claim to represent constitute the target audience of their campaign messages. This raises some fundamental questions bordering on understanding the notion of ‘NGO campaigners’, who they are, the nature of their interaction, and how they are mobilised to take the actions they do. The research questions are also formulated to examine the role of NGO campaigners as actors in disseminating campaign messages that position them as end users of knowledge, and therefore, stakeholders in the representation of global poverty.

With the emergence of virtual domains of interaction that are enabled by ICT, campaigning has evolved as a strategy NGOs adopt to extend their messages, as well as their constituency of actors. Although grand coalition campaigns such as ‘Make Poverty History’ (MPH) have been suggested as the most effective strategy for a successful campaign and collective action (Cox, 2011), their uncertain influence raises questions about how NGO campaigning can increase public understanding of the issues. There is also the question of how collective action is defined in terms of grand alliances, rather than purposive action that is based on common values and taken to achieve a defined objective. Beyond public awareness, campaigning has been used to create symbols of a conflict issue, and to develop new narratives such as the Landmine campaigns that not only provoked wider public debate, but also resulted in specific institutional changes (Leipold, 2002). “Public understanding” of global poverty is used in this thesis to refer to the level of knowledge the public has about *international debt*, *international trade* and *aid*, defined in the MPH campaign as the three pillars of international action (Darnton and Kirk, 2011).

Although the terms ‘public understanding’ and ‘public awareness’ are sometimes used interchangeable, the IF campaign evaluation report made an important distinction between the two concepts. It concluded that while the IF campaign “raised the

awareness of about 15-20 million UK public as 'onlookers' with a heightened awareness of the campaign, it did not bring changes about the UK public's understanding of the structural causes of hunger" (Tibbett and Stalker, 2013:18-23). Therefore, raising public awareness of a campaign meant *being aware a particular campaign was going on*. This also implies that public awareness does not necessarily result to increased understanding of the issues, even where it led to taking an action. Similarly, INGOs have been criticised for misappropriating their access to local knowledge in their tendency to distort local knowledge in the ways they reconstitute and represent knowledge to serve their wider agendas (Davies, 2007; Versi, 2009). The pattern of distortion is frequently argued to occur in how images are used to de-contextualise the wider historical dynamics of global poverty and inequality, and presented to evoke compassionate responses (Dogra, 2007, 2012; Tallon, 2013).

However, these valid arguments do not highlight how different modes of NGO campaigning can either enable or constrain public deliberation depending on the communication practices organisations adopt. Lang (2013:22) suggested that in the attempt to influence decision-making and gain some degree of insider status "most NGOs tend to prefer advocacy that target institutions rather than the wider public". Where communication practices place more emphasis on sharing expert knowledge and lobbying policy makers, there is arguably a trade-off with the type of communication that provokes public debate (Pettigrew1990). The implication is that NGOs that target institutions rather than the public may unwittingly be creating conditions where their campaigners act with a shallow understanding of the issues they campaign about.

The "Campaigner" is used here to refer to actors in the public domain who associate and organise around a defined issue of conflict, and mobilise to take actions through raising public awareness and introducing a new narrative in challenging an issue (Chapman and Fisher, 2000). Campaigners may associate as members of an organisation, or interact as actors who identify with causes defined by the organisations they affiliate or identify with. My definition of "campaigners" refers to the network of campaign audiences that NGOs interact with, and communicate their messages. It includes therefore, actors in both membership and non-membership organisations, but excludes individuals employed within the organisation that plan, run, and coordinate campaign activities. This conceptualisation further constructs campaigners as NGO 'issue publics' that receive, disseminate and act on information and narratives framed by the organisation with an aim to accomplish a set of defined goals. I adopt a Foucauldian model in conceptualising campaigning by NGO as operating in an environment of power imbalance, and the organisation as a rallying point where the

agenda is set as to how the conflict issue is defined. I use organisational knowledge theory to analyse how NGOs use their online campaigning to develop an information-sharing network of actors that apply the knowledge produced by the organisation in taking defined actions.

The thrust of my central argument is that although NGO campaigning targets public awareness as a whole, campaigners are the frontline audience, and NGO “issue publics” that disseminate knowledge, and therefore, potential catalysts for increasing public understanding on development and global poverty. I considered that NGO campaigners have an important role both as part of the public, and as a network of audience that communicate and act on global issues identified by NGOs. The concept of ‘issue publics’ is explained in the next chapter. However, it identifies campaigners as the initial target audience of NGO campaign messages. Drawing on the data and existing literature, I apply theory in proposing two types of ‘global campaigners’ that reflect the mode of advocacy, the communication strategies, and the role of campaigners in the two categories of NGOs examined. The two types of ‘global campaigners’ were described as campaigners that can act as catalysts in multiplying frames for public understanding, and the dutiful and compassionate campaigners that act in support of NGO advocacy initiatives.

1.6 Contextualising the study

This thesis is situated in discussions on the contradiction between the low level of engagement of the UK public with global poverty issues and the rise in public donation to INGO humanitarian public appeals. It follows from suggestions in the Finding Frames report that “NGOs can use their campaign and public education programmes to activate self-transcendent values and attitudes that deepen public engagement” with global poverty (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:46). The report followed earlier surveys that indicated public understanding of, and attitudes to global poverty in the UK was in decline, or had stagnated (McDonnell, 2003; TNS, 2009; Crompton, 2010). Similar views are also expressed in DE discourses in Ireland where surveys on public perceptions also show a pattern similar to that of the UK (see for example, Suas, 2013; Bryan, 2011; McCloskey, 2011). The Finding Frames report argued that there are common sets of values that can motivate people, and that NGOs can influence these values through their public campaigns and educational activities (*ibid*: 40). It linked the detached attitude of the UK public with global issues to what it called a “shallow transaction frame”, which it argued underlined representations of global poverty in NGO campaign messages that promote notions of the ‘powerful giver’ and the ‘grateful receiver’ (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:10).

As with the Finding Frames report published in 2011, recent surveys such as the InterMedia and Suas reports² suggest that young people have an interest in knowing more about global poverty issues, but expressed a lack of trust in the representations they encountered in NGO media and campaign messages (InterMedia, 2012; Suas, 2013). These reports point to the importance of understanding the relationship between NGOs and the public, and the conditions under which they operate and assume the voice of civil society. Based on these discussions, this thesis shifts attention from approaches to learning aimed at changing public perception, to examining the processes by which knowledge about global poverty is framed and communicated to the public.

The context and scope of this research is defined by a pilot study I conducted earlier with Concern and Christian Aid, two INGOs that are also based in Ireland. The pilot study was undertaken mainly for the purpose of clarifying the basic assumptions in formulating the research questions on how INGOs generate knowledge for their advocacy and campaign activities. While the contribution of the pilot project is discussed in more detail in the methodology section, the findings showed that it is the same stock of knowledge that NGOs used for undertaking their donation appeals, educational programmes, and their campaigning to mobilise public action against poverty. What differed in each case was the emphasis of the appeal in the presentation of the message. The MPH campaign of 2005 provided the baseline definition for the use and interpretation of certain key terminologies used in this thesis. As one of the biggest campaign initiatives organised by a coalition of UK NGOs, MPH provided for example, the context in which the term ‘public understanding’ of global poverty is used to mean knowledge about international *debt*, *trade* and *aid* that underpin international effort to tackle global poverty (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:19).

However, my use of ‘knowledge on global poverty and inequality’ takes a broader interpretation to include knowledge of the structural dimensions that sustain global poverty and inequality in particular regions of the world. I therefore, use ‘knowledge’ in a constructivist sense to include factual accounts and the subjective representation of lived experience, presented in a way that is intelligible and applied to practical social problems (Gibbons et al, 1994; Gilbert, 2005; Collins, 2010). The ‘public’ is used in this thesis to refer to the civic space where social actors express their voices. It is the organised expression of voice that I understand the concept of civil society and the

²The InterMedia report published in 2012 is a survey on building support for international development. It included 600 young people in UK aged 17+. The Suas report published in 2013 was a survey of 1000 third level students aged 17+ on their attitude and understanding on global development in Ireland.

domain of NGOs as a proxy public (Chambers, 2003; Edwards, 2004; Bennett et al, 2013).

In addition to the conception of public engagement as 'taking action' (Bourn and Brown, 2011), the term is also used here to include individual motivation to seek knowledge and engage in public deliberation on global issues. I chose to examine the processes by which NGOs construct knowledge for the campaign on global poverty in order to understand how they interact with the public and to identify opportunities that can enhance the engagement of their campaign audience with the issues. The constructivist model adopted in the study assumes that the involvement of individuals in constructing knowledge has implications for how the 'knower' perceives and engages with the object of knowledge (Kincheloe, 2005). This thesis therefore, places particular emphasis on understanding the relationship between actors involved in framing and disseminating the campaign message, and the way it is communicated to the public to multiply a particular perspective.

I adopt organisational knowledge theory to analyse NGO representations of global poverty as part of the process of framing knowledge that is applied in accomplishing a defined objective. Therefore, NGO campaigners are constructed as actors that interact as stakeholders in negotiating meanings, and as end users of the knowledge produced for accomplishing a common objective. The importance of organisational knowledge theory to this thesis rests in its conception of knowledge as interpreted information that is contextual, actionable and collectively applied to accomplish a desired end (Davenport & Prusak, 1998; Leonard & Sensiper, 1998). I also draw on Castells' (2005) concept of the Network Society as a framework within which to analyse the influence of digital information and communication technology in the production and diffusion of knowledge.

1.7 Significance and scope of research

The significance of this research lies mainly in its analysis of the potentials NGO campaigning has for introducing new narratives that can provoke public deliberation and multiply frames necessary in challenging global inequality. Deliberative dialogue is argued to contribute to self-reflection and interrogation that can help "the public to learn more about an issue and empower people to take action" (Hogg, 2011:3). This thesis goes against the grain of the dominant discourse in DE literature on the limited potential NGO campaigning has for increasing public understanding about global inequality (see, for example, Pashby 2009:60; Bryan, 2011; Brown, 2013). The Finding Frames report was important in developing the central argument in this thesis about

how campaigners can generate and multiply particular frames for increasing public understanding.

The fields of GE such as DE, GCE, and Global Learning (GL) share common objectives with campaigning to influence attitudes and increase public engagement with development and global poverty (Bourn, 2008). For example, both endeavours support actions aimed at challenging structures that sustain global inequality (IDEA, 2014) as well as to “promote shared values” about global interdependence (Dogra, 2012:5). Such collective objectives are articulated in organisational knowledge theory where collaborating actors or groups take certain actions based on pertinent knowledge and a shared vision (Leonard & Sensiper, 1998). This research therefore, contributes to bridging the gap between DE and campaigning as endeavours that seek to challenge global inequalities, and in the way it constructs NGO campaigners as potential catalysts for multiplying public understanding. It argues how the autonomy of NGO campaigners as ‘knowers’ and stakeholders in framing and disseminating knowledge on global poverty mitigate issues of indoctrination that is associated with fields of GE (Standish, 2012). This thesis also contributes to the literature on NGO campaigning, in its analysis of how student-led campaign organisations use the networks they establish through ICT, to mediate the involvement of campaigners as autonomous learners.

Another contribution the thesis makes is in understanding the complementary role NGO campaigning can offer in addressing tensions in the political dimension of DE, and the normative values and attitudes it promotes in challenging global poverty and inequality. Ni Chasaide (2009) suggested that the central values of DE entailed linking participatory learning with action for global justice, and proposed that both sectors can be mutually supportive. The research also contributes to understanding how student-led campaign organisations use their networks with social actors in the Global South to legitimise subaltern knowledge through the integration of their perspectives into mainstream discourses about global poverty. I focused on the processes by which knowledge is framed and communicated for three main reasons. Firstly, the dominant role NGOs play in producing knowledge for campaigning to mobilise and engage the public on global poverty issues, and the communication networks they build with the public. Secondly, the use of the Internet by NGOs to disseminate campaign messages as seen in major campaigns such as the MPH and IF campaigns. Thirdly, to understand and analyse the contrasting strategies and practices INGOs, and smaller student-led organisations adopt for their campaigning, and the implications for activating public deliberation.

The thesis draws attention to the opportunities the era of ICT offer for mediating public engagement through the transnational and cross cultural networks of campaign audiences. Considering that much of the content of DE comes from the knowledge produced by NGOs, this thesis contributes to examining how NGO campaigners can act as catalysts for multiplying public understanding on global poverty. The significance of the thesis also lies in its contribution to understanding how approaches and strategies to NGO campaigning present different opportunities and possibilities for initiating public deliberation necessary to multiply frames for public understanding about global poverty. It places emphasis on the concept of “voice” as a vector of public deliberation, and as distinct from the concept of “participation” which can be passive in its various forms (Hirschman, 1970; Cogan and Sharpe, 1986; Gastil, 2008). Drawing from organisational knowledge theory, it argues how particular approaches to NGO campaigning can offer opportunities for campaigners as their immediate audience, and issue publics, to be actively involved in framing knowledge about the campaign issue.

Three authors whose works have been influential in developing the central arguments in this thesis are Sabine Lang’s, (2013) analysis of NGOs, civil society, and the public sphere, Andrew Darnton’s (2011) Frames theory, and Manuel Castells’ (2005) concept of the Network Society. The three works contributed in making a link between the literature and the conceptual framework adopted in this thesis. Darnton and Castells were particularly useful in articulating the conceptual elements of the thesis outlined in the second and third chapters. The frames theory was central in arguing how the competing agendas in NGO campaigning constrain the generation of narratives that can provoke public deliberation, and how the practices and communication strategies NGOs adopt has implications for the way campaigners can become multipliers of public understanding. Lang’s (2000; 2003) extensive work in civil society communication in the public sphere includes gender-mainstreaming networks in advocacy, NGOs and urban development, political communication and citizen participation. In this thesis, her work was particularly influential in examining the role of NGOs as agency for public action, as well as in understanding the relationship with their campaigners.

Lang’s (2013; 2009) analysis of NGO communication in the public sphere provided the framework for understanding different kinds of NGOs. In this thesis, understanding the associational modes of civil society offered a holistic way of analysing the behaviour of NGOs, and engaging with the dynamics and tensions of their complex identities as apolitical organisations that are concerned with change of a political nature. Although Lang’s analysis of modes of NGO advocacy is important in understanding the communication strategies NGOs adopt in reaching their audiences, this thesis is

distinctive in the way I applied an analysis that explored NGO campaigners as public audience, as well as actors that receive and act on framed knowledge.

This thesis is therefore, distinctive in the way it examines NGO campaigning not only as a process and agency, but also as an arena in which campaigners initiate public debate, generate new narratives that position them as potential multipliers of public understanding. This research questions a widely held view in DE literature that campaigning is “a single issue activity with predetermined goals, and that offers little opportunity for critical engagement” (Pashby, 2009:60; Brown, 2013:68). In analysing campaigning, it points to the importance of examining the communication strategy NGOs adopt for their advocacy, their relationships with campaigners, and the way they frame and communicate knowledge to their campaigners. The literature on campaigning also suggest that more effective campaigns tend to originate from smaller radical groups run by young people (Leipold, 2002:82).

The reason for examining the two distinct types of NGOs included in the sample was influenced by my professional background and familiarity with the narratives they used in their campaign messages, as well as the mentorship projects with young people and local support groups. The rationale for selecting these contrasting categories of NGOs for investigation is based on evidence that student-led NGOs approach campaigning differently from humanitarian INGOs (Bourn, 2009 in Jones, 2010; Cox, 2011). Rather than a comparative study of these two categories of NGOs, the purpose of the collective case study was to identify actors and trends, and to understand processes in the communication strategies they adopt for their campaigning on global poverty. A vignette of the sampled organisations and the basis for their inclusion in this thesis is provided in the methodology chapter.

1.8 Structure of thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Following the introduction, the second chapter is the literature review that locates the research in related academic debates and discourses pertaining to the areas of discipline it draws on. The literature review chapter is presented in two parts each with subsections that reflect the multidisciplinary nature of this research. The first part focuses on discussions on NGO advocacy practices and their role as civil society organisations, development advocates and producers of development knowledge. It also includes discussions on ‘frames’, and reference made to surveys and reports on the way young people in UK and Ireland engage with global poverty.

The second part includes a brief background to theoretical elements of the literature, with detailed discussions on the interpretations of knowledge adopted, and on new forms of knowledge production enabled by the digital information and communication age. The third chapter outlines the conceptual framework and the epistemological implications of the study. The fourth chapter presents the methodological approach adopted for selecting, gathering, presenting and analysing the data. It includes a detailed explanation of the research questions, the sample technique and ethical considerations in the research. The fifth chapter and sixth chapters presents data on the sampled NGOs examined as two distinct cases. The seventh chapter is the discussion and analysis of finding, while the eighth chapter presents the summary and conclusion.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the research problem, its aim and objectives, the motivation for researching this topic, and its significance. I described the thesis as concerned with examining NGO campaigning as an activity that is undertaken to mobilise public awareness, action, as well as increase understanding about global poverty. The aim is to explore the role of campaigners as potential catalysts that can provoke public deliberation through the multiplication of a narrative. I stated the research problem as concerned with the low levels of engagement of the UK public with global poverty in spite of major collaborative campaigns undertaken by NGOs. The Finding Frames report provided the basis for the central assumptions in formulating the research problem, and defining key terms in the study. The significance of the study was summarised as contributing to understanding how campaigners as autonomous actors can become catalyst for multiplying public understanding about global poverty, and the implication of different modes of advocacy and communication strategy NGOs adopt. In the next chapter, I locate the thesis in the context of the debates and discussions in relevant literature.

Chapter Two: Locating the study in related debates and discourses

2.1 Introduction

This literature review draws on diverse but related fields of academic debate, and the discussions reflect existing works from academics, policy institutions and practitioners in the fields of GE and the NGO sector. It includes discussions on campaigning, NGO relationship with their campaigners, and their assumed role as representatives of civil society. The debates around communication power in the Network Society, and its influence on new modes of knowledge production is also included.

The literature review is organised in two parts; the first focuses on discussions on NGOs as civil society organisations, and their assumed role as representatives of the public. It includes recent discussions by Lang (2013) on ways of analysing NGO advocacy that focuses on the distinctive strategies and tools they deploy to reach their intended audience. The later part of the chapter outlines the Finding Frames report by Darnton and Kirk (2011) on the centrality of frames for public engagement, and includes an overview of recent surveys on the way young people in the UK and Ireland perceive global poverty. In the second part of this chapter, attention is given to the theoretical elements, as well as discussions on NGO representations as constituting what the public come to know about global poverty.

Considering the scope of this thesis, I limit my discussions on the concept of knowledge to the forms, sources and processes of knowledge creation as proposed in organisational knowledge theory, and further expounded by Michael Polanyi (1966). The discussions on the Network Society and its concepts of ‘communication power’ and ‘informationalism’ are also included in exploring the diffused arenas, processes and modes of knowledge production. The overall objective of the literature review is to provide insights into the discussions around the theory and practice of NGO communication with their campaign audiences, and the role of their campaigners as actors that multiply narratives that influence public perceptions about global poverty.

2.1.2 NGO modes of advocacy and campaigning on global poverty

This section examines discussions on NGOs as voluntary organisations that adopt various forms of advocacy to initiate public action aimed at influencing change about a defined issue of conflict. Much of the discussion relates to Lang’s (2013) analysis of NGOs as an associational form of civil society, and the communication strategies they

adopt for their advocacy. The literature on the modes and strategies NGOs adopt for their advocacy is important for two reasons: Firstly, it provides the premise for understanding the network they build in communicating their campaign message to the public. Secondly, it identifies the strategies and tools they apply in mobilising public action on global poverty and inequality (Dogra, 2012; Lewis & Wallace, 2000; Mayo, 2005).

Considering the wide range of organisations described as NGOs, I limit my discussions to the two categories of NGOs included in my study sample focusing on the practices and strategies they adopt for campaigning on global poverty and inequality. The first group includes Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire, three International Nongovernmental Organisations (INGOs) that are highly professionalised with elaborate bureaucratic structures in the Global North where they are based, and with a presence in the Global South. The second group comprise of People and Planet, and Medsin, two student-led campaign organisations in the UK with lean but professionalised structures, and their operations localised in the Global North. Unlike the INGOs, this group has no presence outside the UK but maintains communication networks with civil society groups such as labour and trade unions in the Global South. I use “NGOs” when I refer to both categories, and “INGOs” to distinguish the international humanitarian organisations.

NGOs are defined broadly as non-profit organisations that engage in a range of activities that include humanitarian relief, development advocacy and different forms of service delivery (Lewis and Kanji, 2009). Lang (2013:12) suggested that NGOs can best be understood from the common characteristics they share, notably, “they are non-state actors, not-for-profit organisations, are voluntary, and pursue activities for the common good”. In addition to these generic characteristics, NGOs have been described as organisations that are legally required to be “non-political, but engage in non-institutional politics that generate normative claims about common good, and act on these claims...” (*ibid*: 13). In terms of purpose, structure and size, NGOs exist in different varieties and can be classified in many different ways. Korten (1990) proposed an evolutionary approach that analyse NGOs by the different stages and common features in their growth from small to more complex organisations. This approach, however, does not sufficiently capture aspects of how NGOs at the same stage of evolution can fundamentally differ in the repertoire of advocacy strategies they adopt. It also ignores the dynamics that influence how NGOs communicate with the public and interact with the state. Recent contributions to the literature on NGO advocacy such as Lang (2013), Choudry and Kapoor (2010), and Alvarez (2009) use the concept of ‘NGOisation’ to analyse and highlight the dynamics, tensions and nuances of how NGOs evolve and behave as facilitators or representatives of civil society.

Lang (2013:63-64) describes the concept of NGOisation as “the process by which civic associations and social movements professionalise, institutionalise and bureaucratised in vertically structured organisations...that generate issue-specific knowledge or services”. This approach to analysing NGOs attends to defining characteristics such as their internal governance, their relations with the state, communication with the publics, as well as how they derive and sustain legitimacy. Following earlier discussions on the modes of advocacy NGOs adopt in communicating with their target audience, I provide some conceptual traits for defining the specific categories of organisations included in this thesis.

Both the INGO and student-led categories operate in an environment where traditional nation-state politics intersect with politically textured non-party forms of civic engagement. For example, they advocate about social justice and inequality issues requiring intervention of a political nature, and therefore, engage with structures and actors in partisan politics. Furthermore, the two categories of NGOs have a moral purpose that fuels their orientation towards transnational values that lend their expertise to ‘global public good’, and therefore distinguish their mission from other local groups. In navigating this delicate terrain, and with particular reference to the INGOs, they operate to limit their political engagement to what they can defend as non-political activities (Beck 1996). This distinctive position places these NGOs in a unique role that establishes “new geographies of political power at a point where civil society and institutional politics converge” (Lang, 2013:12). A number of writers have also described NGOs as the ‘face’ or ‘harbingers’ of civil society (see for example, Lane, 2008; Minnix, 2007; Henderson, 2003; Warkentin, 2001), and within the European Union (EU), they are viewed as “prima facie expressions of a vibrant civil society” (Lang, 2013:61).

The concept of NGOisation is discussed in more detail in subsequent sections of this chapter. However, the relevance of the concept to this research lies in the pressure its processes exert on organisations to formalise and behave predictably, and for some NGOs, the ‘insider’ status that results from that process. Although large transnational organisations such as Oxfam, and smaller ones such as People and Planet are influenced by the process of NGOisation, they respond differently. As Lang (2013:64) noted, the common effects of NGOisation particularly on bigger transnational organisations are containment, the pressure to reframe their radical stand, and an orientation towards institutional forms of advocacy that seek to influence policy makers. For example, Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire are less likely to adopt public display of dissent in their campaigning, as would the smaller student-led organisations that are less bureaucratised and institutionalised.

Other factors that influence the modes and strategies NGOs adopt in their campaigning on global poverty and inequality are “their size, organisational structure, target group, and the core objective for which they exist as a group” (Lang, 2013:65). For example, the student-led organisations included in this thesis emerged purely for the purpose of advocacy and campaigning, and function as membership organisations that develop their operation around public campaigning. Conversely, the INGOs organise their strategies around their primary interest in humanitarian charity. Notably, even where NGOs such as Oxfam and CAFOD are non-membership associations, their identity is based on speaking for collective entitlements by advancing normative claims they pursue as advocates acting as sub publics (*ibid*:21).

In examining the relationship between NGOs, civil society and the public sphere, Lang (2013:22) described advocacy as “any attempt to influence political decision on behalf of an imagined or organised community”. This conception of advocacy aligns with earlier descriptions of advocacy by authors such as Jenkins’ (2006:306) definition of advocacy as “any attempt to influence the decision of institutions or elites on behalf of a collective interest”. However, such definitions focus on vectors of influence that attempt to make the difficult distinction between what might be construed as ‘social’ and ‘political’ advocacy. In avoiding the fallacy of what might constitute a political or non-political act, it is important to consider a more dialectical way of analysing NGO advocacy that shifts attention from normative spheres of influence to the communication strategy and modes of advocacy they adopt.

Lang (2013:22-23) described two broad modes of advocacy that capture the role of NGOs in the public sphere, and the strategies they employ to achieve intended outcome as: *institutional advocacy*, and *public advocacy*. According to Lang, “institutional advocacy seeks to influence policy makers by gaining a degree of insider status in institutions that initiate, legislate and execute policy change” in their attempt to influence policy makers (*ibid*: 22). The strategy in institutional advocacy would include, for example, lobbying and sharing expert knowledge and experience, while public advocacy adopts strategies that initiate public debate and media mobilisation to demand action within and outside the policy arena. This definition implies that public advocacy strategies are driven more by a focus on citizen outreach and ways to activate public debate than the attempt to gain insider status with policy institutions.

In a study that examined the phenomenon of public mobilisation in NGO advocacy, Dechalert (1999) suggested that NGOs aiming at social change or a change in public attitude adopt strategies that reach out to the broader public to stimulate citizen engagement and public debate. These ideas relate to Chapman and Fisher’s (2000)

description of campaigning as a way of introducing new narratives about a conflict issue. NGOs undertaking public advocacy, therefore, frame their communication and campaigns towards mobilising and projecting citizens' voice. The distinction made between institutional and public advocacy does not suggest they are mutually exclusive, as the two categories of NGOs included in this research use both modes at different stages or at the same time in a particular project. Lang (2013) however, noted that institutional advocacy may be more effective where NGOs have established some institutional leverage and insider status while public advocacy repertoires such as public demonstrations target institutions sensitive to public opinion.

Therefore, for NGOs engaged in development advocacy, navigating and optimising these strategies present challenges for successful campaigns that enable public deliberation and policy influence. These discussions show that although NGOs can combine institutional and public modes of advocacy at different stages of their campaigning, these strategies entail different communication practices that differ in the opportunity they offer campaigners to engage with the conflict issue.

The contribution of this section can be summarised as defining the category of NGOs included in this thesis, and understanding the distinctive communication strategies NGOs employ in their advocacy on global poverty, and their implications for public engagement. Particular attention was given to *public* and *institutional* modes of advocacy identified by Lang (2013), and how these distinct modes of advocacy represent different ways of seeking influence and communicating with NGO campaign audiences. It highlighted the tendency in public modes of advocacy to evoke public deliberation. The concept of NGOisation was argued to offer a dialectical way of understanding the behaviour of NGOs as civil society organisations, and the limits their status as non-political organisations impose on them in an environment where the conflict issues are often of a political nature (Beck, 1996). A central theme that emerged from the discussion was that although institutional and public modes of advocacy are essential for bringing attention to a campaign issue, it is public advocacy that can generate dialogic deliberation and opportunities to encounter new perspectives.

2.1.3 NGOs, civil society and the publics

This section examines discussions on the assumed role of NGOs as civil society organisations that act as proxy for the public sphere. The objective is to understand how NGOs act as agency and structure for articulating and mobilising public action, in an era when interaction and communication with their audience is predominantly on the Internet.

Civil society is described as a civic sphere for organised citizen voice and the venue in which individuals can associate and articulate their views (Cohen and Arato, 1992). Although the concept of civil society has been around since the era of great philosophers like Aristotle, its modern and liberal connotation can be linked to the Enlightenment ideas of 18th century Europe that provided impetus for the ideals of citizen participation (Kocka, 2006; Barker & Burrows, 2002). Lang (2013:35) suggested, “the struggle to establish civic associations in the 18th and 19th century Europe was a public struggle in which organisational claims to voice and advocacy played a prominent role”. The emergence of modern civil society was also enabled by the emerging nation-state that saw civil society as an intermediary structure that could help improve communication with citizens in its transition from autocracy to a democracy (Levy, 1999). Civic groups therefore, emerged as a dual response to the desire for citizens to express themselves and contribute to the democratic state, and the need of the state to aggregate and develop public opinion around government agendas. The tension in this dualism was the desire for associational forms of civil society to express publicly and articulate their views while at the same time relying on the state for protection to exercise that right.

Lang (2013:41) also suggested that the emergence of labour unions and civil right movements and “the allocative struggles over economic and political resources in the period following industrialisation witnessed a change in which civil society was conceived of as a site for collective action beyond its earlier conception as a venue for publicity”. This new characteristic of *organisational agency* increased the need to aggregate voice to enable the cohesion and cooperation necessary to strengthen and bond associating members. NGOs and other voluntary civic organisations, therefore, constitute associational forms of civil society in the way they aggregate the voices of civic actors that voluntarily submit to their ideals. The rise of the social capital paradigm further articulates the ‘voice aggregation’ in the way it minimises the individual expression of associating members.

The concept of social capital refers to “the capacity for cooperation embedded in associations” where diverse voices are aggregated to promote a common interest (de Haart and Drekker, 2003 in Lang, 2003:44). A criticism of the social capital paradigm is that “its measurement proxies emphasise how individuals submit to organisations but ignores the process of achieving collective voice within them” (Lang, 2013:45). For organisations that aspire to promote deliberation, the greater emphasis Social capital discourse places on norms of trust and solidarity that aggregate voice for the sake of common good can be argued to inhibit public deliberation (Walzer, 1995). Therefore, social capital theories will support communication strategies that tend to aggregate

voices rather than enable the network of citizens' voices to express themselves in larger civic arenas.

As Lang (2013:45) noted, social capital theories of civil society have shaped debates and the use of "paradigms that tend to marginalise the politically engaged public, while generating norms that promote the passively participating and dutiful citizen". Minimising individual voices also tend to 'write out' the public sphere, and this raises questions about how NGOs as civil society derive legitimacy as proxy publics (*ibid*:50). However, it is in its mode as public sphere that civil society generates debates and carries issues from the margins to centres of power. It is also important to state that some civic organisations that provide a social service focus on community and norm generation have little interest in voice aggregation. Lang (2013) noted that while NGOs act as proxies of the public sphere, not all of them aspire to contribute to public deliberation, as some consider their mission to be service provision rather than organising voice.

What can be extrapolated from the spatial matrix of NGO, civil society and the public sphere debate is the gap that manifests at each stage of the diffusion in which civil society in its organisational form became detached from the publics. Reconnecting with the public would, therefore, depend on the modes of communication and internal governance of NGOs. This challenge highlights an inherent tension between the conception of NGOs as organised forms of civil society and their assumed role as the voice of the public sphere. However, proponents of liberal theories of public sphere such as Habermas (1998) described the public sphere as a place where opinions are openly expressed, meanings negotiated and disseminated. Therefore, 'a public' can be assumed to exist "where actors use similar frames to communicate about the same issue at the same time" (Habermas,1998:160; Bennett, 2009 as cited in Lang, 2013:56). This highlights the importance of frames, and mediated arenas for public engagement.

Two notable critique of Habermas' normative model of deliberative publicity are Fraser's (1992) counterpublics, and Thompson's (1995) mediated public space. Both writers suggested that Habermas' conception of the public sphere ignores the unequal power relationship between constituents of the public because he failed to examine other nonliberal parallel publics. Fraser (1992:110-16) argued that "the voices of marginalised groups are often excluded", and as a result they form a parallel discourse arena where they engaged in "counterdiscourse". This argument is important for understanding the role of NGO campaigning in generating new narratives that challenge dominant perspectives sustaining an existing status quo. The second critique

from Thompson (1995:25-30) argued that traditional ideas of the public sphere centred on face-to-face interaction negates new forms of mediated public spaces enabled by the Internet and digital communication, which he referred to as “counterpublics”. For example, when CAFOD or Oxfam use the Internet as an arena for communicating their campaign message and a common frame to advocate on a particular issue, they constitute a mediated public. Both critiques contribute to understanding alternative and diffused arenas that different modes of advocacy can take place, and the possibilities such mediated public spaces offer in NGO campaigning.

There is a strong reference to “voice” in the discussions on civil society, advocacy and the public sphere. Hirschman (1970:30) proposed, that “voice is any attempt to change, rather than escape from an objectionable state of affair”. The concept of voice suggests speaking out and taking positions in public that involves communication, interaction and debate. Other writers like Fishkin (1997) and Gastil (2008) explored citizen’s voice as a process of public deliberation and focused on the inclusion of different voices rather than the act of aggregating them into one single expression. Although some authors equate voice with participation (see for example Verba, et al. 1995), it is the conception of voice as active deliberation that makes it more appealing and relevant for this thesis. This conception of “voice” therefore suggests an active form of interaction that is different from passive participation.

Theories of participation include various forms and levels of activities as well as a wide range of techniques that can be described as participation. For example, Cogan and Sharp’s (1986) definition of citizen participation as a process that provides individuals with an opportunity to influence public decision included signing mediated petitions, voting and public meetings. These activities can also be undertaken in detached and passive ways with little understanding of the issues. Arnstein (1969; 1975) wrote on levels of participation in planning, and proposed a ladder of eight levels of citizen participation that included placation, consultation and partnership that includes mediated engagement. Today, participation can take detached forms of action such as a simple click of ‘like’ using a computer in online interactions. It can therefore be argued that the participation that occurs through the signing of petitions or the click of a computer mouse has limited impact on evoking thick conversations and is therefore, of limited use in initiating public deliberation.

The discussion on NGOs as associational forms of civil society revealed the tensions that arise from the way they aggregate voice and assume the identity of proxy public. The discussions showed that a broad spectrum of NGOs tend to serve as proxy publics rather than as enablers or mediators of plural expression (Lang, 2013:32). Thompson’s

(1995) proposition of mediated public spaces and Fraser's (1992) counterdiscourse provided a major criticism of traditional theories of the public sphere and proposed alternative forms of public venues. Both authors referred to virtual domains that enabled the emergence of counterpublics where marginalised actors express voice. The discussions highlighted the opportunities ICT offers NGO campaigners to generate common frames and extend their narratives. The next section contributes to understanding how the term 'campaigners' is conceptualised and used in this thesis, with particular emphasis on its application in development NGO context.

2.1.4 NGO campaigning: the relationship with campaigners

Apart from Chapman & Fisher (2000), and Leipold's (2002) contributions on campaigning, little have been published on a formal definition of the term 'campaigning'. Campaigning can mean different things to different NGOs, individuals and social actors. However, an underlining characteristic is that it is an activity that takes place in the public domain, and is undertaken to achieve citizens' awareness and to mobilise action on a conflict issue (Scheunpflug & McDonnell, 2008). Within the development NGO literature, campaigning is an under-theorised concept usually described as a subset of advocacy, and is subsumed in operational definitions of different organisations. However, it is generally understood as a strategic action aimed at prescribed outcomes (Eade, 2002). In one of the frequently cited publications on campaigning, Chapman & Fisher (2000) suggested reasons why some NGOs include campaigning in their work. Most common is the desire among NGOs to enhance their profile, communicate their message and build public support for their actions, as well as the belief that it presents great opportunities for publicity (*ibid*: 15). The authors further suggested that NGOs also see campaigning as a way to draw attention to a conflict issue thereby introducing a new narrative for public perception.

A more recent publication on campaigning is the case study undertaken by Cox (2011) on a number of high profile international campaigns, in which he identified issues that make campaigns succeed or fail. Cox identified critical factors in campaigning to include clarity of the message and objective, the communication strategy and tactics, and the structure for coordinating the campaign (*ibid*: 9). The sense of ownership of the campaign action associated with less bureaucratised organisations also emerged as a contributory factor to accomplishing a successful campaign. The research concluded that the influence of Internet based campaigns, and the emergence of more radical development focused organisations "that shift the centre of gravity within the political space" has altered the dynamics in campaigning (*ibid*: 50). Although his work focused on running a successful campaign, it highlighted the importance of the virtual space for

how the campaign message is communicated, and the link between objective, action and clarity of the campaign message.

However, of particular relevance to this thesis is the use of campaigning as a communicative tool for achieving citizen outreach, and to introduce new narratives in the public domain (Lang, 2013; Dechalert, 1999). The communication tools in campaigning are often confrontational in the way they challenge an existing order, and redefine the conflict issues within the context of unequal power relations (Leopold, 2002). The context of unequal power relates to, and also underlines adopting a Foucauldian approach to my analysis of campaigning in this research. The Foucauldian approach pays attention to the role of power in personal and institutional relationships, and in this case, NGO relationship with campaigners and their actions aimed at challenging powerful institutional structures (Foucault, 1982; 2002). Campaigning is therefore, examined as a strategic mode of communication NGOs use to undertake development advocacy, and to provide opportunities for the public to be informed about the conflict issue.

Since Make Poverty History (MPH) and the emergence of celebrity fundraising campaigns such as Live Aid, there has been a change in the way INGOs organise public rallies with young people constituting the prime target of campaigning to raise public awareness. White (2010) suggested that the objective of INGO campaign rallies was not primarily to challenge or overthrow the status quo, but to garner legitimacy by inflating the percentage of participation. This highlights how rallies may be used for purposes other than a strategy to communicate with the public. While DE also concerns challenging global poverty and inequality, it exists in a knowledge production milieu that is defined by power imbalances in who decides and frames what is considered knowledge about development (Elliot, et al. 2010).

Although I do not include the literature on the competing and contested definitions of development education (DE) as it falls outside the immediate scope of this research, some of its central concepts and values converge with underlying concerns of NGO campaigning on global poverty. DE itself is a term used to describe a variety of approaches used for learning and understanding about the world from a human rights and social justice perspective (Bourn, 2008). DE and campaigning share a central objective of challenging global inequality and use similar concepts such as “social justice” and “public engagement” in reaching out to the public audience (Leipold, 2002). However, Hall (2006) noted an important distinction in the way these concepts are applied is that DE is linked to ideas of learning and social transformation, and campaigning to ‘voice’ and seeking change of a structural nature.

The concept of voice in seeking social change offers a conceptual paradigm by which to examine campaigning as a strategic activity, as well as a venue for public deliberation. It also provides the basis for theorising on the concept of 'voice', and it taking preference in this thesis over the 'participation' discourse in analysing NGO campaigning. This argument as well as the interpretations of public engagement is elaborated in subsequent sections of this chapter.

The construction of campaigners in this thesis as NGO *issue publics* aligns with what Hogg (2011) called the "catalytic individual" that is able to multiply knowledge in their community. The concept of catalytic individuals as described by Hogg (2011:4) conveys a nuanced interpretation of a resourceful actor who can engage in public deliberation, and in the process, multiply knowledge that can accelerate behaviour change in peers. The catalytic individual engages in the interpretation and diffusion of information and knowledge to their peers and network, and has the potential of influencing public attitudes. NGO campaigners may not always become catalytic individuals in the way Hogg used the term to refer to committed advocates. However, these definitions are important as they provide a framework for analysing campaigners and the different modes of advocacy NGOs adopt. For example, NGOs such as Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire that adopt campaigning as a strategic activity aim at communicating with policy institutions to influence decision makers more than a concern to provoke public debate (Eade, 2002).

Marshall (2010:36) noted "campaign organisations derive legitimacy from the quality of information they share and the public support they attract, therefore, there is the need for trust between NGOs providing knowledge and their audience...". In the context of the discussions on modes of advocacy and voice, NGOs assume the role of "proxy public" that represent citizens' voices, and act as "stand-ins for citizen participation" (Lang, 2013:27). NGOs, therefore, present themselves as agency that provide venues and platforms where citizens exercise voice, and sustain this by making claims in public arenas. "Agency" is used here to refer to "the civic space where social actors with a common interest interact and generate a common frame of reference" for defining a conflict issue (Ollis, 2011; 2008:45). This point relates to a comment made by Smith (2004b: 741-749) on the need for NGOs to "emphasise constituency building above providing information by embracing more participatory approaches" in the process of planning and designing activities aimed at public engagement with global poverty issues.

The conceptual framework adopted for this thesis lays emphasis on networks of actors, particularly in today's era of online modes of NGO campaigning. Although the value of

the Internet for learning about global issues remains contested, it is however acknowledged as the most varied means of communication and horizontal dissemination of information (InterMedia, 2012; Cross et al, 2010:1; Fenyoe, 2009). Bennett (2004) commented that the web is the most important networking and public mobilisation arena for transnational alliances. Within the context of NGO networking and online campaigning therefore, building a constituency of issue publics raises the question of how interested citizens passionate about global issues are recruited in an era of mediated public spaces (Thompson, 1995).

This section engaged with literature on the strategies NGOs adopt for communicating with their campaigners and the wider public audience. Campaigning was described as a form of public communication that can be used to create public awareness, activate debate and thereby introducing new narratives. The apolitical remit of NGOs as charity organisations was also discussed within the context of their role in enabling the expression of voices, and the limitation institutional forms of communication portend for provoking public debate. The 'voice' discourse was found more suitable than participation theory for analysing the implication of modes of advocacy for activating public debate. NGO network and networking was also examined within the context of online campaigns and the possibilities of a mediated public sphere that enables generating of common frames. The discussions highlight the role NGOs can play in influencing public opinion through their representations, and the tools they use in mobilising their campaigners.

2.1.5 NGO campaigning: The knowledge dimension

Campaigns can raise awareness and create symbols of the problem, activate millions of people and bring organisations together. They can develop a new narrative for development and define what is fair and what it describes as patently unjust (Leipold, 2002: 82)

Leipold (2002) analysed campaigning as a strategy adopted by NGOs to gain legitimacy for their advocacy. Like Chapman and Fisher (2000), he identified two broad categories of campaigners as; campaign organisations, and NGOs that undertake campaigning as apart of their advocacy. As noted earlier in Lang's analysis of NGOisation, this classification does not capture the dynamics and nuances between different types of NGOs that engage in campaigning. Leipold however, acknowledged the increasing use of campaigning by INGOs that engage in development advocacy as an activity for raising awareness of a problem and mobilising the public, as well as a strategy for undertaking collaborative advocacy. Collaborations with smaller radical and less bureaucratised groups led by young people was a way of dealing with the

constraints the more institutionalised NGOs faced as “agents of government” (Leiplod, 2002:80-82).

The gains made by student-led organisations like People and Planet in pressuring multinational clothing organisations to improve working conditions for factory workers in Honduras and Indonesia was evidence in their ability to address the root problem. However, this analysis leaves unanswered the problem of how INGOs that undertake campaigning to increase public understanding and challenge global inequality can also achieve similar impact in addressing the structural problems.

Although the organisational knowledge approach is discussed in the second part of this chapter and later in the conceptual framework, ‘knowledge’ is used here to mean information that is actionable, pertinent, contextual, and based on some experience (Leonard & Sensiper, 1998). Some authors have been critical of the role of NGOs in producing development knowledge. For example, Petras and Veltmeyer (2001:137) view NGOs as intellectual policemen that define and decide what is considered acceptable and validated knowledge on global development through a process that filters out more radical voices. The level of NGOisation also influences the way organisations frame knowledge to contain radical messages and promote an orientation towards passive participation (Choudry and Kapoor, 2010; Lang (2013:64).

NGOs disseminate information with which they plan and persuade or mobilise their campaigners to take prescribed actions. However, a number of studies (see for example, Darnton & Kirk, 2011;Crompton, 2010;Brown, 2013) have suggested that NGO campaigning offers unclear rewards as an activity that can increase public understanding of global poverty and that its potential as a strategy to enable public engagement with global development challenge is uncertain. Baillie Smith (2013) also noted that NGO campaigns such as MPH and Jubilee 2000 shape the ways the Northern publics understand and respond to development issues. This suggests that the way campaigning influence public perception is linked to how the issue is framed and presented to the public. In considering the knowledge dimension of NGO campaigning, Dogra (2012:1) described the representations of aid agencies and NGOs as a key part of “our stock of knowledge” about global poverty and inequality. Dogra (2012:2-3) further suggested that beyond their role as development actors, NGOs are carriers of material and cultural knowledge across the world, and that their representations influence what the public come to know about global poverty.

Although the scope of this literature review does not include discussions on the theory of transformative learning, it draws on the constructivist position of the cognitive

connection between 'learning' and 'experience' (Mezirow, 2000:18). Mezirow suggested that participation in dialogue is an important experience for how adult learners or 'knowers' review their held perceptions (*ibid*). Constructivism also makes an important link between learning, knowledge and participation (Illeris, 2009; Jarvis, 2009; Merriam et al. 2007). In this thesis however, 'participation' is replaced with the concept of 'voice' that conveys more clearly the importance of deliberation, rather than passive forms of participation where the organisation aggregates voice in the assumed role as proxy public (Gastil, 2010). The possibility of activating and expanding public understanding of global inequality through networking and mediating the interaction between a collection of actors connected to an issue further strengthen the constructivist approach to knowledge construction.

However, Dechalert (1999) and Pettigrew (1990) noted that not all forms of campaigning enable public debate. For example, the petitions NGOs use in their campaign have a limited influence beyond institutional lobby to get issues on the agenda of policy makers. Similarly, Baillie Smith (2013:2) used the concept of *complex subjectivities* to argue that GE offered limited opportunity for "critical engagement with the complex ways in which development discourse shaped the imaginaries of citizens in the Global North". This concept refers to the simplistic and condensed way the fields of GE present complex and context-oriented issues to the public without attention to the multi-layered ways in which particular structures reproduce certain conditions. Bryan and Bracken (2011) described this discrepancy as a structural conflict between the primary agendas of NGOs as charities and their assumed role as representatives of the public. The role of NGOs in shaping identities through their activities as agents of social change is also an area of interest within the academe. Yanacopulos and Baillie Smith's (2008) analysis of the type of cosmopolitanism NGOs promote in search of development alternative provides a way of analysing their status as agents of change and the implications of their practices.

Although writers like Vertovec and Cohen (2002) have analysed the many ways in which cosmopolitanism is interpreted, I limit my concern to the specific way Yanacopulos and Baillie Smith (2008) applied cosmopolitanism in analysing the practices of NGOs and the implications for shaping the identities of NGO campaigners. Both authors proposed that "cosmopolitanism provides a range of contact points with NGOs and the search for development alternative", and that the activities of NGOs in persuading individuals to respond to the wellbeing of people in distant societies can be seen as promoting a post-national cosmopolitan agenda (*ibid*: 300). According to Yanacopulos and Smith Baillie (2008:300), INGO campaigning on global poverty is associated with ideas of trans-nationality that promotes a disposition of commonality

with people across cultural and political boundaries, while also exploiting a consciousness of difference that supports their charity appeals.

The construction of knowledge that projects the contradictory dualism of charity and social justice can be argued to contribute to the distortion of the frame of reference with which to interpret and respond to issues of global poverty. The reference to shaping the identities of campaigners is important as it holds NGOs accountable for not only the norms they foster, but also the kind of publics they constitute through their narratives. The point made in this argument is that whilst NGOs engage in activities that encourage commonality beyond national boundaries, they at the same time highlight difference with the 'other' in order to generate funds for their humanitarian work (*ibid*). For the INGOs, this presents a trade-off between trying to gain and maintain an insider status for their advocacy and mobilising public support for donations to their charity causes.

These discussions suggest that development INGOs limit their publicness when they become more NGOised, and are inclined to adopt institutional advocacy that minimise confrontation with the state, while also limiting input from external constituencies (Choudry and Kapoor, 2013; Lang, 2013). "Publicness" refers to where NGOs can establish and initiate debate between actors inside and outside the organisation using the same frame (Bennette, 2009). Hanley (2009) suggested that in building support for poverty eradication, it is critical that the conversation goes beyond public awareness to include purposive participation in the debates and conversations that explore the causes of global poverty and inequality.

In a critique of the inadequacy of Habermas' (1998) normative proposition of the public sphere where such conversations happen, Fraser's (1992) notion of counterpublics explain alternative sites such as virtual forums where marginalised voices interact and express their perspective. The desire to promote pluralism in the expression of 'voice' has led to the emergence of organisations like PANOS in the UK that provide an arena for marginalised voices to find expression.³ Such organisations see the inclusion of different views and forms of local knowledge as important in gaining multiple perspectives on global poverty, and as an alternative to the 'single' narrative of dominant INGOs. Castells' theory of the Network Society provides a lens for analysing these counterpublic arenas and the activities of campaigners that engage in counterdiscourse with subaltern actors.

³(www.panos.org.uk).

The literature on NGO campaigning showed that campaigners act on advocacy issues that are framed within the organisation, and communicated to the public, and therefore, are stakeholders in disseminating knowledge. The discussions showed the dual role of campaigners as receivers and disseminators of information, while highlighting also, the potential role they can play in generating and multiplying similar frames that can activate public deliberation.

The literature showed that NGOs limit the opportunity for campaigners to engage, and provoke public debate when they adopt institutional forms of advocacy that target policy makers. The link between experience and participation was also highlighted as important for adult learners, and the 'voice' discourse argued to convey more clearly the importance of active involvement than the 'participation'. The discussion on the public sphere as a venue for civic expression was further explored to include notions of counterpublics (Fraser, 1992) and mediated publics (Thompson, 1995) as an alternative arena for negotiating meaning. This also provides the context for the discussions in the second part this chapter, on the role of ICT for sustaining the network NGOs and their campaigners build in communicating their message, as well as for including the voices of marginalised groups (Thompson, 1992). The next section examines the discussions on frames for public engagement in more detail.

2.1.6 Frames and public engagement

As noted earlier, the Finding Frames report compiled by Darnton and Kirk provided the basis for some of the key assumptions made in this thesis, as well as the baseline for definitions used in applying the concept of frames. The influence of the report in rethinking the approaches development NGOs adopt for engaging with their campaign audiences manifested in the course of the interview, as participants from the sampled organisations made reference to its propositions and findings. A central proposition in the Finding Frames report is that 'frames' and 'values' offer "a cognitive device by which we use to interpret things and structure our thoughts..." (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:66). Lakoff (2006:25) described frames as "mental structures that allow humans understand reality and create what they take to be reality". While frames influence the way we understand and interpret messages, values are the guiding principles fundamental to human motivational system, and a means by which humans judge situations and decide on a course of action (Lakoff, 2010).

The Finding Frames report highlighted some of the common criticism encountered in the representations of global poverty in INGO campaigning. For example, it described the charity aid narrative INGOs use in their campaigning as *surface frames*, which Darnton and Kirk (2011:65) traced to the legacy of the 1985 Live Band Aid campaign

that paid more attention to the pop hype than the root causes of inequality linked to deep frames. Darnton (2011:75) described *deep frames* as set in a moral context or worldview, while *surface frames* were neutral and ambivalent in projecting values. The two types of frames are present in text and discourse, and are multiplied by using particular narratives (Darnton and Kirk 2011). Darnton linked surface frames to the shift from face-to-face association in INGO campaigning to online forms of engagement in which the public received partial information with little opportunity for interaction with each other (*ibid*: 74). The absence of face-to-face encounter between campaigners is addressed in Thompson's (1995) analysis of mediated public spaces, where the digital information and communication age has made it possible to generate virtual publics in which social actors interact.

While the era of online campaigning has minimised face-to-face interaction, mediated public spaces in the form web-based communication "present opportunities for extending the arena for deliberation, transnational alliances and rapid horizontal dissemination of information" (Lang, 2013:181). The Finding Frames report also highlighted much of the points made in earlier discussions around modes and strategies of NGO advocacy and the implication different approaches to communication has for activating public deliberation. In spite of the 'Justice, not Charity' slogan adopted in MPH campaign message, the Finding Frames report explained the inability of the campaign to sustain deep frames to the dominance of consumerist values in its communication strategy (Darnton & Kirk, 2011:32).

The focus of the MPH campaign on communicating with the G8 leaders, and the prominence of fundraising strategies that included, for example, the sale of branded articles to generate funds worked against the attempt to reframe public engagement with global poverty (*ibid*). The use of images of scarcity promoted surface frames that evoked compassionate responses, rather than activate the 'Justice, not charity frames'. However, the use of social justice frames in campaigning does not necessarily translate to increased levels of public understanding, as such frames will need to be multiplied and used in the wider public. As Hilary (2013:22-24) noted, MPH showed that "campaign policy demands have minimal relevance to broader impact, unless carried through into outward facing communication". The Finding frames report also described online forms of engagement as encouraging clicktivism, a consumerist culture linked to a transaction rather than a social justice frame that evokes public deliberation frame (Darnton & Kirk, 2011:19).

The notion of *clicktivism* refers to a detached form of online engagement with the conflict issues, where campaign messages are decontextualised for mass appeal, and

the call for actions usually taking the form of petitions. White (2010) described this form of campaigning as aiming to achieve a target number of participation rather than an understanding of the campaign issue. The Finding frames report also restated the common criticism that campaigning is a 'single issue' activity planned around public action on predetermined goals (Darnton & Kirk, 2011). This is evident in the way NGOs frame their campaigns to deal with the symptoms, rather than address the broader root causes.

The argument against 'single issue' campaign ignores the fact that single and isolated issues provide greater clarity in generating frames necessary for introducing a new narrative. For example, the exploitation of workers by multinational companies in specific developing countries highlights the wider structural dimension of their business operation. Following the discussions on activating public debates through NGO campaigning, the focus on a single issue lends itself to 'thicker' voices and allows for density in conversations more than issues that are communicated in broad, abstract terms (Lang, 2013). The Finding Frames report concluded that when people are only informed about activities rather than an active participation in identifying potential solutions, they are less likely to engage deeply (Darnton and Kirk, 2011). Active 'participation' refers to an active involvement that relates to the voice discourse, which promotes public deliberation (Gastil, 2008). The term 'deep' or 'deeper' engagement is commonly used to describe levels of public interest, awareness or interaction with global poverty and inequality.

Within the discourses of NGO campaigning and public engagement with global poverty, there is a similar lack of clarity on what public engagement means. Although there is little clarity or agreement on what 'engagement' means in DE, Bourn and Brown (2011:11) suggested 'engagement' could be interpreted in different ways to mean "to show an interest", "to take action" or "to explore the issues". These interpretations are considered interconnected, and relate to experience and the conditions associated with the notion of *public understanding* that is applied in this research. However, it is also acknowledged that the different meanings and senses in which the term engagement is interpreted represent different levels of response, and different ways of framing and communicating knowledge to achieve a set objective. In this thesis, the last two interpretations 'to take action' and 'to explore' are applied where the term 'deep engagement' or 'engagement' is used.

The discussion on the importance of frames is further articulated in Mezirow's (2000:16-18) description of a *frame of reference* as "the structures of assumptions and meaning schemes by which we process and filter information and interpret experience".

'Structures of assumptions and meaning schemes' also relates to the suggestion by Ollis (2011:253) that, "many adults bring to their learning, a level of existing knowledge acquired through having lived a long life of complexities". Ollis' also argued that because adults bring into learning knowledge they acquire through experience, they learn and process knowledge differently (*ibid*). The importance of our frame of reference for how we interpret experience and new information implies that learning designed for adults should recognise that they come with a prior perspective.

The question then arises on how NGOs as sub publics can activate similar frames in their campaigning, and how these frames can be multiplied. Lang (2013:56-57) suggested three broad communication indicators that determine the ability of NGO campaigners to activate similar frames namely: the density of communication between campaigners, the mode of communication, and the target of their communication. The density refers to how often an issue is being communicated using the same frame, and the mode of communication refers to whether the communication is within or beyond immediate members. The third indicator refers to whether the campaign strategy targets policy institutions or reaching out to the public (*ibid*: 57). The mode of communication does not exist in mutual exclusion and can sometimes be combined in a single campaign initiative. However, it is the public forms of advocacy that evoke public deliberation necessary for generating similar frames across an audience (Gastil, 2008).

The emphasis the frames theory places on multiplying 'deep frames' and 'values', and the political nature of the knowledge about poverty and inequality raise the question of indoctrination, not only in educational setting but also in NGO public campaigns. Snook (1972 cited in Brown, 2013) described indoctrination in education as "when evidence or knowledge is presented in a way which is likely to distort the ability of *the knower* to access the evidence on its own merit" (Emphasis mine). Indoctrination can take different forms, and within the context of education and knowledge it can occur in discourse, graphics, narratives, or the conscious use of ambivalent concepts presented in written or spoken text (Brown 2013). Standish (2012), a strong critic of educational approaches to the fields of GE argued the fallacy in education where the learning curriculum is designed to promote a particular perspective and attitude, rather than to develop competence for people to make their rational choices.

While the political nature of the issues NGOs campaign about is not contested, adopting an approach in which they play a mediating role that enable campaigners express voice and negotiate meanings on global poverty will minimise accusations of indoctrination. The Finding Frames report however rejected the argument of

indoctrination, stating that there is no such thing as “neutral communication” in knowledge that develops the human mind to reason in particular ways (Darnton & Kirk, 2011:9). This also applies to liberal education in which the curriculum develops the mind of learners to reason and interpret phenomena from a modernist perspective.

This section highlighted the importance of the Finding Frames report in understanding the concept of “frames” and how they influence the way humans make meaning and public perception. ‘Frames’ and ‘values’ were noted as useful lenses through which people can understand global poverty and a way by which it can also be challenged (*ibid*: 13). The Finding Frames report emphasised the implication for the frames NGOs use in the representations of global poverty in their campaigning. Activating similar frames on the other hand depended on the mode of communication, the target of NGO communication, as well as the density of the interaction between campaigners (Lang, 2013:57). The literature also clarified the use of concepts such as ‘engagement’ and its different forms, noting that different modes of advocacy offered different opportunities for how NGOs and their campaigners are able to multiply particular frames and values. It was also noted that the modes of advocacy NGOs adopt for their campaigning present different opportunities for initiating public debate and the possibility of multiplying similar frames. Generating similar frames was argued to be important for introducing new narratives.

2.1.7 How young people know about global poverty and inequality

The literature on how young people in the UK and Ireland know and engage with global development is important considering the visibility of young adults in major collaborative campaigns such as Live Aid, MPH in 2005 (Darnton & Kirk, 2011), and recently the IF campaign in 2013. Much of the literature on how young adults in the UK know about global poverty comes from published reports and studies commissioned and funded by government international development agencies in collaboration with NGOs. The *World Online* survey published by International Broadcasting Trust (IBT) and funded by the Department for International Development (DFID) found that young people used the Internet more to expand their existing knowledge than for exploring new knowledge (Fenyoe, 2009:5). What this implied is that young people needed to have an existing interest in order to seek more knowledge or information on global issues.

The *World Online* research also found that users of the Internet responded better when the content directly concerned “issues originating from below as opposed to issues that came from top-down” (Fenyoe, 2009:9). Internet users were also attracted to a process in which they could contribute to defining a particular subject, and where knowledge

communicated on a development issue responded to their immediate issue of interest (*ibid*:5-7). The report also revealed that users of the Internet were put off by the message of 'charity aid' (*ibid*: 9). 'Shared experience' was also important in transforming the perspective of young people, and reflected in the accounts given by volunteers who thought their experience in developing countries was empowering for influencing their peers (Fenyoe, 2009:6).

Global Generation is another survey by International Broadcasting Trust (IBT) that focused on how young people in the UK between ages 14 -20 engaged with the wider world and the role of the media in that process. The report compiled by Cross et al. (2010) is relevant to this research for the insight it provides on the role and use of the Internet in communicating global development issues. The report arrived at similar conclusions with the World online report and added that young people were put off by the dominance of negative media messages about the developing world and poverty (Cross et al., 2010:6). This relates to what Moeller (1999) described as compassion fatigue that puts the public off NGO campaign messages. The report concluded that "...young people do not want to be talked at, they want to be talked to" (*ibid*, 2010:7).

Two other reports that surveyed the perception of young people and their attitude to global development are the InterMedia report published in early 2012 in the UK and the Suas report, a national survey of university students in Ireland. The InterMedia report provides baseline information for organisations involved in international development communication, and also actionable knowledge to guide policy makers (www.intermedia.org). The InterMedia survey included China, France, Germany and the UK. The survey in the UK comprised a random sample of 600 young people aged 16+ described as interested citizens predisposed to engaging with global development. The survey focused on the conditions under which interested citizens and decision makers were likely to engage with global development policy issues, and factors that influenced and motivated their engagement.

The InterMedia report suggested that interested citizens constituted a significant proportion of the citizenry as a whole, and that "development advocates have fertile ground in which to sow deeper engagement among citizens" (InterMedia, 2012:3). The report concluded that there are gaps and inefficiencies in the delivery of development information that presented concrete engagement opportunities. It revealed that the attitude of young people to development was influenced mainly by their 'upbringing, personal ties and experience' rather than development courses (2012:3-5). Keating et al. (cited in Bourn & Brown, 2011:13) made a similar observation on the role of family, friends, peer groups and network groups in influencing the perception of young people.

Although not much was said about the influence of taught courses, the report suggested that public engagement needed to be planned to feed through these formative elements. It also found that the majority of interested citizens 'did not actively seek out information on international development, but received it passively mainly through television' (InterMedia, 2012:4). Furthermore, it found that young people used the Internet (news feeds on websites) to keep up with news and current affairs, and social media environments such as Facebook and Twitter were used to organise events and share links to campaign activities.

The InterMedia report concluded that although the majority of interested citizens tended to be above 26 years old, young people aged 16 to 25 also expressed a desire to know more about development issues. The report therefore, proposed the creation of an unbranded digital space for sharing and gathering information about international development issues as a way to minimise the presence of the agendas of dominant knowledge actors (*ibid*). The suggestion of an 'unbranded digital space' relates to the discussions on mediated public spaces and counter publics proposed by Thompson (1995) and Fraser (1992), and also conforms to the constructivist view of knowledge. These reports highlight how young people in the UK used the Internet for knowing about global development issues in the UK, and their attitude to the NGO campaign messages.

The Suas national survey on university students in Ireland published in 2013 examined attitudes, knowledge, understanding activism and learning about global development. The report provides a perspective from young adults in the Republic of Ireland where Trócaire, one of the sampled organisations is a leading actor. The Suas survey arrived at similar conclusions as the InterMedia report. This survey which included 1000 students from Ireland provided a demographic representation of how young adults engage in the effort to build support for international development and their attitudes to global inequality. The Suas report concluded that although the majority of young adults in university education in Ireland were interested in engaging with global issues, less than 1% of the 160,000 students in full time education participated in programs aimed at increasing public engagement (Suas, 2013:1). The report also noted that most respondents' listed one-off donation as the most frequent form of action they had taken in the last one year. Considering the affinity the UK and Ireland share in the evolution and delivery of DE, the Suas data and the InterMedia survey provide valuable data for triangulation in analysing the attitudes of young people towards global poverty.

These reports revealed some important information useful for analysing the data obtained from interviews and virtual methods. They showed that the Internet was an

important information and communication medium for young people who constitute an important component of NGO global poverty campaign target audience. The reports also revealed that young people showed more interest in processes that allowed them define the conversations. The role of friends, peer group and networks stood out as a contributory factor for their initial interest on global issues. Although it is suggested that young people use the Internet to find out more on existing interests rather than for new knowledge, the recent phenomenon on how the social media is used to radicalise young people invites the rethink of its potential role as a medium for influencing attitudes, and opinion formation about global development. However, these surveys agree with the suggestion by Brandzel (2010) that good online organising offers a powerful and democratic tool for achieving the vision of a more sustainable world NGOs advocate in their campaigning.

2.2 “Knowledge” as actionable information

In this second part of the literature chapter, I discuss the concept of knowledge and its interpretations in organisational knowledge theory as well as its conceptualisation in the digital ICT era as proposed by Castells’ (1997) Network Society. The discussion on ‘knowledge’ is important in two main ways. Firstly, this research adopts a constructivist approach to knowledge that recognises the significance of the sociocultural context and unequal power relations in the process of knowledge construction (Taylor, 1996; Choudry & Kapoor, 2010). Secondly, understanding the ways knowledge is produced and framed for NGO campaigning is important for analysing how the public perceive global poverty, and how their campaigners can act as catalysts for increasing public understanding.

As mentioned earlier, I did not include the debates on the philosophy of knowledge as my aim is to explore and apply the expanded conceptions of knowledge in the Network Society, as well as offer a definition that clarifies its application in this thesis. My use of the term ‘knowledge’ derives from organisational knowledge theory that proposes contextual and actionable forms of knowledge that differ from the traditional doctrines of knowledge (Drucker, 1993; Jasmuddin, 2012). Within the discourse of organisational knowledge theory, I focus specifically on the debates concerning the distinction between forms of knowledge as proposed by Michael Polanyi (1966), and developed by recent scholars of organisational knowledge such as Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995), Spencer (1996), Davenport & Prusak (1996), and Collins (2010). In addressing a major limitation in Polanyi’s proposition that gives little attention to dynamics outside the organisation, I refer to Nonaka’s (1994) knowledge creation framework that includes the analysis of social processes outside the organisation.

The concept of knowledge traditionally falls in the area of epistemology that refers to the philosophical study of the nature of knowledge. Since the earliest philosophical definition of knowledge by the Greek philosopher Plato as “justified true belief”, its meaning has remained contested through the ages (Hertog & Huizenga, 2000). Drucker (1993:19) described a recent radical change in the meaning of knowledge from when it was seen as referring to *being* to include its conception as *doing*, and the change in its production and form as a private good to a public good. This change was accelerated by the emergence of both postmodernism and the constructivist schools of thought that shifted attention from traditional philosophical doctrines of knowledge (Jasimuddin 2012:3-5). A number of definitions offered by scholars of organisational knowledge derive from Polanyi’s (1966) classification of human knowledge into tacit and explicit knowledge (Jasimuddin, 2012:101). According to Polanyi (1958), tacit knowledge is personalised and difficult to articulate form of knowledge that is derived from individual experience. Examples of tacit knowledge include intuition, values and emotions. Conversely, explicit knowledge is knowledge that can be codified, stored and retrieved for future use.

Polanyi (1966) proposed that all knowledge is rooted in tacit knowledge since “knowledge either originates from experience or derives from interpretations of explicit knowledge” which is internalised and reconverted to tacit knowledge (cited in Jasimuddin, 2012:102). These processes account for the perceptions, understanding and competencies of social actors, and by extension, the public. Although organisational knowledge offers a number of definitions that reflect the setting in different types of organisations, I refer to three definitions that are relevant to organisations that communicate with actors that work collectively to accomplish a common goal. Alavi and Leidner (1999:109) defined knowledge as “justified personal belief that increases the individual’s capacity to take effective action”. They further described knowledge as the result of cognitive processing where information is converted to knowledge once it is processed in the minds of individuals, and that knowledge becomes information when it is articulated and presented in the form of text, graphics or symbols” (*ibid*).

Davenport and Prusak (1998:5) provide a conceptual definition of knowledge as a fluid mix of framed experience, values, contextualised information and expert insight that provides a framework for incorporating new experience and information. The third definition of knowledge I consider comes from Leonard and Sensiper (1998) who describe knowledge as information that is pertinent, actionable, and based on some experience. These three definition describe two characteristics that are core to the form of knowledge proposed in this thesis; firstly, its context and actionable orientation, and

secondly, the dualism of its tacit and explicit forms that integrate lived experience. This process is further explained in two influential models in organisational knowledge theory.

In their seminal book *The Knowledge Creation Company*, Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) went further to develop Polanyi's concepts of tacit and explicit knowledge. They propose that tacit knowledge and explicit knowledge are complementary entities that interact in a process where experiential knowledge is converted to explicit knowledge and internalised by social actors that apply it to practical problems as tacit knowledge. Nonaka and Takeuchi developed a model that showed how individuals and groups with common goals could engage in knowledge creating activities. Wickramasinghe and Lubitz (2007) offer a generic description of knowledge in organisational knowledge theory to involve four broad progressive but interactive stages.

The first stage is the *generation* of information by institutions and organisations in its tacit and explicit form, and the information interpreted by using signs, codes and symbols that can be retrieved. Knowledge *creation* is the second stage in the knowledge cycle where group involvement is most critical for negotiating meaning and defining a context (*ibid*: 32). As seen below in figure1, the distribution stage entails sharing of knowledge for the purpose of application to accomplish specific tasks.

Figure1: The Knowledge Cycle by Wickramasinghe and Lubitz (2007)



In all these stages and processes, the involvement of group members and interaction with the organisation is regarded as an important condition for the knowledge spiral to successfully run its full course. In the context of INGO campaigning, these processes can be explained in the way the organisation generates tacit knowledge through interaction with local communities in the Global South, and the conversion of such experience to explicit knowledge transmitted to the policy and research teams within the organisation. The final and most important stage that relates to actionable knowledge is the internalisation of explicit as tacit knowledge, which happens when members or actors with a common objective encounter and acquire the actionable information as knowledge.

The critique of the organisational knowledge approach is mainly in its application to corporate organisations that seek economies of scale in the world of profit margins and oligopolies. However, there are two major areas of critique that relate to the conception of knowledge applied in this thesis. The first is that the analysis of organisational knowledge overlooks dynamics of knowledge generation that happens outside the organisation, and the second concerns interpretations of the concepts of tacit and explicit knowledge. Although organisational knowledge is still an evolving theory, Dawson (2000 as cited in Jasimuddin, 2012:109) observed that its analysis of the process of knowledge creating tends to focus on relationships within the organisation, while neglecting exogenous forces that operate outside the organisation. The focus of organisational knowledge theory on client relationships arguably results in its association with the corporate world of profits and limited application in non-profit arena of civil society organisations.

The second level of criticism relates to the theoretical analysis of *tacit* knowledge by a number of scholars of organisational knowledge such as Collins (2010) who argued that the classical treatment of tacit knowledge that includes bodily skills or how the brain works is misplaced. He contended that what the human brain and body do is not different from the lower animals such as dogs, and that the knowledge hounds use to hunt (such as instinct) is a different type of tacit knowledge from that which can be explicated. He therefore proposed three classifications of tacit knowledge as a way to explain the contestation on the nature and explicability of tacit knowledge. Collins described his three classifications as; somatic tacit knowledge which is 'embodied' in the human brain, collective tacit knowledge embodied in society, and rational tacit knowledge, which can be explicated or transferred by symbols and codes (*ibid*:2-3). He also criticised Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995) treatment of tacit knowledge as overlooking these distinctions. What this analysis implies is that all classifications of tacit knowledge have cognitive dimensions, but not all can be explicated (Collins, 2010:7). The use of tacit knowledge in this thesis concerns only the last two classifications that are explicable and logical.

Polanyi's classification of forms of knowledge was discussed as the theoretical foundation adopted in applying organisational knowledge theory in this thesis. Under this formulation, knowledge is understood as actionable and pertinent information that is value laden. Experience, information and action emerged as converging elements in the various definitions of knowledge that were considered. Nonaka and Takeuchi's knowledge creation model provided a way of understanding the processes by which forms of knowledge emerge, and how contextual information gets converted to actionable status. The discussion on the knowledge cycle also provided a conceptual

lens by which to understand knowledge in organisational knowledge theory. Organisational knowledge theory therefore offers a way by which to examine the dynamics in the way NGOs construct knowledge on global poverty, and the opportunities for the involvement of campaigners as stakeholders collaborating to accomplish a defined objective. In the next two sections, I look specifically at the contribution of Castells' concept of the Network Society in explaining the diffused arenas of knowledge, and processes that occur both within and outside the organisation.

2.2.1 Network Society: Informationalism

In outlining Castells' (1997) theory of the Network Society, I focus on how the advances in digital ICT have altered the way knowledge is conceived, produced, framed and disseminated. I limit the scope of my discussion on Castells to the influence and implications of the advances in digital communication on the sources and interpretations of knowledge, paying specific attention to the concepts of *informationalism* and *communication power* in the Network Society (*ibid*). The literature on the Network Society is important for two main reasons; firstly, it provides a way of understanding the informational and actionable nature of the concept of knowledge I applied in the study; secondly, it contributes to understanding the diffused nature of knowledge production, and its communication among heterogeneous actors and across geo-cultural boundaries.

The main thesis of Castells' (2000) trilogy is that the world today exists in a Network Society in which social structure is made up of networks linked by digitally based communication technologies. A generic definition of the Network Society is offered by Stalder (2006:167) as "a complex form of organisation held together by communication, and driven by digital information flows". The central argument of the Network Society is that "technological networks have emerged as a way in contemporary society to access information that enables the immediacy of communication across economic, cultural and political boundaries" (Castells, 2005:3). For Castells, the Network Society is "an enduring pattern of large-scale interaction among heterogeneous social actors that coordinate through electronic information flows" (*ibid*: 183).

Castells described *informationalism* as a "technological paradigm and a particular way of organising the material base of society across the full range of human activity" (Stalder, 2006:28-30). It is a concept that explains "the augmentation of human capacity to process information based on the revolution in digital information technologies" and the new possibilities of recombination and distributional flexibility in processing information (*ibid*). In his review of Network Society theory, Stalder (2006)

described informationalism as “the pattern of large-scale interaction among heterogeneous social actors that are held together by a common frame of reference, constituted by a shared interest and coordinating themselves through electronic information flows” (*ibid*:183). Stalder (2006:29) further outlined some key features of the concept of informationalism as “self-expansion, recombination and distributional flexibility”. ‘Self-expansion’ refers to the fact that computers provide social actors the ability to recombine and reconstitute different kinds of information into new forms of knowledge that can be distributed from one to many receivers.

Castells did not conceive of the Network Society as existing in tranquillity or complete harmony, rather, he saw it as working on a binary logic of inclusion and exclusion with entry dependent upon the ability for social actors to acquire the technology (Mulgan, 1991:21). This tension describes the way digital ICT is used by dominant development knowledge producers such as NGOs to filter the local knowledge obtained through their communication channels to groups in the Global South. Castells further suggested that the information age was characterised by a multidirectional flexibility and self-configuration that offer the possibility of the horizontal integration of knowledge retrieved from a diversity of sources (Stalder, 2006:30; Castells, 2000). Considering that the concept of the Network Society cuts across political economy, social organisation of production, power, globalisation, and business technology, an accurate definition of the theory can only be achieved within the particular context in which it is applied. The overarching logic of the Network Society is however, explained by the shift from the industrial society to a post-industrial era, where knowledge and social relations of production are no longer based on vertical hierarchies, but a network of multiple actors engaged in their production and distribution.

Castells described this shift as epochal, in that it represents a shift to an information age where the conflict in social relations of production is the access to information and knowledge. Castells describes this new possibility as the era where information has acquired the attributes of knowledge, hence the integration of *informational knowledge* that is problem-based and collectively generated, with abstract knowledge that is intellectual property (Stalder, 2006:72). He therefore, used the term ‘*knowledge-based information*’ to refer to this new type of knowledge that is driven by the desire to solve practical problems. Although Castells offered no formal definition of the term ‘knowledge based information’, he used it to distinguish between the chaotic world of conjectures, somatic tacit knowledge embodied in the human brain, and what may be factual statements. Stalder however, described this as codified formal knowledge that can be applied in the pursuit of a concrete goal (*ibid*: 71). Jessop (2003) suggested that the absence of a definition of knowledge-based information may be due to Castells

focus on the technological dynamics of the theory rather than the nature or form of knowledge it propagated. They suggested that such a perspective could help in understanding 'information' as both collectively generated knowledge, and an abstract property.

The notion of "knowledge-based information" relates to the conception of knowledge in organisational knowledge theory as actionable information aimed at accomplishing a defined objective, and for resolving conflict of a social nature (Tiwana, 2000). Gibbons et al.'s (1994) concept of Mode2 knowledge production provides a practical way of elaborating on the social processes of knowledge production proposed in the Network Society. The main thrust of Gibbons et al.'s (1994) proposition is that there has emerged fundamental changes in the ways in which scientific and social knowledge is produced that marks a shift towards a new mode of knowledge production. The volume compiled by six accomplished academics from the diverse disciplines of science, humanities, education, social science and public policy argued that this new mode of knowledge production is trans disciplinary and characterised by reflexivity and heterogeneity.

Although the main focus of their thesis was research on development in science and technology in contemporary societies, it appealed more to the social science and humanities analyses of pluralism, and the changing dimension of knowledge in the epoch of digital communication. The transdisciplinary and heterogeneous feature implies that problems are not set within a disciplinary framework, but in the context of a problem, and its dissemination occurs in the process of application (*ibid*: 3-5). Gibbons et al. (1994) suggested that this mode of knowledge production supplements rather than supplant traditional knowledge generated within a structured disciplinary context they described as mode1. The concept of Mode2 knowledge production relates to processes described in Network Society's *informational knowledge*, and also makes a link with collaborating actors proposed in organisational knowledge. This relationship is described in more detail in the next chapter outlining the conceptual framework. However, these two modes of knowledge production relate to the social constructivist approach to knowledge.

Beyond its use by Castells to describe a new social relation of production, the term 'network' is also used in its associational connotation to describe how social actors organise and coordinate their activities. Some NGOs maintain a network of social actors or members as a way of generating similar discourse in extending their narrative, and use web-based networks to achieve this rapidly. In their seminal study on NGOs and the use of networks to mobilise members, Keck & Sikkink (1998:2) used

the term transnational advocacy network (TAN) to describe actors who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse and exchange of information and services. The web is considered the most important networking medium for mobilising voice for campaigning as it enables rapid and horizontal dissemination of information and the potential for interactive opinion formation (Bennett, 2004). It is, however, important to add that knowledge produced and exchanged in the network is not necessarily free from the influence of power imbalances and its diffusion would depend on how the network is configured.

The terms 'network' and 'partners' have been analysed to convey more than their literal connotations. Baaz (2005) noted that in the broader context of development institutions, these terms carry embedded qualities of power relationship. He further suggested that the concept of "partnership focuses on the relationship between donors and receivers, where development aid is conducted between partners" (*Ibid*: 6). With specific reference to INGOs, Brinkerhoff (2002:7) suggested that INGOs conceive of 'partnerships' and local partners as a means of enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of their development work rather than a structure of power diffusion. This form of relationship that is built on unequal power also manifests in their network that serves mainly for coordination.

The concept of informationalism was outlined and discussed as a framework for understanding the new modes and arenas of knowledge production, and actors in the diffused knowledge environment of the Network Society. The ability to reconfigure information was noted as having two significant implications, firstly, the counter power marginalised social actors acquire to construct knowledge, and secondly, the process and criteria for validation that comes with it. The two concepts of communication power and informationalism explained the diffused and problem-based forms of knowledge production adopted in the conceptual framework.

2.2.2 Communication power: diffused sites of knowledge production

The concept of *communication power* refers to the decentralisation of the power to create, retrieve and distribute information that empowers individuals and groups to bypass traditional knowledge hierarchies (Castells, 2009:47-49).

Castells referred to this as 'self-directed mass communication' and the distributive binary of informationalism (Castells, 2009:54). The discussion on the concept of communication power has two major implications for this literature review. Firstly, its analysis of counter-power that has transformed the nature and realm of communication that enables self-directed mass communication and interactivity between individuals,

social agents and institutions. Secondly, the capacity and possibilities it gives actors to reconfigure recombine and reproduce different forms of knowledge into interactive digital text that integrates the diverse range of cultural expressions (*ibid*: 55,302).

Castells (2009) described *communication* as the sharing of meaning through the exchange of information via a technology-driven process that integrates cultural codes. Lang (2013:181) also commented on the potential of the web as an arena for “interactive opinion formation and low-cost mobilisation of voice for campaigning”. This definition of web-based communication power has epistemological implications when combined with Castells conceptualisation of informationalism. It also fits with Touraine’s (2004) resource mobilisation tradition of social movement as a new way of mobilising action and actors that responds to the diffused centres of power. Castells saw power as important to how particular forms of knowledge become validated or dominant, since what is valued and institutionalised in society is a function of power relations. Castells therefore defined power as “the relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically, the decision of other actors in ways that favours the will and interest of dominant actors” (Castells, 2009:10-11). He further argued that a change in power relations happens when there is tension between compliance and rejection, and that structural change will depend on the extent to which the latter is stronger than the former.

Castells’ use of ‘asymmetry’ to characterise the degree of influence is based on the assumption that power is never absolute, when it is concerned with social relationships and must, therefore, be seen in the context of possible resistance (*ibid*). Since power is exercised by coercion, or through the framing of narratives, dominant actors tend to seek compliance through setting the agenda of discourse. In relation to the production of knowledge, McEwan (2009:167) made a similar point on the asymmetry between development knowledge and power, where dominant institutions decide what is validated knowledge. Castells analysed the tension between individualised forms of public space and dominant global knowledge hierarchies as a relationship between “power and counter power”, “framing and counter framing” of perception (2009:42-47). This tension is manifest in the ways the Internet is used by powerful institutions to frame public mind-set, attitudes and worldviews through the production and dissemination of knowledge-based information or *informational knowledge* (Stalder, 2006:72). It also relates to the counterpublics and counterdiscourse that Fraser (1992) described as the sites where marginalised groups excluded from mainstream discourse converges to express their voices.

Within the theories of Network Society therefore, counterdiscourse can be conceived of as the manifestation of counter power in mediated public venues enabled by digital technology. This process replicated in dominant knowledge arenas has been driven by the proliferation of postcolonial and postmodern discourse practices that expose the influence of power in the production of knowledge about global poverty and inequality. As McEwan (2009:167) noted, "Knowledge itself is a form of power and by implication violent in the way it gives authority to possessors of knowledge and the way dominant forms of knowledge close off spaces for other forms of knowledge". Such discrepancies in the distribution of counter power also depend on how more established actors integrate the voices of subjugated groups into 'mainstream' discourses.

The Network Society, therefore, offers a highly decentralised and pluralistic form of influencing public perceptions, and for mobilising public action. An important feature of the cultural dimension of the Network Society is the transformation of communication in two contradictory but compatible trends that result in the parallel development of multiple identities and the simultaneous rise of individualism and communalism (Castells, 2004; Norris, 2000; Barker, 2005). The dual privileging of individualism and communalism precisely reflects the contradiction in the binary relation between relativism and universalism in the Network Society theory, where the 'local' and 'global' are mutually obsessed.

Critiques of Castells analysis of the Network Society include Peter Marcuse (2002) and Saskia (1991:52). These writers argued that although the broad description of diffused power in the Network Society is justified, it does not preclude that its different formations operate under specific rules that are far from arbitrary (Stalder, 2006:133). Therefore, it is important to use the theory as a compendium of conceptual units that offers a lens for analysing and understanding how different dynamics in a whole are driven and influenced by a network of micro phenomena. In addition to its recognition as an 'incomplete theory', a common criticism of Castells' trilogy is the lack of commitment to inductive or deductive positioning of his theory, and his preference for eclecticism renders it sometimes inconsistent and unstable (Stalder, 2006). This instability often results in internal contradictions and a lack of coherence when applied in interdisciplinary situations as one whole integrated theory. For example, the focus of its analysis on business management and technology and its integration of universalism and relativism sometimes create problems when examined across political economy to education (Stalder, 2006:59).

The most enduring criticism of Castells' Network Society lies outside its influence on knowledge production and more in the area of his analysis of the relationship of

production, and the diffusion of power in global regulatory regimes (*ibid*:129). The significance of the Network Society to this thesis is its analysis of the diffused communication power that individuals in diverse locations have to possess, retrieve, recombine and disseminate information that alter the dominance of traditional knowledge producers (Castells, 2009:54). It therefore, shows how campaigners as social actors from diverse locations can be involved in constructing and framing knowledge on global poverty. The process by which this occurs is articulated in the social movement tradition of resource mobilisation addressed in the next section.

The discussion on communication power explained the way ICT has expanded the range of actors, the diffusion in knowledge arenas, and the emergence of new domains of the public sphere where knowledge is socially produced and disseminated. The concept of actionable knowledge also shows the link between the conception of knowledge in the Network Society and theories of organisational knowledge that relates to Castells' concept of knowledge-based information. Gibbons et al.'s concept of Mode 2 knowledge production offered a means of elaborating on the practical and heterogeneous ways social actors collaborate in producing knowledge aimed at accomplishing real life problems. The combined concept of informationalism and communication power contribute to developing the conceptual framework for analysing how NGOs can mediate the involvement of their campaigners as actors that apply and disseminate knowledge. The next section engages with the discussions on how these processes can be applied in the context of NGO campaigning on global poverty.

2.2.3 Contextualising 'mobilisation' and 'collective action.'

Considering the reference made to 'mobilising the public', 'negotiated goals' and 'collective action' throughout this thesis, it is important to clarify the context in which these terms are used and applied. In the literature on civil society and the public sphere, citizens' mobilisation and collective action are central themes in social movement theories. Although public mobilisation is relevant to the different schools of social movement theory, I focus on the *resource mobilisation* tradition that propose organisations as providing the basis for effective mobilisation (Morris, 1984).

The resource mobilisation tradition proposed by Touraine (2004) suggested that purposive collective action is enabled by the presence of group identity (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). This highlights the importance of group identity in non-membership organisations such as Oxfam and CAFOD that desire to mobilise collective action in their campaigning. Since the seminal work of Olson (1965), the literature on collective action acknowledges *free riding* as an obstacle to collective action in organised groups where members have an incentive to benefit from the contribution of other members.

In this regard, Mueller (2003:473) suggested, “organisations that effectively represent large numbers of individuals require that separate and selective incentive(s) are used to curb free-riding behaviour”. Such a proposition implies that NGOs that mobilise campaigners need the presence of a committed group of issue publics that can develop group identity.

The concept of social movement is traditionally associated with Marxist traditions of class struggle and the “activity of ad hoc groups whose membership is composed of direct beneficiaries” of public action (Caniglia & Carmin, 2005:202). Minkoff (1997 cited in Lang 2013:66) provided a description of social movement that incorporates the activities of formal and non-membership organisations as “any collective effort by a group to change the social structure using extra-institutional methods”. Della Porta and Diani (2011: 69) also defined social movements as “... informal networks created by a multiplicity of individuals, groups and organisations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts on the basis of a shared collective identity”. The resource mobilisation tradition of social movement focuses on the processes and strategies of mobilising the public beyond the immediate constituency of members, and responds to the reorientation to a global era characterised by diffused centres of power domination (Touraine, 2004:718).

The resource mobilisation tradition differs from the traditional Marxist view of social movements as an emancipatory struggle aimed at an identifiable dominant or ruling class. It is from this tradition of social movement that Castells analysed the notion of ‘movement’ as a communication repertoire for mobilising public action (Stalder, 2006:76). Stalder suggested that this conceptualisation of social movement collapses the distinction between structure and agency. He argued that the notion of “purposive collective action was a group phenomenon”, in which individual action constituted a component when taken in the context of group identity (*ibid*:77). Castells (2000:144) described “purposive collective action as an outcome that in victory or defeat, transforms the values and institutions of society”. This interpretation is important in analysing the role of group identity in campaigning and the concept of movement as a strategy for mobilising group action beyond its interpretation as an associational structure.

With regard to highly formalised and professionalised non-membership organisations, resource mobilisation explains the way movement organisations activate and mobilise the public. In addition, it explains how their practices can be used to analyse NGOs that seek to mobilise public engagement (Caniglia & Carmin, 2005:203). For example, within Oxfam, the Fairtrade initiative aimed at securing fair prices and better income for farmers in developing countries is described as “a movement with a mission to change

the way world trade works” (www.fairtrade.org.uk). Therefore, ‘movement’ is not only conceived of as a mode of activating public action that goes beyond organising, but that also includes communication strategies aimed to mobilise groups or individuals in achieving a common goal. Lang (2013:67) noted that some civil society organisations adopt movement strategies in reaching out to citizens, and in the process achieve public deliberation. This can happen through the use of demonstrations, public protest and rallies by NGOs sometimes in collaboration with other organisations with more experience in public advocacy (*ibid*: 70).

The incorporation of movement strategies by more professionalised and bureaucratised NGOs occurs when access to political institutions are blocked, or where they find the need to mobilise the public on a particular conflict issue that does not threaten their insider status (Lang, 2013). With regards to strengthening action for social justice, McCloskey (2011) noted that the DE sector has had limited engagement with social movement which share many of the values and social vision of DE. However, as analysed in later chapters, the incorporation of movement strategies has been more visible with professionalised youth-led groups such as student-led campaign organisations. Studies in adult education further support the idea that adult learning can lead to attitudinal change (Mayo, 2005; Bailey, 2010; Hall 2006; Ollis 2011). Hall (2006) associated adult education with the ideas of social movements and made a link between adult education, personal transformation and social transformation. In her article on adult learning and activism, Ollis (2008:316-332) argued that adults learn for a reason, that learning is associated with emotions, and that group involvement over time influences the identity of activists as they operate with a frame of reference. Campaigning that aims for collective action therefore adopts movement approaches to generate common frames necessary for campaigners to become catalytic individuals that can multiply knowledge on the conflict issue (Hogg, 2011).

The contributions of the resource mobilisation discourse are twofold: Firstly, it shows how movement strategies such as public demonstration and the use of protest images can serve to mobilise public deliberation and action. Secondly, it proposes how non-membership organisations can also mobilise collective action by practising outreach strategies that activate similar frames on a conflict issue. The resource mobilisation theory also shows how more professionalised and bureaucratized NGOs can collaborate with movement oriented groups such as campaign NGOs and student-led organisations that use networks enabled by digital information technology. As Hall (2006:234) commented, knowledge gained from movement struggles has a more powerful impact on society than individual learning that takes place in schools.

2.2.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter considered discussions that contribute to understanding different types of NGOs, their assumed identity as the voice of civil society and the modes of communications they adopt in reaching out to the public. The first part of the literature examined the concept of campaigners and campaigning in providing a context for their application in this research. The discussions contribute in understanding how campaigning is more than a subset of advocacy, but a repertoire for communicating and initiating public debate, and for introducing a new narrative. Lang's (2013) work was central for understanding and analysing NGO advocacy based on their communication strategies. It provided a context to examine the opportunities practices in NGO campaigning offers for public deliberation, and also identified public and institutional modes of advocacy as two broad approaches with different implications for activating public deliberation. The discussion on frames highlighted the importance of generating common frames with which to communicate the campaign issue, and a necessary condition for how campaigners can act as multipliers of knowledge. The challenge of activating similar frames for public deliberation was also considered in the context of membership and non-membership organisations.

The second part of the literature chapter focused on the theoretical elements, paying particular attention to the debates on actionable and contextual knowledge linked to organisational knowledge theory. Polanyi's (1966) conception of knowledge offered the platform from which to explore the processes by which knowledge is created in organisations, and how the involvement of actors enabled the internalisation of knowledge aimed at accomplishing defined objectives. For groups such as NGO campaigners, the most critical stage of the knowledge creation cycle is when knowledge becomes internalised as part of the tacit knowledge members of the organisation use to interact and multiply a particular frame. The literature also clarified the central themes of public mobilisation and collective action that is often used, but under-theorised in DE literature. These concepts were examined from the resource mobilisation tradition of social movement literature that analyses how collective action can be achieved in both membership and non-membership organisations through the presence of group identity .

Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the epistemological position I adopt on what constitutes knowledge, and how it is applied in this thesis. The choice of the term 'conceptual framework' is deliberate, and intended to show the ideas derive from the integration of a set of related concepts and evolving theories, rather than being a single cohesive theory. For example, concepts from Castells' Network Society were applied in explaining social processes outside the organisation not adequately addressed in organisational knowledge theory that constitutes the central logic for the thesis. However, in applying these concepts and theories to non-profit organisations, I acquainted myself with the wider components of these theories to guard against instability that may result from a partial understanding of their logic. The chapter therefore, offers a scaffolding for analysing the dynamics of an intricate and diffused process of knowledge production that is problem-based, socially produced, and disseminated in the context of its production.

In the next two subsections, I elaborate on my application of constructivism to organisational knowledge theory describing how it integrates with Castells' Network Society in constructing NGO campaigners as stakeholders in producing knowledge about global poverty. In subsequent subsections, I consider how constructivism positions NGO representation of global poverty as pertinent and actionable knowledge. The concluding section shows how the various concepts converge in providing a coherent framework, and a lens for analysing the data.

3.2 Epistemological position

The epistemological position refers to the paradigm of knowledge I adopt in undertaking this research. Considering the subjective nature of the issues NGOs campaign about, I adopt a constructivist approach to knowledge that recognises the communication power digital information technology afford individuals in an era knowledge production has become diffused. This paradigm to knowledge proposes that human begins generate knowledge from their experience, and that all forms of knowledge including that from controlled experiment are subject to human interpretation (Guba and Lincoln, 2000). In contrast with the positivist approach to knowledge that proposes reality as external to human experience, constructivism in its pure form posits knowledge of reality as constructed through the interaction of humans (Vygotsky, 1978; Robson, 2002; Firth 2013; Klein & Myers, 1999:69). Therefore, I adopt critical constructivism as an epistemological position that applies critique in

examining the process by which knowledge is constructed, while highlighting also, the dangers of a reductionist approach to analysing social phenomena (Torres, 1998; Kincheloe, 2005).

As a variant of constructivism, “critical constructivism recognises the social domain of knowledge creation and therefore, pays particular attention to the construction of the ‘self’, and the influence the process of creating knowledge exerts on the production of selfhood” (Kincheloe, 2005:82). By ‘selfhood’ I refer to our worldview and values, the way we respond to, and interpret our encounters in the world around us. In contrast with the Cartesian⁴ positivist approach to knowledge, critical constructivism also argues that knowledge of the social world occurs in diverse settings, and any act of knowledge production involves a dialectical connection between the object of inquiry and the context in which they exist (Kincheloe, 2005:81; 99; Firth, 2013). It emphasises self-reflection and consciousness in the ability of the individual to interrogate their held perceptions (Kincheloe 2005; Freire, 1974).

My interpretation of critical constructivism derives from the contemporary works of Joe Kincheloe whose thinking is influenced by Paulo Freire’s critical education and social justice pedagogy that exposes and challenges social domination and inequalities (Duncan-Andrade, 2008). This approach to critical constructivism emphasise the role of power in knowledge construction, and pays attention to the process by which certain information becomes validated as knowledge (Kincheloe, 2005:51). Constructivism also proposes knowledge of the social world as first constructed in a social context and then appropriated by individuals (Goodman, 2008).

Critical constructivism therefore, makes a connection between the object of enquiry and the context in which it is produced. I adopt critical constructivism in my belief that the knowledge NGOs use for campaigning on global poverty is subjective and an interpretation of what they have come to know through their experience and observation (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This position relates to Polanyi’s proposition of tacit and explicit knowledge which proposes that all knowledge, including scientific data, is understood against the subjective background of the researcher’s tacit knowledge (Collins, 2010). It supports the assumption in this research that the construction and production of knowledge on global poverty occurs in the domain of both formal (explicit) and non-formal (tacit) knowledge.

⁴ Cartesian-Newtonian modernism is an analytical way of reasoning which assert that complex phenomena is best appreciated by first reducing them to their constituent parts rather than the wider context of the socio-cultural dynamics that unconsciously shape them.

Given that this thesis is concerned with what is observable, I also adopt critical constructivism as a framework that propose the intimate connection between the known, the knower and the knowing process (Kincheloe, 2005:2). The concept of 'knower' is used in the sense described by Kincheloe (2005), as individual actors that are historical and social subjects, and whose understanding and interpretation of social phenomena are influenced by their cultural locations and the prior knowledge they possess. The constructivist approach also provides an analytical tool for assessing the role of NGOs as subpublics, and identifying the opportunities for the involvement of their campaigners in constructing knowledge on the conflict issue.

This conceptual framework therefore serves two main purpose. Firstly, it outlines my understanding of the processes by which knowledge is socially produced, and how this provides the central logic for my methodological considerations (Huges & Sharrock, 1997) and; secondly, it offers the basis for examining NGO campaigning as both an activity, and public arena where campaigners can construct their knowledge on global poverty (Kincheloe, 2005:8). Therefore, by taking into account narratives that run counter to the dominant discourse, constructivism recognises multiple forms and venues of knowledge production. This assumption is important for examining the opportunities NGOs provide for campaigners to encounter multiple perspectives, generate and multiply frames that enable them become potential catalysts for increasing public understanding.

The term "knower" is used to refer to NGO campaign audiences who are also adult learners that come with prior knowledge and existing perceptions acquired from schooling, and or life experience. This interpretation of the 'knower' also relates to its conception in the field of organisational knowledge (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). By 'knowledge creation process', I refer to all activities leading to the gathering, interpretation and framing of information that is communicated and presented as factual accounts of a social phenomenon (Zack, 1999; Wickramasinghe & Lubitz, 2007). I use 'knowledge construction' to refer to the interpretations, framings, and the ascribed meanings that signify the representations or/and informational content disseminated to propagate a particular perception of a phenomenon (Davenport & Prusak, 1998). Critical constructivism therefore provides an epistemological framework for articulating the possibilities for the individual to interrogate their held perceptions as well as a lens through which to analyse the influence of power in the knowledge process (Kincheloe 2005; Freire, 1974).

3.3 Critical constructivism and organisational knowledge

Considering the scope of this thesis, I limit my discussion on 'knowledge' to the arenas and processes by which knowledge is produced, and exclude wider debates on the philosophical doctrines and foundations of knowledge. My conceptualisation of knowledge draws on Michael Polanyi's (1966) proposition of two broad classifications of knowledge described as tacit and explicit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is the difficult to communicate knowledge that is rooted in personal experience, emotions, and values, while explicit knowledge refers to codified knowledge that is intelligible, retrievable, and transmitted through different forms of representation (Polanyi, 1966; Collins, 2010; Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995). Within the theory of organisational knowledge, therefore, 'knowledge' is conceived of as information that is pertinent, actionable, a catalyst for strategic decisions, and as a powerful resource for improvement and change (Leonard & Sensiper 1998; Jasimuddin 2012). Although this theory has been developed and applied to profit making organisations, Sveiby (1997), and Jasimuddin, (2012) also stated its relevance to non-profit civil society organisations that seek to influence public action.

My conceptualisation of knowledge is therefore, limited to the forms, venues and processes of knowledge within the discourse of organisational knowledge. By 'forms of knowledge', I refer to the different cognitive ways tacit and explicit knowledge can be used to represent social experience and concepts such as hunger, international debt and trade injustices. Considering the concern of this thesis with knowledge that is produced and communicated to accomplish organisational goals, I adopted the organisational knowledge theory in which "end users are also actors in the knowledge creation process" (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995: 65-67). Therefore, NGOs are conceptualised as organisations that engage in knowledge creation, and rely on social actors in accomplishing set objectives. In describing the sites of this form of knowledge, I use 'venues of practice' to make a distinction from Wenger's (1998) concepts of 'communities of practice' that propose a more stable domain where social actors collaborate in producing knowledge for their mutual benefit.

Although the literature on organisational knowledge tends to focus more on processes within the organisation (Dawson, 2000; Newell, 2002), its application in this thesis highlights the external dynamics that are visible in civil society organisations such as NGOs, where actors reside outside the organisation. Although Castells made a distinction between information, speculations, conjectures and what he termed "knowledge-based information", he did not offer a normative definition but described it as a resource applied to resolve a practical problem (Stalder, 2006). The definition of

'knowledge' in organisational knowledge theory as interpreted information that is contextual, pertinent and actionable (Leonard & Sensiper, 1998) relates to Castells' (1998) notion of knowledge-based information. This conceptualisation of knowledge proposes knowledge as involving a process of interaction between social actors with a shared interest and a common objective (Lin & Wu, 2005).

As proposed in Castells Network Society, the arena of actionable and informational knowledge referred in this thesis relates to knowledge that is consciously produced and applied by social actors in diverse locations in accomplishing a desired end. 'Arenas' or 'venues' therefore emphasise the transient and provisional nature of this knowledge, and the sites in which it is created and disseminated. Gibbons et al.'s (1994) concept of Mode2 knowledge typified the practical ways in which the two theories converge as a conceptual framework suitable for examining the practices of NGOs, and the role of their campaigners as end users of the knowledge produced. The description of Mode2 knowledge production as a distinct set of cognitive and social practice by heterogeneous actors illustrates the fluid and social context in which this problem-based knowledge is produced (*ibid*: 1994).

I have chosen to focus on the processes of knowledge construction rather than approaches to learning as a way NGO campaigning can increase public understanding of global poverty because of the emphasis the theories of knowledge I apply place on the autonomy of the knower. I also use *knowledge construction* from a constructivist paradigm to refer to a social process by which individuals/social actors interpret phenomena, and negotiate meaning (Robson, 2002). It is therefore the construction of a reality in which social actors interpret and engage with the world around them. In adopting the critical constructivist epistemology for this thesis, I start with the assumption that knowledge produced for public engagement with global poverty is problem-based and context oriented. Although social constructivism proposes a link between knowledge and learning, it is the presence of counterdiscourse arenas that enables deliberation, the encounters with diverse perspectives as well as the political dimension that is often avoided in DE.

I adopt a Foucauldian approach (Foucault, 1982; 2002) to construct campaigners as NGO 'issue publics' that operate in an environment of unequal power relation, and as social actors that can utilise particular frames to activate public deliberation on a conflict issue. However, I recognise that within this model, campaigners that operate in less institutionalised NGOs such as the student-led campaign groups can also be constructed as constituting counterpublics that offer an alternative narrative of a conflict issue. Castells' (1996; 2009) Network Society provides a framework for examining the

nature and influence of digital information technology on how NGOs communicate with their campaign audiences, and to understand the power dynamics in their interaction. As NGOs combine knowledge that is generated through conventional research and experiential knowledge such as testimonies from lived experience, I consider forms of knowledge to include visual, audio and graphical representations of a defined conflict issue communicated as the basis for taking certain actions (Lang, 2013; Chapman and Fisher, 2000).

Therefore, critical constructivism provides a lens through which to analyse the process by which certain accounts of global poverty become validated knowledge and the role of campaigners in the process of constructing that knowledge. With specific reference to how NGOs produce and frame knowledge for public engagement with global poverty, critical constructivism also provides a dialectical method for analysing the process by which knowledge is socially created in an environment of unequal power relations (Knobel, 1999; Kincheloe, 2005:11). It also provides a framework for exploring the opportunities NGOs can offer campaigners in constructing their knowledge on global poverty. Within this construct, I use the term 'knowledge *on* or knowledge *about* global poverty' to mean the state of knowing, familiarity or understanding gained through experience, study and encounter with factual information. In the next section, I briefly outline the themes in Castells', Network Society that converge with the conception of knowledge in critical constructivism.

3.4 Critical constructivism and the Network Society

In this section, I make the link between critical constructivism and two central components of Castells' theory of the Network Society that articulate the diffused arena and mode of knowledge production. Castells' notion of 'knowledge-based information' is explained as deriving from knowledge that is socially produced and diffused through the communication power individual actors now have to retrieve, reconstitute and mass communicate in the digital era (Castells, 2009). The analysis of knowledge production in the Network Society relates to critical constructivism in three broad ways. Firstly, the conceptualisation of 'knowledge' that recognise the mutuality of its practical and abstract forms; and secondly, the mediated public space, the distribution of counterpower and diffused venues where knowledge is socially produced by 'knowers'. Thirdly, it relates to constructivism in the way knowledge is communicated and applied as a problem solving tool (Gibbons et al. 1994).

The Network Society provides an analytical tool for articulating the power relations between diverse actors involved in producing knowledge for NGO campaigning on global poverty. It offers an empirical means of examining if, and how the online

activities of NGO campaigners can be construed as a digital network of actors within the theory of organisational knowledge. My application of the Network Society stems from the two related concepts of *informationalism* and *communication power* (Castells, 2005; 2009). The centrality of the two concepts is that *informationalism* refers to new possibilities in the self-expansion and distributional flexibility of forms of knowledge that are problem-based. *Communication power* explains the immediacy of, and capacity of social actors to disseminate information across geographical and economic boundaries (*ibid*). These two concepts provide a way to explore how ICT offers NGOs possibilities to establish mediated public venues or counterpublics for their campaigners to negotiate meanings in constructing knowledge on global poverty.

As a concept that combines the local and global in its integration of positivist grand narratives and postmodern relativism, Network Society recognises knowledge produced both for practical problems and for abstract use. Considering this epistemological dualism, the Network Society has levels of internal contradictions when applied as a single theory and requires therefore, an eclectic approach in applying its central concepts of *informationalism* and *communication power*. The relevance of the concept of communication power is the horizontal fashion in which it empowers social actors to reconfigure and disseminate knowledge, bypassing the gatekeeping of institutional actors. For NGO campaigners, the Network Society offers counterpublics for public deliberation and a venue in which to construct their knowledge. Therefore, I use *communication power* to analyse a knowledge arena where dominant actors in development knowledge production no longer have absolute control over knowledge on global poverty.

Rather than offering a complete theory, the Network Society provides a compendium of related concepts and evolving theories that contribute to understanding the diffused arena of knowledge, and exogenous social processes not adequately addressed in organisational knowledge theory. The critical challenge in applying these concepts in relation to my research would be how NGOs use the Internet as a platform to mediate the involvement of campaigners as stakeholders in constructing knowledge on global poverty. The next section explains my integration of organisational knowledge theory with the Network Society as a constructivist framework.

3.5 Sources, venues and processes of knowledge production

The conception of 'knowledge' in organisational knowledge theory is also captured in Alavi and Leidner's (1999) description of knowledge as the result of a cognitive process in which information is interpreted within a context and presented in an intelligible form. In combining organisational knowledge theory with concepts in Castells' Network

Society, I pay attention to how the production of problem-based knowledge is intrinsically linked to the context of its application. I therefore, use knowledge to mean actionable information that is actionable and contextual (Leonard & Sansiper, 1998). Three important features of this conception of knowledge are the centrality of information, experience and action. Under this formulation, I consider *information* and *experience* as attributes in Polanyi's classifications of tacit and explicit knowledge in which *experience* relates to our tacit knowledge, and *information* to explicit knowledge. 'Action' is the result of the combination and application of these two features to a problem. The process of conversion from one form of knowledge to another is explained in Nonaka's knowledge creation framework (1994) that is described in a later paragraph.

Although Castells made a distinction between the world of chaotic information and knowledge-based information, there is still some ambiguity in the way the terms 'knowledge' and 'information' are used interchangeably. Organisational knowledge theory provides a lens for understanding the distinction between the two concepts as part of a wider process. Hertog and Huizenga (2000) contend that 'knowledge' is not synonymous with 'information', and go further to explain the relationship between data, information and knowledge. They described data as a direct consequence of observation that becomes information once it is given meaning, and that knowledge arises only when predictions are made with such information (*ibid*: 25). Therefore, information becomes knowledge only when it is interpreted by individuals and given a context (Lin & Wu, 2000). The knowledge creation framework referred to as the 'SECI framework' describes how the knowledge process entails a continuous dialogue between explicit (intelligible) knowledge and tacit (experience) knowledge.

The Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995:67) SECI framework in Figure 2 below proposed four primary modes by which this interaction occurs: socialisation, externalisation, combination and internalisation (Jasimuddin, 2012:103-4). The first phase, *socialisation* involves interaction between tacit to tacit knowledge, and occurs when actors share experience in the context of practice and negotiate meanings in the process. The second phase, *externalisation* occurs in the conversion of tacit to explicit knowledge in which experiential knowledge is presented in an intelligible and retrievable format such as written manuals, reports and documents (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). The third phase is the explicit to explicit phase that results from *combination* of explicated knowledge with existing knowledge to create new knowledge. The framing, interpretation and presentation of this knowledge in textual and graphic forms represent the combination stage.

Figure 2: Nonaka's Knowledge creation framework (1994)

Tacit to Explicit Knowledge	<u>Socialisation</u> Social actors bring tacit knowledge	Externalisation Apply, and convert to explicit knowledge
	<u>Internalisation</u> Making meaning, and application of framed knowledge	<u>Combination</u> Convert/combine to generate narratives/ representations

The fourth stage of the knowledge creation framework is *internalisation*. It is the stage at which explicit knowledge is embraced and applied as tacit knowledge. It involves for example, actors in the organisation processing and sharing reports, information or documents (*ibid*, 1995:69). Nonaka and Takeuchi's knowledge creation framework shows how internalised knowledge is converted back into tacit knowledge and acquired as competences and skills that can be applied in solving problems. It also explains how internalised knowledge is combined with other tacit forms of knowledge to create new knowledge as well as extend existing knowledge.

Although this constructivist conception of knowledge has been developed and associated with corporate organisations, I apply it to an NGO/civil society setting in order to construct campaigners as autonomous actors and NGO 'issue publics' acting on informational knowledge in campaign messages. Gibbons et al. (1994) articulation of mode2 knowledge production provides a practical way of understanding the sources and sites in which this knowledge creation happens, and the process of its diffusion in the Network Society. In considering the production of knowledge that pertains to events of practical performance and experience, Gibbons et al.'s proposed a distinct set of "social and cognitive practices that result in a new mode of knowledge produced and disseminated in the context of its application". (*ibid*:3). As Gibbons et al. (1994:10) suggested, ICT has enabled a capability that allows diverse sites to emerge as venues of practice, and as a result, participation in Mode2 will favour those who can afford or access them. At basic conceptual level, Mode2 knowledge production relates to Castells problem-based knowledge that involves a diversity of actors collaborating to solve a problem defined in a specific context.

The relevance of Gibbons et al.'s Mode2 knowledge is in its conception of knowledge around problem-solving, the diffused nature of its dissemination and the contingent,

collaborative and heterogeneous process of its production (*ibid*). Although Mode2 knowledge production also relates to ideas of Wenger's (1998) 'community of practice' that analyses socially produced knowledge, the former differs in the explanation of a more fluid arena. Unlike the conscious collaboration described in communities of practice, actors in Mode2 production are drawn mainly by problem solving, and converge at a spectrum that best define their specific interest. The recognition in Mode2 knowledge production of a wide range of potential sites involving the interaction and combination of tacit and explicit knowledge provides a constructivist foundation in making the connection between organisational knowledge and Castells' Network Society.

However, the production of informational knowledge or knowledge-based information is not insulated from the inherent problem of unequal power relations as there is disparity in access to its technologies. This dynamic explains the emergence of mediated public venues that are enabled by the Network Society, where marginalised groups excluded from dominant discourse arenas can interact through networking with actors engaged in counterdiscourse in legitimatising their knowledge (Fraser, 1992). As Maton and Moore (2010:37) suggested, "when actors make knowledge claims or engage in practice, they are at the same time making a claim of legitimacy..." The role of counterdiscourse and counterpublics in diffusing the venues of interaction is discoursed further in the next section.

This section described how organizational knowledge theory combines with the dynamics of informationalism and communication power in the Network Society in providing the logic that underline my conceptual framework. I also used Gibbons et al.'s Mode2 knowledge to elaborate on the constructivist relationships between the various theoretical elements, and how the Network Society contributes to understanding the diverse and diffused arenas of knowledge production. In applying concepts from the Network Society, a distinction was made between the world of chaotic information and knowledge-based information that is pertinent, actionable and used in accomplishing a defined objective. This provides the basis for constructing knowledge on global poverty as a form of knowledge NGOs use in accomplishing their campaign objectives to raise awareness and mobilise action against global poverty.

Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995:67) knowledge creation framework offered a way of understanding the constructivist process of knowledge production that interfaces experience, information and action. The central assumption in this framework is that the ability of NGO campaigners to internalise knowledge about global poverty, and act as catalysts that can generate frames and multiply knowledge will depend on their

involvement in the knowledge creation framework. In the next section, I revisit the notion of campaigners as NGO issue publics and how they can act as catalysts for public understanding about global poverty.

3.6 Campaigners as “issue publics” and knowledge actors

“...the voices, ideas, perspectives and theories produced by those engaged in social struggles (and activism) are often ignored, rendered invisible, or overwritten with accounts by professionalised or academic experts.”
(Choudry and Kapoor, 2010:2)

Using the theories of organisational knowledge and the Network Society, I bring the various elements of my conceptual framework together in constructing the campaigner as a stakeholder and social actor in NGO production and dissemination of knowledge about global poverty. The conceptualisation of NGOs as agency acting to accomplish a set objective further construct their campaigners as actors that can generate similar frames necessary to activate public deliberation. Using the Foucauldian model to understanding NGO campaigners construct the “campaigner” as operating in an environment of power imbalance where NGOs as their rallying point set the agenda of what, when and how the conflict issue is defined. I therefore, conceive of NGO campaigners not only as the initial target of campaign message disseminated to the public, but also as stakeholders whose ability to multiply a narrative will depend on how they internalise knowledge on the conflict issue.

Campaigning can be considered as an endeavour that blurs the distinction between agency and structure, in the way it is used by NGOs as a platform for framing and communicating conflict issues, as well as a strategy for mobilising the public. In my conceptualisation of campaigning, I do not include its interpretation as the public appeal messages NGOs communicate to solicit donations for charity causes such as the Syrian humanitarian crisis or natural disasters. I limit my use of campaigning to infer the information communicated to create public awareness, activate public deliberation, and mobilise public action in challenging social conditions perceived as unjust. Although the Network Society concept of communication power acknowledges the unequal access potential actors have to ICT, it accounts for the opportunities marginalised actors have to engage in what Fraser (1992:123) called “counterdiscourse”, and to organise themselves in counterpublic arenas. Such arenas provide a venue for counterdiscourse that enable the filtering-in of the perspectives of marginalised groups into mainstream discourse.

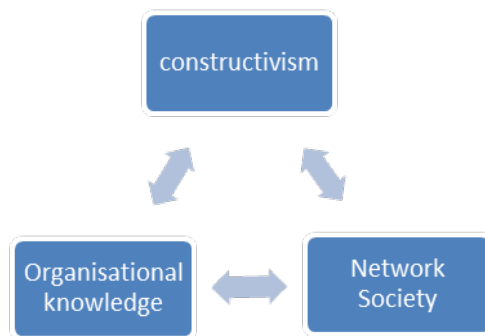
Accordingly, the mainstreaming of counterdiscourse can be facilitated by less bureaucratised society groups such as student-led campaign organisations when they engage in collaborative campaigns with the more institutionalised INGOs. Lang (2013:70) described such organisations as “SMO/NGO hybrids that INGOs sometimes outsource certain kinds of publicness” that may conflict with their insider status and institutional leverage. The analysis of power in critical constructivism is also important for understanding how particular discourses of development come to dominate others and how certain forms and sources of knowledge are privileged.

The discussions on NGOs as an associational form of civil society that assume the role of sub publics support my proposition of campaigners as NGO “issue publics” that are mobilised or persuaded to take actions that support the advocacy initiatives of the organisation. Lang (2013:11) used the terms “subpublic” and “issue public” interchangeably to imply the role NGOs assume as proxy for the public sphere. However, I apply the terms differently to denote a dualism in which ‘subpublic’ refers to NGOs in their assumed role as proxy publics, and ‘issue public’ in referring to their campaigners who take prescribed actions. I therefore use the concept of “issue publics” to refer to NGO campaigners who are the immediate target audience and potential multipliers of knowledge on the issue. The notion of campaigners as “issue public” gains more currency with the advent of online campaigning and the adoption of web-based forms of communication as the frequent means by which NGOs disseminate their message (Harrison, 2006; Marshall, 2010). However, both terms relate to a communication and networking process by which various actors use similar frames in defining a conflict issue (Bennett et al., 2013), and to take actions aimed at accomplishing a common objective.

Nonaka and Takeuchi’s (1994; 1995) SECI knowledge creation framework contributes to understanding the potential role of NGO campaigners as actors in the knowledge creation process. With NGOs, the four processes of knowledge creation analysed in the SECI framework can be conceived of as also occurring outside the organisation where campaigners are not organised around membership structure. Organisational knowledge theory emphasise the centrality of the involvement of social actors that collaborate as stakeholders in producing knowledge aimed at a common objective. The involvement of NGO campaigners in the knowledge creation process will therefore depend on the opportunities the organisation provides the campaigner to be involved in framing the campaign issue. The Network Society concepts of informationalism and communication power contributes in constructing campaigners as autonomous social actors in the digital information age that have power to retrieve and disseminate knowledge, as well as to engage in counterdiscourse.

The diagram in fig.3 shows the relationship between organisational knowledge theory and the Network Society, the two core elements of my conceptual framework, and how they interact with, and are integrated in the constructivist approach to knowledge.

Figure 3: Constructivist model of actionable knowledge



As illustrated in Figure 3, organisational knowledge provides the theoretical foundation for the type of knowledge that is produced, and the dynamics of its generation, conversion and application in achieving organisational goals. The Network Society, on the other hand, explains the social arena of knowledge, the diverse venues and actors involved in its production. The double arrow represents reflexivity in the way the concepts interact and the possibility to be involved from different locations outside the organisation. Constructivism provides, therefore, an epistemological grounding that explains the binaries in the expansion of potential knowledge producers proposed in Gibbons et al.'s (1994) Mode2 knowledge production.

Although my conceptualisation of NGO campaigners makes no distinction in the way it is applied to both membership and non-membership organisations, it does not ignore the distinctive modes of communication the two categories of organisations adopt for interacting with their campaigners. The emphasis in this characterisation is their role as NGO issue publics and the initial target of NGO campaign messages. Within the context of critical constructivism therefore, public modes of communication provokes debate that increase deliberation in the public sphere. Organisational knowledge and the Network Society provided the theoretical pillars to explore the notion of knowledge-based information and its diffused arenas of production. Gibbon et al.'s (1994) concept of Mode2 knowledge production provided a practical way of understanding the social context of knowledge production in Network Society that result to mediated sites for knowledge construction. Such collaborative sites is evident in highly visible public campaigns such as MPH and the recent "IF" campaigns in which NGOs used the social media to integrate communication with their campaigners. However, the challenge is the extent to which campaigners are involved in identifying the campaign issue, and

how modes of communication NGOs adopt contribute to extending frames that can increase public understanding. Table 1 below summarises the theoretical traditions and the implications for the conceptual framework. It shows how critical constructivism and the Network Society has methodological implications in generating theoretical explanations from the data.

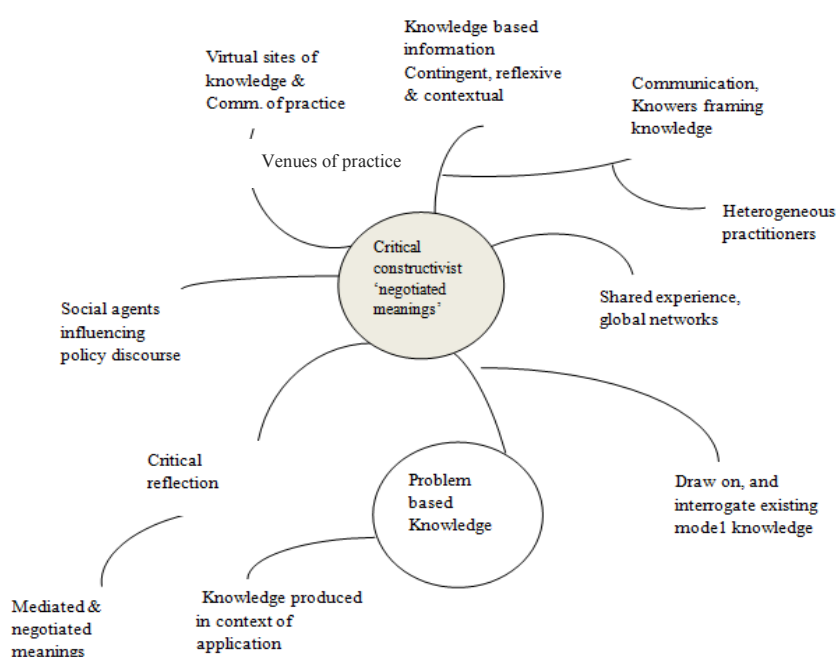
Table 1: Inventory of theoretical trajectories of the conceptual framework

Framework	Ontological Manifestations	Strands/influences	Theoretical traditions	Conceptualization of knowledge
Epistemology	Constructivism reality as constructed Interpretive	Critical constructivism (Kincheloe) Constructivism (Vygotsky)	Polanyi experience tacit knowledge Process, applied knowledge	Interpreted information, contexts. Mutuality between knower, the known & process of knowing.
Theories & conceptual framework	Network Society, Practicing Organizational knowledge	Qualitative research, Castells, Gibbons et al. Nonaka and Takeuchi Mode2 knowledge production	Critical reflection Self-Interrogating Knowledge pluralism Informational knowledge	Problem-based knowledge, negotiated meaning, knowledge produced in application

Note This table (1) illustrates the relationships between Critical constructivism, the Network Society and organisational knowledge in the conceptualization of knowledge as a socially constructed process.

The spray diagram in Figure 4 below provides a way of conceptualising the relationships between the theories and concepts discussed in this section, and the implications for practice.

Figure 4: Spider Diagram on diffused knowledge production



The spray diagram provides a visual tool for making the connection between the different concepts applied, their logic, and the spatial way the various theoretical elements converge and interact.

Rather than show any linear pattern, it serves as a mind map that attempts to show the relationships and the dynamics of a diffused knowledge process that show coherence between the literature, theories and conceptual framework. The diagram highlights critical constructivism as the central logic from which other related dynamics derive. The diagram also depicts the landscape for the methodological elements of the study as a cohesive whole. It serves as a useful tool for reflexivity in undertaking the cross-case analysis as well as a way of making sense of the theoretical propositions proffered later in the discussion and analysis of data.

3.7 Summary of the conceptual framework

The central thrust of the conceptual framework is that the knowledge NGOs use in mobilising their campaigners is socially constructed, and campaigners as end users of that knowledge are stakeholders and potential catalyst that can multiply public understanding. The conceptual framework derives from the integration of organisational knowledge theory and Castells' proposition of the Network Society in constructing NGO campaigners as social actors in accomplishing set objectives defined within the organisation. The constructivist paradigm contributes to understanding campaigners as stakeholders in creating and disseminating actionable knowledge, and therefore potential catalysts in multiplying knowledge that is aimed at enhancing public understanding on global poverty. The consideration for adopting organisational knowledge theory is based on the activities of NGOs as organisations that engage in producing and disseminating knowledge for the purpose of achieving set objectives, and that rely on social actors in accomplishing a defined goal.

The Network Society on the other hand explain the diffused environment in which social actors converge and collaborate in constructing, disseminating and sharing knowledge. The transient and fluid nature of these sites explains my preference for the term "venues" and "arenas" of knowledge, as these sites do not necessarily equate to Wenger's (2002) communities of practice that describe a more stable and purposeful process of collaborating actors. The Network Society concept of communication power also contributes in conceiving of the campaigner as operating in an environment of power imbalance, and where digital information technology enables the individual to bypass dominant knowledge actors in constructing their knowledge on the issue. The campaigner therefore has communication power to retrieve, configure, distribute and interpret information that they apply in addressing a common objective.

The resource mobilisation tradition of social movement contributed in explaining how non-membership INGOs such as Oxfam and CAFOD can adopt movement strategies in collaborating with more radical organisations that use public communication to activate public deliberation. With particular regard to nonmembership INGOs, it shows how social actors that reside outside the organisation can be involved in framing the campaign knowledge, and the possibilities ICT provide in that process. The location of the campaigners outside the organisation and their role as a primary target of messages on the conflict issue provided the basis of conceptualising the campaigner as NGO 'issue publics', and campaigning as a platform for enhancing public understanding.

The conceptual framework therefore provides a tool for analysing how NGO campaigners are able to activate counterpublics and generate counterdiscourse through ICT-driven networks that enable them multiply particular narratives as well as include the voices of other marginalised groups. In undertaking the cross case analysis and generating theoretical propositions from the data, the conceptual framework also provides basis for constructing NGO campaigners as actors that can create, disseminate and apply knowledge from diverse locations. The next chapter presents the methodology adopted for gathering data and in analysing the findings.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the methodological strategies adopted in this thesis starting with a description of my research design, and the rationale for adopting the qualitative collective case study approach. I go on to clarify the research questions and provide the methodological considerations for adopting the purposive sampling technique. In subsequent sections, I describe how the cases were constructed and outline the investigation methods adopted in undertaking the research. I also discuss my approach to data analysis and the implications of my positioning as a practitioner in the area of research. I conclude with the ethical considerations and important issues that emerged in the course of undertaking this research.

4.2 Research design: collective case study

I adopted the collective case study research design as a methodological approach for undertaking this thesis. As a qualitative research design that involves the use of a variety of methods, it is interpretive, and therefore requires that I take into account the subjective context of phenomena (Huges and Sharrock 1997; Fink, 2005). Patton (2002:55) noted, "Qualitative inquiry is oriented towards exploration, discovery and inductive logic", and relies on multiple sources of data in building evidence. In contrast with the quantitative or positivist approach that excludes subjective dynamics, the qualitative approach also employs flexible investigation methods such as open-ended interviews that allow for breadth, depth and encountering the subjective meanings human bring (Denzel and Lincoln, 2000).

The collective case study is one of many variations of the case study research approach Patton (2002:40-1) describes as entailing "an in-depth holistic description and analysis of the social phenomenon in a bounded system ..." As stated earlier, it investigates a social phenomenon in its real world context, and is carried out within the boundaries of two or more systems, and may involve more than one case in a single study (Yin, 2014; Gerring, 2007; Gomm et al, 2000). Although the collective case study is also referred to as the multiple case study, I use the term "collective case study" in this research to denote a strand in which the cases are instrumental, and constructed with a focus on understanding a phenomenon within the bounded system, rather than the individual cases (Stake, 2006). I therefore avoid the confusion that may arise with the use of the generic term 'multiple case study' that accommodates designs different from the way the cases were constructed for this thesis.

There were three major considerations in adopting the qualitative collective case study approach. The first was the constructivist paradigm that underlines my approach to knowledge as an interpretation of human experience. It also proceeds from the theoretical assumption that "... all knowledge is contingent, contextual, framed and therefore contested" (Rogers & Horrocks 2010). This paradigm recognises the subjective construction of meaning, and therefore, prescribe methodological processes that focus on the meanings people ascribe to social phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The collective case study suited the overall aim of this research to understand the processes by which two categories of NGOs that engage in development advocacy identify and communicate knowledge about a conflict issue to their campaigners. The second consideration was the methodological advantages the collective case study design offered, whereby multiple samples can be used as sources of evidence and for triangulation (Patton, 2002). Considering that the investigation aimed to gain access into the practices of different NGOs, I found the qualitative collective case study design suitable for generating theoretical explanations in examining the two sampled NGO categories as units of bounded entities.

The third consideration for adopting a qualitative collective case study design approach was my positioning as a practitioner in the area of study, and my aim to generate theoretical propositions that can contribute to understanding the wider population under study. This approach takes into account, and also draws on the researcher's own experiences and the knowledge they bring, while providing guidelines for self-awareness in minimising the import of their bias (Patton, 2002; Robson, 2011). The collective case study allows for the integration of both the "perspective of the researcher and participants in the investigation" thereby offering a suitable technique for interpreting the perspectives social actors bring (Schwandt, 2001:213). It also enables readers arrive at naturalistic generalisation by inviting them to apply propositions from in-depth depictions presented in the cases to a wider context (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

As Gomm et al.(2000:4-5) noted, variations in the collective case study design can occur depending on the purpose of the case study as well as the way the researcher constructs the case in terms of whether the subject of study are the samples themselves or a phenomenon in which the cases are bounded. Other factors include the extent to which the study describes the wider population, or the extent to which researchers restrict themselves to descriptions, explanations or prescriptions (*ibid*). The collective case study is also distinct from the Large-N cross case research design which is a sample based study in which the individual sample cases are the immediate subject of study (Gerring, 2007:21). Unlike the Large-N cross case study design that

involves much larger samples for quantitative research, the collective case study entails a much smaller number of samples (*ibid*). A 'case' can be an individual, an institution or a group, the important characteristics being that it constitutes a bounded system of interrelated elements with identifiable boundaries (Stake, 2006:1). Miles and Huberman (1994:25) also describe 'the case' as "a phenomenon occurring in a bounded context and the unit of analysis that derives from a target population". I use the term 'cases' to signify the units of bounded systems and the homogenous features by which the samples are constructed for investigation. A 'bounded system' refers to a single entity or units with interrelated elements around which there are boundaries and in which the phenomenon investigated exists as a bounded case (Creswell, 2003; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Considering that cases can also imply each sample in a study, Stake (2006:7) referred to the commonality within the bounded case as "the quintain". He suggested that "the researcher chooses the extent to which the focus is on the quintain or the uniqueness of the individual cases" (*ibid*). In this thesis, the sampled NGOs are not the direct subject of study; rather, they are instrumental in accessing and understanding the quintain, and in this regard, their campaign practices and the communication strategies they adopt for their campaigning. Considering that I did not set out to compare the two categories of NGOs, I focused on the common traits within the bounded cases rather than their uniqueness. In the collective case study, a number of organisations may constitute a bounded system depending on the purpose of the study. Stake (1995) noted that the cases (samples) may not necessarily be located in the same place, and therefore the researcher would have to bind the cases by providing a context for the investigation.

In adopting the collective case study design, I undertake the simultaneous investigation of two or more bounded cases in a single study with the aim to generate theoretical explanations of the phenomenon through replication logic (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Miles & Huberman (1994) suggested three criteria by which the researcher can bind a case as: time and place, time and activity, or by definition and context. I investigated each sample unit as part of a collection of bounded systems by defining their characteristics and providing the context I used for categorising the sampled NGOs (*ibid*). Gerring (2007) suggested that it is important the researcher states clearly what the case study intends to serve to avoid a common danger of taking on too many objectives or getting distracted by issues outside the purpose of study. In order to avoid this problem, several authors including Yin (2003) and Stake (1995) have suggested that placing boundaries on a case can prevent this explosion from occurring. The

boundary of the cases included in this research is discussed in a later section describing how the cases were constructed.

The case study approach is often criticised as being unsystematic in its procedures and therefore, lacking rigour for scientific generalisation (Gerring, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Yin (2009:27), however, suggested that “defining early the units of analysis, the logic linking the data to the propositions, and determining the criteria for interpreting the findings” will mitigate some of these inherent weaknesses. I designed my conceptual framework to serve as a lens, as well as a reflexive tool in which to apply the theories as well as the relevant literature in providing coherence of logic for interpreting the data, and in generating theoretical propositions. The collective case study design enabled me explore trends and peculiarities within the bounded cases, and to replicate findings across cases. Because comparisons are inevitable where more than one case is examined, Yin (2003) suggested that the cases should be chosen carefully so that the researcher can predict similar results across the cases and/or predict contrasting results based on a theory. The conceptual framework therefore allowed for generating theoretical explanations from the cross case analysis, since this study did not set out to undertake a comparison of the two distinct categories of bounded cases.

4.3 Clarifying the research questions

The research questions served two main purposes, firstly: as a means of investigating and examining the cases, and keeping track of the aims and objectives of the study; and secondly, they guided the design of the methodology as well as defining the case study samples (Miles and Huberman, 1994:24). The research questions were central to selecting and designing the investigation tools that I adopted and were framed to elicit an in-depth description of processes and practices in the two distinct categories of sampled NGOs. The first category, constructed as ‘INGO case’ refers to the three sampled INGOs, and second, the ‘student-led organisations case’ represented the two youth-led campaign organisations. The questions also provided a tool for understanding the role of information technology in undertaking their campaigning.

The first and overarching research question broadly captures the research problem and provides an entry point for the two subsidiary questions, with the third formulated in two parts. The main research question is:

What opportunities exist for NGO campaigners to contribute in identifying knowledge for their campaigning on global poverty, in terms of **how** the issues are identified, **who** is involved in framing the information, and how the campaign issue is communicated?

The purpose of this question was to identify and examine the opportunities that exist for the involvement of NGO campaigners in the processes of identifying and communicating the informational content of their campaigning about global poverty. It examined the processes by which the content of NGO campaign messages are selected, framed and communicated to raise awareness and mobilise campaigners to take actions in challenging global poverty. It concerned how the campaign issue is chosen, how the issue is communicated and who is involved. The purpose of the question was to generate evidence that describe the interaction and communication practices of the two categories: the INGO case that comprised of Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire, and the student-led campaign organisations that comprised of People and Planet, and Medsin. It is also aimed to generate information on the mode of advocacy NGOs adopt in their objective to mobilise public awareness and action through their campaigning.

‘NGO campaigning’ refers to the activities they undertake with their members or the public audience they interact and communicate with as their network of actors. ‘Knowledge for their campaigning’ about global poverty refers broadly to the level of understanding about *international debt*, *international trade* and *development aid*. These three factors identified as the three pillars of international action that underpinned MPH campaign organised by a coalition of UK NGOs (Darnton & Kirk, 2011) provided the context for defining what was considered ‘public understanding about global poverty’. The first question was addressed by using data from face-to-face interviews with NGO staff as well as visual observation of the interaction between campaigners on the Facebook social media sites of the sampled organisations.

The second question:

How do NGOs construct the knowledge they use for campaigning to raise public awareness and to mobilise action on global poverty, in terms of how the campaign issues are presented to the public, and the types of action that is undertaken? And (b) how can NGO campaigning provide a platform for enhancing public understanding on global poverty?

Like the main research question, this subsidiary question is instrumental and contributes to investigating how the two NGO categories frame the informational content of their campaign messages, and the actions they promote. The actions are important because they reflect how the campaign problem is perceived and framed. This question focuses on understanding a phenomenon in the processes through which the organisations decide on the global poverty issues they present in their campaigning. It is specifically interested in how NGOs prioritise a campaign issue

within a myriad of global poverty and inequality issues in terms of who is involved in the framing of the campaign issue, and how the message is communicated. 'Knowledge' is used to mean factual information that is disseminated to campaigners and the public audience as actionable information that can increase an understanding of the issue (Collins, 2010). Drawing on my conceptual framework 'Mobilise action' refers to the use of a common frame to elicit a desired response or to activate a narrative by which social actors or the public audience perceive and challenge an existing order.

The concept of actionable knowledge derives from organisational knowledge theory, in which knowledge is defined as interpreted information that enables actors accomplish a defined objective or task (Leonard and Sensiper, 1998). 'Knowledge Construction' is used to infer the meaning and context that is given to information, and includes the interpretation of experience that is framed and communicated to influence the perception of a problem (Zack, 1999; Alavi and Leidner, 2001). The second part of the question uses the conceptual framework in examining NGO campaigning as an activity that can contribute to enhancing public knowledge about global poverty beyond a basic awareness about the campaign issue.

'Campaigning' refers to activities undertaken to communicate the conflict issue to various public audiences in order to elicit particular responses, and includes the use of images, text and audio or visual testimonies in the representation of poverty and inequality. The term 'platform' is used in the literal sense of a stage, venue, space or arena for organising a purposeful activity, and includes activating public deliberation that can influence a change in perceptions and attitudes (Cox, 2011). 'Activating public deliberation' refers to communication practices that provoke public debate, and it is used in the context of a shift from 'public awareness' to 'public understanding'. This shift in paradigm contributes to developing the central argument of the thesis around knowledge about the campaign issue. This research question also pays particular attention to practices that contribute to elevating the involvement of campaigners as social actors that apply knowledge, and serves as a precursor for the third research question. The investigation method for this question includes interviews and virtual observation of their activities and triangulation with document review.

The third question:

How can the practices of student-led campaign organisations contribute to understanding NGO campaigning as initiating public engagement with global poverty?

This subsidiary question focuses attention on student-led organisations category in examining how campaigners interpret and understand campaigning as a strategy for

initiating public deliberation. It is also interested in the practices and communication strategies that underpin the overall approach to their campaigning, the interaction with, and between their campaigners, and the framing of the knowledge aimed at accomplishing defined objective. 'Public deliberation' is used in the sense Hogg (2011) and Lang (2013) described active dialogue and debates in the public sphere. The rationale for focusing this question on student-led organisations is based on existing research that indicate student-led campaign organisations plan, undertake and perceive campaigning differently from the INGOs (Leipold, 2002; Cox, 2011).

The purpose of this question was to understand how the practices of student-led organisations differed, and how they might contribute to further understanding NGO campaigning as an endeavour that can increase public understanding on global poverty. The question was formulated following a questionnaire that was administered to members of student-led organisations who are also their campaigners. The question served to gain access to the practices and strategies of student-led campaigning and provided a systematic way of identifying and understanding trends in the practices of the two NGO categories. In addition to interviews administered to relevant officials in the two sample cases, the methods used for addressing this question included document review and visual research.

4.4 Samples and sampling technique

I adopted purposive sampling, a subset of non-probability technique that is used for in-depth examination of the typical profile of a predetermined population (Patton, 2002). The purposive sampling technique is suitable where the study population is unique and identifiable, and where the primary aim is to identify quickly the likely source of relevant and rich data, rather than to achieve probability or proportional representation (Creswell, 1994, 2007; Nachmias, 1996). According to Gerring (2007:21) "a sample consist of the cases that are the object of formal analysis, they are the immediate subject of a case study". The sample in this research refers to the organisations included in the study, and constructed as bounded cases. By this, the organisations do not constitute the subject of study, but population samples in which the phenomenon and its wider implications can be observed and explored.

As Green and Thorogood (2004) noted, a common criticism of the purposive sampling technique is the danger of bias where the researcher selects samples that support their preconceived notions about the problem. In selecting my sample, I was guided by Patton's (2002) reflexivity model in combining my knowledge as a practitioner in the NGO sector with existing literature to identify 'typical instance' of INGOs engaged in development advocacy and campaigning about global poverty (Creswell,1994). With

specific regard to this thesis, I considered that choosing a site for the cases on the basis of their fit with the typical situation under study is preferable to “choosing sample on the basis of random sampling or an accidental occurrence that may yield less useful information” (Gomm et al, 2000:77). Qualitative research requires samples large enough to assume aspects relevant to the research problem are covered, “as too much data can result in repetitive information with no additional value to the study” (Morse, 2000:4). The sample size was determined mainly by identifying the point of ‘sample saturation’, a concept that refers to when additional samples are unlikely to yield new information (*ibid*). The purposive sampling served the purpose of identifying the most-fit sample that reflects the typical instance with thick data.

The pilot study conducted with Concern and Christian Aid in Ireland contributed to obtaining background information on how the informational content of INGO campaigning on global poverty is generated. These organisations were the two that accepted to participate in the pilot study out of four INGOs contacted. The interview with Concern involved 2 officers from the campaign and advocacy units and was conducted in their Dublin office. Semi-structured questions were used and both interview recorded and transcribed. The interview with Christian Aid followed the same format, but involved one official and was conducted by telephone. The pilot interviews questions were designed to understand how development NGOs generate the information on global poverty they use for their advocacy, educational and charity activities. The pilot study revealed that it was the same stock of knowledge generated through their humanitarian activities that was interpreted to serve their advocacy and educational projects with schools. The pilot study therefore defined boundaries in shifting my attention from ‘how NGOs generated development knowledge’ to ‘how knowledge for campaigning was framed and communicated to their campaigners. This aligned with my interest in how knowledge was framed and how campaigners can act as catalysts for increasing public understanding on global poverty.

The pilot study also contributed in developing and testing my research instrument (Baker 1994: 182-3). For example, the pilot study served to determine whether the proposed methods and instruments were appropriate, and to clarify the basic assumptions in formulating the research questions (Polit et al., 2001). It also influenced the formulation of the third research question when the pilot study revealed that INGOs involved their campaigners only at the stage of taking action and public appeals for fundraising. The pilot study flagged up issues around the research protocols that needed consideration, and served for estimating variability in outcome to help determine sample and data size, as well as for deciding the recruitment strategies. The pilot study also influenced my decision to include Trócaire, an Irish INGO, in the

sample along with Oxfam and CAFOD that are UK based. It revealed that INGOs included in the study collaborate in major campaigns such as MHP undertaken by a coalition of NGOs in 2005, and the 2013 IF campaign. It also showed that the emergence of online campaigning has increased the possibility of such collaboration across national and cultural boundaries, and the use of the social media to target a transnational audience.

The similarity noted in the sources and process by which knowledge about global poverty was generated, interpreted and disseminated for their different activities was supported by existing literature on development NGOs. Tvedt (1998 cited in Baaz, 2005:30) noted “the NGO aid channel has led to an integration process..., especially between donors, states, and the development NGOs they fund... that results in similar patterns of public communication”. It revealed a common feature in the way INGOs defined and presented their message on global poverty to the public. The pilot study also influenced my decision to adopt the purposive sampling technique, and contributed in defining the boundaries of the two cases. The intention of this thesis to generate theoretical explanations that contribute to understanding how the practices of student-led organisations provide opportunities for campaigners to become knowledge multipliers justifies my use of purposive sampling. This approach to problematising the study had implications not only for investigating how NGO campaigning can contribute to facilitating public deliberation, but also in developing the methodology for the study.

The sample recruitment strategy I adopted in this thesis was determined mainly by the nature of the research problem and my intention to describe the cases using a theoretical framework. It was also influenced by my knowledge of the research environment as a practitioner. Although there is a broad range of non-governmental organisations involved in campaigning in the UK and Ireland, I was guided by existing literature and my familiarity with, and knowledge of, the research environment to identify the leading and influential NGOs involved in the production of knowledge on global poverty. The sample size was determined primarily by the objective of the study, timelines, and due consideration of the collective case study research design that required the use of multiple samples and data collection methods. Given the dynamic and changing circumstances in the NGO environment, it was necessary to achieve the inclusion of samples that reflect typical cases in the sampled population (Yin, 2003).

I started by identifying and contacting a number of organisations I identified from the literature review and my professional knowledge, as typical instances of the two categories of NGOs with a track record of campaigning and the dissemination of knowledge on global poverty. After six months of tracking and communicating a

number of INGOs, three of them namely: Oxfam GB and CAFOD in the UK, and Trócaire in Ireland agreed to participate in the research. I used the snowballing sample technique to identify the two student-led campaign groups People and Planet, and Medsin⁵ that comprised the second NGO sample category. The snowballing technique involves identifying potential participants by recommendation from existing participants in the study or other contacts. I was on the contact list of a number of NGOs and had been receiving email campaign messages from People and Planet (see sample in Appendix 7B) and contacted them by recommendation. They in turn linked me with Medsin. The five selected organisations were considered rich in data and 'typical instances' that could be constructed into two distinct bounded cases.

The INGO case (Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire) all have a long history and experience in campaigning and advocacy spanning over three decades, as well as an extensive history in supporting local groups and educational projects with schools. The two INGOs sampled in the UK (Oxfam GB and CAFOD) were selected for their leading role in both the evolution of online campaigning and their relevance in the design of global education materials for schools in the UK. Like Oxfam and CAFOD, Trócaire in Ireland also maintains an institutionalised relationship with official aid agencies and undertakes collaborative educational programmes with schools. Trócaire was also considered a leading NGO involved in social justice campaigning and for its prominence in supporting advocacy and the activities of local actors such as the One World Centres in Ireland.

Although geographically outside the UK, the inclusion of an INGO from Ireland was for the fact that Trócaire is a leading actor in producing and disseminating knowledge for development education and advocacy. It has also targeted a similar constituency of audience with the two UK INGOs in major collaborative campaigns such as MPH, and more recently the 2013 IF campaign. All three organisations shared an interfaced social media network such as Facebook and Twitter during the IF campaign⁶. The samples were therefore, purposively selected for their influence in producing the knowledge used for public campaigns and DE in the formal and non-formal settings. There are therefore influential actors that are likely to provide insight into understanding the practices of the wider population (Creswell, 1998).

⁵ <http://medsin.org/about>; <http://peopleandplanet.org>

⁶ All information accessed from their various websites: www.oxfam.org.uk; www.cafod.org.uk; www.Trócaire.org

4.5 Constructing the cases

In constructing the cases for the investigation, I was guided by the main research question formulated to examine the opportunities for NGO campaigners in the two sample categories to contribute in identifying and communicating the campaign issue to the public. I designed the cases to examine the suggestion in DE literature that NGO campaigning offered little and uncertain prospects for increasing public understanding with global poverty (see for example, Brown 2013; Pashby, 2009; Darnton & Kirk, 2011). Including multiple organisations in the investigation enabled me apply the replication logic that underline the collective case study (Yin 1994). I investigated the distinct categories of multiple cases as two units of bounded systems in order to build a chain of evidence across the sampled NGOs in generating theoretical explanations on the implication of their campaign practices.

In constructing the two categories of NGOs as bounded cases, I was guided by four ideal conditions Stake (1995) suggested for the case study approach. These included the presence of a *phenomenon* such as an institution, a *context* in the form of an activity or a process, in which the phenomenon occur. The two other conditions were a *bounded system* that denotes a discernable boundary in which the phenomenon exists, and that the inquiry is *holistic* in order to enable depth and breadth in data interpretation (*ibid*). In constructing the two bounded cases, I considered the unique but common characteristics the organisations shared, such as their level of NGOisation, the combination of advocacy and humanitarian roles, and the communication tools they use. The first category comprised of three INGOs: Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire are international charity organisations with a network of supporters, campaigners and internal structures of coordination.

The three organisations I refer to as INGO case are highly institutionalised and professionalised organisations that maintain communication and collaborative structures with government policy institutions. This category of INGOs relies on a network of amorphous public in undertaking their campaigns, and are also leading producers of learning materials designed for formal and non-formal education programmes. They also engaged in collaborative campaigns that target similar audiences using an integrated Facebook page. The insider status they have with policy-making institutions and their long history in undertaking campaigning on global poverty was an additional consideration in grouping them as a bounded case unit.

The second unit of bounded case consists of two student-led campaign NGOs, namely: People and Planet, and Medsin both operated by university students. The consideration for constructing them into a bounded case was based on their student-

led and membership structure, and on the similarities in their core activity as campaign groups that also undertake educational activities with young people. As with the samples in the INGO case, both operate as independent organisations but differ mainly in their structure as membership organisations. The student-led campaign organisation category is localised in the UK, professionalised but less bureaucratised, much smaller in size and their resource-base. They do not undertake overseas humanitarian missions but use the Internet to network with trade unions and other social actors in developing countries.

The rationale for selecting two categories of NGO is based on evidence that young people have an interest in global development issues (Bourn, 2010 cited in Jones, 2010; InterMedia, 2012), and that student-led organisations approach advocacy on global issues differently from the more institutionalised INGOs (Leipold, 2002; Cox, 2011). As a practitioner in DE, I was also acquainted with the narrative adopted by student-led organisations and INGOs in communicating with the public audience, and in particular, the images they used in their campaigning (see Appendix Seven A, p.225 for example). From a methodological point of view, using multiple cases provide an opportunity to triangulate my data in generating theoretical explanations that contribute to analysing the role of campaigning in increasing public understanding.

Although Lijphart (1971) argued that case studies are unavoidably comparative when they involve multiple cases, I consciously avoided undertaking a direct comparison of the practices of the two distinct categories of NGOs as this was not the purpose of the research. Instead I identified and examined the trends and processes by which campaign issues were identified and presented to their campaigners. However, in analysing the processes and approaches to campaigning in the two sample categories, the differences and similarities in their practices emerged as important themes that were considered in the analysis and interpretation of findings. Yin (2003:31-33) argued that a theory-driven approach to defining cases may help generate knowledge and contribute to a dialectical understanding of the 'why and how', as well as the theoretical framework adopted in the study.

I therefore used Organisational knowledge theory to define each case as organisations in which campaigners are stakeholders that not only used the knowledge produced within the organisation, but also have a role in creating and disseminating knowledge to accomplish a defined objective. Therefore, choosing typical cases through purposive sampling enabled me to gather data that contributed to understanding the implications of the approaches NGOs adopt for engaging and interacting with campaigners as their issue publics that act on, and multiply their narratives.

The Network Society also provided for this thesis, a theoretical basis for exploring opportunities the era of online campaigning offer campaigners to be involved in constructing knowledge about global poverty. In each sample category, I identified and examined the themes that emerged within the bounded systems of big INGOs, and student-led organisations to generate tentative assertions. Using the cross case analysis in interpreting the findings, I developed theoretical propositions that contributed to understanding the research problem (Bassey, 1999). Some of the weaknesses of the case study research design are also found in the collective case study approach. Although the case study approach is considered subjective and weak where the research seeks generalisability, this limitation is associated with the single case study, which focus on the in-depth description of a phenomenon compromise the possibility to generalise findings. Gomm et al. (2000:2) also suggested that where more than one case is used, it served more for triangulation than generalisation.

However, Stake (1995) suggested that the case study lend themselves to naturalistic generalisability that serve a different purpose from statistical generalisation. Naturalistic generalisation in case study enables people to understand better by providing information in the form in which people would usually experience the situation in real life, and therefore contributes to a heuristic understanding of the problem being investigated (Gomm et al. 2000:36). The second common weakness of the case study concerns ethical issues and the possible introduction of the researcher's bias, particularly where observation is used for data collection. Considering the interpretive approach adopted in this research, and the influence of the researcher's perspective in gathering qualitative data (Patton, 2002; Robson, 2007), I addressed the implications of my role as an insider researcher in a later section of this chapter.

4.6 Data collection methods

As required in most case study designs, the data for this research was obtained from multiple sources that included primary and secondary materials (Yin, 2003; Gerring, 2007). The primary investigation tools included interviews, virtual methods and document review. There was also a limited use of questionnaires that contributed to contextualising the questions as well as an additional means of triangulating other sources of data (Yin, 2011). These four investigation tools were designed to achieve an in-depth understanding of the problem and to use replication logic in addressing the research objectives.

Interviews

Interviews are an investigation method associated with qualitative research that take the form of conversations the researcher initiates with participants for the specific purpose of gaining in-depth information about the subject of research (Creswell, 1994). The number of participants interviewed was decided by each of the sampled organisations, and depended on the availability of staff employed in their campaign and advocacy department or unit. Considering that the interviews concerned the description of roles, practices and processes within the organisations, I did not probe into the background of the participants beyond understanding their official role in the organisation. I was however conscious that the cultural background and social experience of participants can, and does filter into the way they describe events in response to open ended interviews. I therefore used the same set of questions across participants in each organisation as a way of triangulation, and included questions about their experience working in the organisation.

The semi-structured interviews comprised two sets of eleven open-ended questions that were similar in composition, but modified to reflect the context of the two sample cases. The interviews were conducted on a total number of fifteen participants from the two cases, eleven of which were operational staff. The remaining four participants were from the management committee of the student-led organisation case. Three participants were interviewed in Oxfam, two in CAFOD and one in Trócaire. Seven participants were interviewed in People and Planet (four student members of the management committee and three from the campaigns and policy unit), and two participants were interviewed in Medsin. The semi-structured interviews were open-ended questions and structured around the research questions to elicit depth in data gathering (Neuman, 2000). As a qualitative investigation tool, interviews provide participants the opportunity to explain, describe and reflect on the subject of investigation, as well as on their own actions in providing insights into the different dimensions of the phenomenon (Creswell, 1994). I started all interviews by restating the aim and objectives of the research, double-checking the interviewees had signed the consent forms and read the brief introduction sent ahead of the interview. Except for two participants that opted for a video Skype interview, all interviews were conducted through face-to-face conversation.

The interactive interviews were important in addressing the research questions as they yielded thick information from which the themes for analysis and discussion were generated. The open-ended interview format enabled an in-depth understanding of how the campaign issue was identified in each sample organisation, those involved in the process, as well as their communication with campaigners. It also helped to

understand how both samples cases recruited campaigners and the nature of their relationship with the organisation. The open-ended questions allowed for follow-on questions that expanded the depth of data, while also offering participants the opportunity to recall important aspects that may have otherwise been missed by using structured interviews (Yin, 2009). The interviews therefore served as hooks from which the other investigation methods were triangulated in exploring the research problem.

Black and Champion (1976) proposed certain conditions necessary for achieving good interviews to include: personal contact with the participant, creating an equal status and rapport for a relaxed atmosphere, flexibility in the interview format, and avoiding leading questions. I observed these conditions by building initial rapport with interviewees through emails and telephone communications during the process of scheduling the interviews. I also tried to create a relaxed condition by sending my interview questions ahead and explaining any issue that required clarification. For the interviews conducted by video Skype, the consent forms were returned by post. Each interview session lasted between 50 minutes to 1 hour of audio recorded conversation conducted in the office location of participants.

In responding to the questions, each participant in the INGO case considered their account of events and relationships between actors in the organisation as their subjective interpretation that did not represent an official position. However, they considered their description of processes and procedures as speaking for the organisation. This dual 'hat' had implications for how the data obtained from interviewees in the INGO case was handled in the analysis and interpretation of findings, as care was taken to triangulate assertions in making attributions. For the student-led organisation case, the interviewees claimed to speak for the organisation and therefore, their responses were triangulated for attributions to the case.

Visual methods

I adopted the visual method, a data collection technique that focuses on what humans see. Visual method derives from the field of visual anthropology defined as encompassing the study of images as objects, the study of images as anthropology and the construction of a visual discourse (Spencer, 2011). Prosser (2013:177) describes visual methodology as focusing on "what we see" and "how we see", and the interpretation that is influenced by "our perception, culture and history". It is also described as "ways of seeing, showing and knowing" that has its foundations in sociology, anthropology and cultural studies (Pink, 2013:4). Visual method is therefore a data collection process that entails 'visualising' or 'visualisation' in which the researcher makes sense of trends, traits and character of an object or phenomena

under study (Banks, 2001). This method has evolved to embrace the study of technological automation and robotics, and also provides what Emmison and Smith (2000:107) described as “3 dimensional visual data that concern issues of spatiality, settings, animate objects” in tracing influence.

Visual methodology is an important data gathering method used in academic research to complement the traditional written and spoken forms of data, and is often used as a source of additional data”(Prosser, 2013:179). It differs from traditional observation methods in the researcher’s visual interaction with the ‘site’ rather than the immersion into a culture or natural settings” (Bogdewic 1999:47-69; Yin, 2009; Bryman, 2004). This form of observation differs from ethnography, which concerns the study of communities in their cultural locations (Buchanan, 2004). Prosser (2013:182) stated that “how we see, is epistemologically grounded in the way it includes concept formation and modes of representation”. While observation that involves online culture and behaviour is described as virtual observation or ethnography, I did not consider my observation of websites and social media environments as falling into this category, as it did not entail analysing behaviour of either individuals, a community or culture.

Although the use of visual methods evolved and adapted faster in scientific studies such as the study of organisms and nature, the emergence of web-based forms of doing ethnography saw an increased application of visual methods in studying artefacts, photographs, films, and digital information displays. The growth in its application to interpretive research resulted in a realignment of its theoretical foundations on “place and space, practice, movement and senses” and sources such as interactive graphics, maps, and surveillance footages (Pink, 2013:17). Apart from its data gathering purpose, Spencer (2011) also noted that visual material is often included in research to give readers a broader context that allows for more detailed understanding of trends, and therefore has implications for concept formation. The advantage of the visual method for this thesis is the benefit of putting the researcher in the position of the public audience, and how they might perceive what they see online.

With regard to Internet-based research for example, visual methodology is commonly used for conducting Internet searches on groups or institutions, analysing uploaded video materials, and in recording trends (Clark et al., 2010). In applying the visual method I was interested specifically in noting the type of information, the origin of communication, the trend of interaction, the nature of what is communicated, and the density of communication that occurred on NGO campaign websites and in their social media environment. A major weakness with the visual method is the way it is open to multiple interpretations, and how its potentials can be constrained by language. It is

therefore of a higher research value when used in combination with other investigation methods (Banks, 2001; Spencer, 2011).

The rationale for including visual method was because the Facebook social media provided data on the campaign activities of these organisations and held information dating back four to five years. It served as a video diary and a source of data that gave insight to practices that indicate trends over time, therefore increasing the validity of visual method as a source of data for analysing how these NGOs use social media for their campaigning (Noyes, 2008). Facebook was selected as a visual data site because it was the most frequently used medium of communicating campaign events to campaigners. The visual methodology provided useful data on the nature and role of the images NGOs used to communicate their campaign messages on their website and social media environment. I conducted two forms of visual observations; the first was a one-off direct visual observation of a two-day conference event undertaken by the student-led organisation case, and the processes by which they identified campaign issues and generate a shared identity. The INGO case could not be observed in this manner, as it did not have a structured membership that organise such events. The second type of visual method was an online visual observation of the Facebook social media network of the two sample cases. This did not include enmeshing in real life situations in the way described in the conventional ethnographic methods. The collaborative 'IF' campaign website provided an integrated site for observing both the INGO and student-led organisation cases.

The visual method contributed to analysing how NGO campaigners may be conceived of as a digital network of actors that are mobilised to take certain actions in challenging global poverty using a particular narrative. The process of data collection involved taking case notes of what I saw on the websites and Facebook environment of each bounded case, as well as analysing the mode and density of communication that went on, and the interaction between campaigners in each bounded case. This process did not include analysing the content of the conversation as I was concerned only with the orientation of text and images rather than the analysis of the meanings of words, symbols or phrases (Silverman 1993:59). These variables were important for understanding the frames that was generated and how it was multiplied. Much of the interaction was by the click of the 'like' symbol that represented a form of social media communication.

The campaigns selected for observation were identified during interviews with the organisations, and covered interaction on campaign issues from July 2012 to July 2013. With the INGO case, *the Hunger for Change* campaign by CAFOD, the Oxfam

Grow campaign and the Trócaire campaign on *Climate Change* were observed. These individual campaigns were integrated as part of the campaign issues in the collaborative IF campaign that provided the baseline for the visual method in this thesis. With the student-led organisation case, visual method was carried out on the online *Corporate Power* campaign by People and Planet, and in Medsin, the interaction on *global health* campaign theme was visually observed. Particular attention was given to the density of communication on the campaign issue and how issues were presented to campaign audiences on the Facebook network of the two bounded cases. I had discussed my intention with the sampled organisations to invite myself into their Facebook environment, which was open to the public.

The visual methodology was particularly useful for describing the nature of conversations that occurred between the organisation and campaigners across the samples, and between the bounded cases. Another important contribution of the visual method is, it allows the researcher to visually 'see' from the position of the public audience that enables a visual representation of what the public audience see online. It therefore, contributed to conceptualising how campaigners constitute a digital network of actors described in organisational knowledge theory as stakeholders involved in knowledge creation. The online data collection entailed three phases of observation across the spring, summer, and autumn months of 2013 in which the communication and interaction between the organisations and their campaigners were observed. I visited the Facebook environment of the cases three days each week and visually observed for one hour in the morning, and another hour in the evening over a thirty-week period through the month of March, April, June and July, and again in September, October and November. I also signed into Facebook environment of the interfaced IF campaign that linked the two cases.

The months selected for visual observation reflected the periods in which their major campaigns were undertaken and the period that coincided with the IF campaign initiative. I did not follow any structured pattern in conducting the visual observation, as the nature of data was concerned with communication trends rather than the behaviour of social actors. My aim was to note the nature and origin of conversations, how discussions were initiated and the mode and nature of responses. Data from the visual observation served to gather evidence on the types of interaction that takes place, the nature and density of communication between organisations and their campaign audiences, and between campaigners themselves. The data was important for triangulating evidence from the interviews and document review as well as in understanding the role of social media in constructing and disseminating knowledge on the campaign issue. The data from the visual observation also contributed in

generating themes for the analysis. Apart from possible bias that may filter from the researcher's cultural location, and the constrain of language in representation, visual methods also has ethical challenges pertaining to the copyright issues and consent, where certain images are used to support evidence. The ethical issues regarding the use of visual methods are addressed in a later section of this chapter.

Document review

Document review is a method of collecting data by reviewing existing document that may exist in print or electronic copy. It is useful for gathering background information in understanding the history, philosophy and operation of institutions and organisations, and for developing other data collection tools (Bryman, 2001). I included document review in my data collection process to obtain background information on the history, philosophy and mission of the organisations in the sample cases. The document review covered primary documents such as biography of the organisation, campaign handbills and online manuals and campaign policy materials that specifically target young people. The secondary materials consisted of two publications by organisations outside the sample, the Suas report, and InterMedia report that surveyed the perceptions of young people in Ireland and the UK.

I applied document review at two stages; firstly, in formulating subsidiary research questions 2 and 3, and secondly, at the stage of data analysis and triangulation of evidence. At both stages, the criteria for selecting the published materials such as the campaign handbills, the mission statements of the organisations, policy manuals and screenshots was guided by the interviews in which participants identified current and important campaigns. With Oxfam, the focus was on documents relating to their 'Grow' campaign theme and specifically the *Robin Hood Tax and Guide to Campaigning* documents. For CAFOD, the documents reviewed included the *Hungry for Change* campaign flyers and electronic documents available on their website. These campaigns were included in the collaborative IF campaign which evaluation report, *Enough Food for Everyone IF* is also referred in the literature. In Trócaire, the images included in the *Climate change* campaign, and generic emails to prospective campaigners were reviewed. This source of data enriched what was obtained from the interviews and visual method. However, I was conscious of the limitations of document review, such as a possible bias in the way organisations represent themselves, and took this into account by checking documents against the facts that emerged from other data sources.

Questionnaires

Although questionnaires are usually associated with quantitative research, their inclusion in this thesis served two main purposes; firstly, to provide baseline information to guide the investigation process and secondly, for more precision in the formulation of the interview questions (Tashakkori et al, 2003). The questionnaire applied to campaigners in the student-led organisation case was used to achieve more precision in the contextualisation of the interview questions and was particularly important in formulating the subsidiary questions (Maxwell, 2005). It also served as a means of triangulating the interviews with campaigners in the student-led organisation case. The questionnaires were designed mainly to obtain data to corroborate other robust secondary surveys on the perceptions of young people regarded as the more active and Internet savvy UK public (InterMedia, 2012).

The questionnaire was initially intended to be administered to campaigners in both sample cases. However, this was not possible with the INGO case as the three sample organisations had no list of campaigners, and were constrained by ethical considerations to share the contact details of campaigners with a third party. To this end, it took into account relevant questions from the InterMedia survey on the way young people in the UK perceive global poverty. The survey published in 2012 included six hundred telephone surveys with young people aged 16 and above that had an interest in development issues. The questionnaire was designed as closed-ended questions with multiple choice answers, and only administered to campaigners in student-led organisation case who were also familiar with the IF campaign issues that was shared on social media. The questionnaire was administered face-to-face, which allowed the opportunity to explain the research objective first hand. The administration of the questionnaire at the conference event resulted in a high response rate of 83% (46 out of 55 returned) from People and Planet, and 75% response for Medsin (30 out of 40) returned. An aggregate of 80% (76 out of 95) response success rate was achieved.

The questionnaire provided a means of applying and triangulating data from the visual observation and interviews. Over all, it revealed that campaigners in the student-led organisation case used Facebook in the same way as INGO case used the social media to communicate events and activities. However, an underlining distinction between the two cases was the context in which student-led organisation campaigners bonded in the face-to-face meetings at their annual conference events, where they negotiated a common frame of reference and shared values through interaction. This was evident in the choice of visual images used in the campaign messages on their

social media and in the protest narrative they used in communicating with the wider public.

4.7 Positionality and the issue of insider research

As stated earlier in the introduction, the motivation to undertake this research came from my background as a practitioner in the field of GE, and a participant in the debates relating to the practices of NGO development advocacy. My involvement as a practitioner in the sector includes, for example, contribution to journals and international conference publications in the field of GE, as well as consultancy research in promoting development and citizen education. I have also worked as a facilitator for interactive DE courses designed by NGOs for university undergraduate students in Ireland, and currently on the campaign/ mailing list of a number of NGOs such as CAFOD, Trócaire, and People and Planet included in the research sample. My experience in the sector includes workshop and conference presentations, contributions to DE journals, and membership of the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA), an umbrella organisation that coordinates the activity of DE in Ireland.

I therefore, consider myself as an “insider researcher”, not only with knowledge obtained from the academic arena, but also with experience acquired from practice in the field of this research. I consider my position as an insider researcher from both the challenges my subjective knowledge and experience present in undertaking this research, as well as the opportunities it offered in a qualitative method. Considering my position as a researcher with background experience and subjective knowledge of the field of study, the qualitative research methods required that attention be given to challenges associated with insider research bias which stem from preconceived perceptions. Grady and Wallston (1988) noted that in qualitative research, the researcher can put their insider experience to more productive use by embracing reflexivity throughout the course of research rather than in being preoccupied with attempting to eliminate such knowledge. Given the many associations between the researcher and the research in this thesis, the influence of insider research was an issue that required much consideration and attention.

The concept of reflexivity in qualitative research emphasises the importance of self and cultural awareness, and entails a process of critical self-reflection by the researcher (Lincoln and Guba, 2000:183). According to Patton (2002:65), the challenge is to be clear about “our own authorship of whatever we propound, to be self-reflexive, to acknowledge our biases and limitation...” As well as providing the inspiration to undertake the study, my positionality as an insider also influenced my conceptualisation and problematisation of the research questions. My access to NGO

online advocacy and campaign materials shaped my background knowledge of the strategies that different NGOs used in communicating with their network of audiences and influenced my construction of the cases and my choice of purposive sampling. It enabled me identify quickly the related literature relevant in undertaking the research, as well as the theories that contribute in addressing the research objectives. My insider status also led me early in the data collection process to experience first-hand the importance of certain practices such as the annual conferences held by student-led organisations. This experience exposed nuances that I may otherwise have missed in examining and analysing the context of the interaction of student-led organisations on social media. In addition, this knowledge also prompted me to reflect on how INGOs can mediate the development of their campaigners into a digital network of social actors collaborating purposefully to achieve a common objective.

Although such insider experience proved more of an asset than a liability, I was conscious of a need not to allow my 'insider' knowledge obscure or subvert empirical data; but rather, to utilise it as a reflexive means to improve rigour in engaging with the data throughout the different stages of the study. As Mason (2001:6) suggested, "the researcher should constantly take stock of their action and their role in the research process and subject these to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of their data". I was constantly aware that the researcher cannot be totally removed from the knowledge they generate. To minimise possible biases therefore, I adopted Patton's (2002) proposal of a triangulated approach to reflexivity in which the researcher constantly reflected upon the social, cultural, political and ideological origin of their perspective. This model entailed working through a series of self-reflective questions such as: "how do I know what I know, what shapes and has shaped my worldview, and with what voice do I share my views" (Patton, 2002:66). Adopting this reflective approach was also useful in interpreting data obtained from visual method, which interpretation can be influenced by the researcher's experience and frame of reference. An awareness of my positionality therefore, increased the depth, value and credibility of using the qualitative design.

In adopting the collective case study, I kept to the guiding steps Gerring (2007) proposed as a format for a good case study, namely; determining the topic, deciding the type of case study, selecting the participants, systematic collection of data, a report on the interpretation of findings, and an analytic summary that concludes the study. In conclusion, I was conscious of Lynch's (2000) caution that although reflexivity is a necessary component of qualitative research studies, it must not override the research process. Rather than constituting a limitation, the reflexive model of enquiry served as

a self-regulating tool to guide against importing possible biases that could have been engendered by my connections with the research topic.

4.8 Cross case analysis approach

I adopted the cross case analysis for the interpretation and analysis of data. Data analysis is “the stage at which evidence is examined, categorised and combined to address the research problem, generate and argue the proposition of the study” (Yin, 2009:126). The cross case analysis approach is ideal where the study includes multiple cases, and “the aim of the researcher is to emphasise common relationships across cases rather than what is unique to the cases” (Stake, 2006: 39). Although similar to thematic analysis in the way patterns are generated in order to identify themes for analysing data (Braun & Clark, 2006), the cross case analysis differs in the sense that themes are ranked not by the frequency of their occurrence, but by their orientation to understanding the phenomenon being studied. In conducting the analysis, I drew on the literature and conceptual framework in interpreting and presenting the evidence to identify similar patterns in the communication practices of the two categories of NGOs.

My approach to the cross case analysis involved three broad stages. The first was sorting the transcribed interviews and other data sources within each case category and merging the findings to identify similar themes that responded to the research questions. The second stage involved generating tentative assertions by ranking the findings in each case and yielding priorities for what to analyse and how these might contribute to addressing the research objective (Stake, 2006). The multiple case nature of the study required that the research adopted a strategy to identify what would be analysed from the different data sources. ‘Tentative assertions’ are derived by combining prominent themes from the findings, and contribute to analysing and understanding the phenomenon under study (*ibid*: 41; Gomm et al., 2000). This process leads to generating factors for the cross case analysis that contribute to explaining the phenomenon under study, and for developing theoretical propositions by making causal links. Stake (2006:64) suggested that it was important for the case researcher to identify “factors for analysis through a process of merging and ranking”. I identified factors for analysis by ranking the tentative assertions derived from the INGO case and student-led organisation case that are presented in chapters five and six respectively.

The core feature of the cross case analysis is the merging and ranking of findings across the cases that have “an orientation for understanding the quintain” (*ibid*: 62). As noted earlier the ‘quintain’ refers to common features that explain the problem being

investigated in a bounded case (Stake, 2006). In undertaking the data analysis, I considered the communication practices and interaction at the planning and execution stages of campaigning in both case categories. I also identified the themes that emerged within each group, and then proceeded to perform a cross case thematic analysis of the sample categories (Yin, 2009). The exploratory and heterogeneous nature of the sampled cases also required heuristics in the discovery of new meanings (Gerring, 2007). Although computer programmes can facilitate data analysis, they cannot replace the understanding, reflexivity and creativity of the researcher. I did not use any qualitative data analysis software, because I did not find them suitable as my methodology required eclecticism considering that the conceptual framework drew from different theories some of which were still evolving. As Patton, (2002) noted, “the analysis of qualitative data involves creativity, intellectual discipline, analytical rigour and a great deal of hard work” (p.442). Considering that my visual observation did not include a systematic charting of activities, I employed reflexivity in identifying and interpreting dialectics in the phenomenon. For example, recognising the importance of face-to-face interaction in generating a shared identity, and in understanding the basis for the common frames the student-led organisation case generate and use in their social media interactions was useful in interpreting the data.

With regards to attribution of claims in the analysis and interpretation of the interviews, I was mindful of the fact that participants from the INGO case considered themselves as speaking for the organisation only where their response concerned the description of standard procedures in the organisation. However, when the response concerned the interpretation of events or the relationship between actors in the organisation, and with their campaigners, the participants regarded their answers as their personal views. This was different with participants from the student-led organisation case that considered their response in both instances, as speaking for the organisation. As noted earlier, the disparity in the ‘ownership’ of response and ‘voice of the organisation’ implied that the interviewee’s interpretation of organisational experiences might differ from the official position. Therefore, in using the data, the issue of validity and attribution of claims was guided by a consistent adherence to the methodology. Long and Johnstone (2000) suggested that “validity and reliability in qualitative research refers to the integrity in the application of the methods adopted, and the precision in which the findings accurately reflect the data”. In both cases therefore, the validity and reliability of evidence was achieved through cross triangulation of the investigation methods, while acknowledging the positionality of participants.

The data analyses draws extensively on the literature in building the concluding arguments, and in generating theoretical explanations on the implications different

modes of communication have for initiating public deliberation. The use of theory is essential to claim external validity, and in multiple case studies this implies using replication logic (Yin 2009). Stake suggested that where the data is critical in identifying a main assertion, there is need to triangulate (*ibid*: 36). Triangulation involves a process of using different data sources to check the replication in the evidence gathered and a critical review of what is being said (Stake, 2006: 34). To increase construct validity therefore, I ensured at each stage of the data analysis, to constantly triangulate evidence from different sources of data, and that the interpretations were guided by the methodology (Thorogood and Green, 2004). For example, the online observation and document review were used to triangulate the data from the interviews.

I limited my analysis to identifying and describing the practices, structures and trends in the cases in generating theoretical explanations of the implications the communication strategies adopted in the bounded cases had for evoking public deliberation. Considering that the aim of the study was to explore the implications of the campaign practices of two categories of NGOs, and to generate theoretical propositions, I adopted the explanation building technique for my analysis (Gerring, 2007). The data analysis and interpretation was also guided by the research objectives rather than the questions that served mainly as a tool for data gathering. Table 2 below provides a summary of the methods and data sources that I employed in accomplishing the three research objectives.

Table 2: Summary of the methods and data source to accomplish the research objectives

Objectives	Methods	Data Sources
1. To examine how NGOs identify, frame and communicate the knowledge they use in their campaigning on global poverty	Face to face interview, Document review, online publications, ranking and triangulation of data,	Staff in sample NGOs Oxfam, CAFOD, Trócaire, People and Planet. Medsin Visual observation of Facebook pages, Policy documents
2. To explore the opportunities whereby NGO campaigners can become catalysts for multiplying knowledge for public understanding of global poverty	Face to face interviews Document review, Visual methods Questionnaires	People and Planet & Medsin UK Visual methods of IF campaign Facebook page
3. To to understand how the communication practices of student-led organisations mediate the involvement of campaigners in constructing their knowledge.	Interviews, Document analysis visual methods, explanation building, Cross case analysis	NGO campaign documents, websites, Interviews with Campaign & Policy staff

4.9 Ethical consideration

Ethical consideration is particularly critical in qualitative studies where the data entails recording the perceptions, interpretations and opinions of participants which can expose them to different forms of risks during or after the research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Before commencing this research, I got acquainted with the ethical regulations of the Institute of Education (IOE) ethics guideline for approval for doctoral students' research project. This ethical regulation conforms with the British Educational Research Association (BERA) guidelines. The ethical approval process at the IOE required that I completed and submitted a data sheet to include a brief summary of my research stating specific ethical issues that may arise in the research. I applied and received approval to commence the research without the need to refer to any other external ethics body, since my sample group did not include young children, the elderly or individuals described in the guideline as vulnerable persons. The photographs reproduced from the website of organisations were credited, and where necessary, censored in order to conceal identity, and in some instances, to protect the dignity of individuals used in the original source.

I observed the four core basic principles considered the accepted standards in research ethics namely; respect for research participants, minimising any possible risks and financial costs to participants, observing the justice and benefit to participant criteria and ensuring confidentiality and anonymity (Pope and Mays 2000). I was conscious to respect the autonomy, dignity and anonymity of all participants included in the research by clearly explaining the aims of my research and its objectives. Consent forms (see appendix two, page 218) were also given to participants who signed and returned the forms, and the choice to withdraw at any stage of the interview process was clearly stated. Participants were allowed to make the decision on the date, time and place the interviews were conducted. I also ensured participants were comfortable with the questions by giving them a printed copy in advance and explaining their role in the interview process.

As explained earlier, all participants were nominated by their organisation based on their relevance and availability for the interview. I took measures to minimise other common risks associated with qualitative research by making sure I kept to the agreed time limit and also double checked permission to record the conversation. Where I had to interview more than one person from an organisation, I also kept the discussion with each participant separate. In administering the questionnaires to campaigners in student-led organisation case, I was mindful to identify and segregate the under 17s' from the over 18s' that attended the conference through the wristbands the students used to meet ethics and safety regulations in organising the event.

The confidentiality principle was observed throughout and after the period of the investigation. Pseudonyms were used for participants and the real names of the organisations used only to indicate and trace the source of evidence in the bounded cases. At the early stage of discussing the inclusion of the sampled organisations, all the organisations were provided information on the nature of the research and how it would be beneficial to their work. Although no written consent was obtained for the use of the names of the organisations, their acceptance to participate was a delegated decision made by the interviewees and their line supervisors. With particular reference to Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire, my communication with the organisation was limited to the specific unit supervisors and the officials delegated to participate in the interviews. The campaign images and photographs credited to the three INGOs were obtained from the IF campaign website, now defunct. Although no direct permission was sought for the use of specific images, consent was implied when the line managers agreed that documents retrieved from their website could be cited so long as it was for the purpose of academic research. No concerns were expressed about including the names of the organisations. In addition, the transcribed interviews were also sent to the participants' from the various organisations as an additional measure to gain their trust as well as the opportunity to make observations on the data obtained.

Considering that the research concerned the description of processes and practices within the organisations, I did not give much attention to the personal journeys of the individuals interviewed as it was outside of the scope of this study. The interview questions were designed to obtain data of a descriptive nature, and where the interviewees offered a personal view, care was taken in making attributions. However, considering the relevance of personal experiences for the perception individuals hold, and how this can filter into data that is descriptive, care was taken to triangulate the responses as well as protect the confidentiality of interviewees. There were ethical challenges researching online and social media sites, especially in terms of the boundary between what was regarded as a public or private communication, and the copyright status of data obtained from the social media.

The nature of social media meant it is both a public and private space, and "the boundaries between private and public discourse exist in a continuum" (McKee & Porter, 2009:77). In dealing with the private and public space continuum of the digital world, McKee and Porter argued for a reflexive approach to ethics that combine procedures with principles in which the former is governed by the connection between principles and methodology, and supplemented with a code about being honest (*ibid*: 172). The ethical consideration should therefore include a negotiated process between the researcher and the organisations as to the purpose of the investigation, how the

data will be used and the specific type of information that would be gathered. The greater concern for the organisation was being honest about the type of data being collected, and that the researcher would not introduce leading comments on the organisation's Facebook. With regard to visual observation of the activity on Facebook, the sampled organisations agreed that the responsibility or onus of 'consent' rested with them rather than the *friends* that *like* or *follow* their activity. My visual observation did not entail getting involved in the conversations that took place.

The problem of ethical boundaries in researching the digital world is an evolving area of study and as Walker et al. (2008) suggested, the world of digital and virtual environments have created instability in the way procedures are considered sacrosanct in certain types of enquiry. The nature of Facebook as a virtual social space operated by the organisation implied that the organisation held the privilege to invite *friends* or allow access to materials on its Facebook account and therefore, retained the right to permit any data gathering activity. By *liking* the Facebook of the organisation, the researcher is invited into a private space that is also public, and therefore what is communicated can be both private and public. *Liking* the organisation's Facebook also had an automated possibility of not only linking the researcher to the *friends* of the organisation, but also connecting them to a wider network of *friends* of the organisation (Gaiser & Schreiner, 2009). Seeking consent beyond the organisation was therefore impractical, considering the spontaneous and self-automated digital nature of social media networking and the public and private nature of what gets posted online. Furthermore, the identity or age of people that '*follow*' or '*like*' the organisation's Facebook cannot easily be verified, as the use of pennames and aliases is common. In the data presentation, I used images obtained from the Facebook pages of NGO campaigning, which I considered to be a public domain and obtained from my social media private space.

The overriding argument is that the content of the Facebook page of the sampled organisations and their network of friends was interfaced with the researcher's private/private space once they *follow* or *like* the organisation. I signed up and was allowed access to the material and conversations on the Facebook environment of collaborating organisations. I however, remained inactive to avoid possible contamination of data, or attract conversations from known "*friends*" in the real world and outside the boundary of the observed phenomenon. The visual examination entailed the recording of trends, the nature and density of communication between campaigners, and I had no intention to engage in conversation analysis of individual comments. No reference was made to any specific individual, and no opinion on the Facebook campaign pages was subjected to analysis beyond noting the density of

conversations and the frames communicated. The visual methods therefore, provided a non-invasive and transparent method that avoided the ethical challenges associated with ethnographic observation that entail immersing into the natural environment of the observed activity (Yin, 2009).

4.10 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I described the research design and outlined the methodological implications. I also described how the two bounded cases were constructed, and the major considerations as their structure, activity, and the relationship with their campaigners. The rationale for adopting the qualitative collective case study approach was based on the aim of the investigation to understand how the practices of student-led campaigning can contribute to understanding NGO campaigners as potential catalysts for multiplying public understanding about global poverty.

Although the collective case study is known to be weak for making generalisations, the use of multiple cases provides a basis for generating theoretical explanations that contribute to gaining a heuristic understanding of the wider population. In combining different methods for data collection, I explained the use of visual methods in making sense of the density and trends of the communication on the organisation's social media network, rather than observe the behaviour of individuals. The ethical issues regarding visual observation of the interaction on the Facebook of the sample organisations were fully considered. The next two chapters present the findings from the two sample cases, each providing a vignette of the organisations that are included in the two bounded cases.

Chapter Five: International nongovernmental INGOs (INGO case) Campaign practices and process: who, how, what

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the investigation carried out on the INGO case that comprised of Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire. The chapter is divided into nine subsections with the first providing a brief background to the three sample organisations in INGO case. In presenting the data, I used pseudonyms to maintain the anonymity of the participants interviewed. The data derives from the transcribed interviews, document review and notes from the visual method on the organisations' website and Facebook. I started with ranking and merging the findings from the bounded INGO case and identified similar themes oriented towards addressing the research questions. At the end of the data presentation, a further ranking was undertaken to generate tentative assertions that contributed to understanding the bounded cases. In the last section of the chapter, the tentative assertions were combined to generate themes for the cross case analysis of the two cases.

Considering that the case study approach pays particular attention to process tracing and the description and explanation of social processes in the phenomenon under study (Gomm et al., 2000), I focused only on what was common to INGO case, rather than what was unique to each organisation in the case (Stake, 2006:39). Considering that the names of organisations were used in presenting the data, I adopted a discursive format that contributed in protecting the anonymity of participants from each organisation. In the later sections of this chapter, I merged the tentative assertions in order to identify themes for analysis in the INGO case. The concluding subsection summarises the chapter and signposts the assertions used for the cross-case analysis with the student-led organisation.

5.2 Background to INGO case and their campaigners

The sampled organisations in INGO case comprising Oxfam GB and CAFOD in the UK and Trócaire are international humanitarian charity organisations (INGOs) that also undertake development advocacy as part of their activities to build public awareness and promotes actions to get the attention of policy makers about global development

and poverty issues (Lewis and Kanji, 2009). A short description of their evolution and mission is compiled mainly from the review of documents available on their websites⁷.

CAFOD started as a volunteer group of Catholic women in 1960, and two years later it was officially registered as Catholic Agency for Overseas Development, a charity organisation working to respond to emergency relief and poverty alleviation. The organisation is mainly Funded by the Catholic community in England and Wales, and started as a group concerned with local welfare and humanitarian relief. CAFOD evolved in the fashion described in Korten's (1990) *generation model* in which its interest and activity grew from local to international, and by mid-1960s its humanitarian relief activity had extended outside the UK and Europe (Dogra, 2012:4). In 1979, CAFOD launched its first major international campaign in response to the humanitarian crisis in the Philippines, and had by this time extended its work to over 45 countries mainly in the Global South. This period saw the integration of humanitarian relief appeals with advocacy and campaigning as part of its strategy to promote public awareness on global poverty and inequality. This period also marked the era when its income from public appeals steadily soared over the years (*ibid*).

Since 1985 when it was first involved in a collaborative public match to the House of Commons calling for more aid, CAFOD had become a major player in major rallies such as MPH and the IF campaign. By the late 1990s, CAFOD had established a web presence it used to increase its role in producing and disseminating DE learning materials as well as to promote its campaign on global poverty. Today, CAFOD uses the social media to carry out much of its public awareness and fundraising activities. CAFOD also works closely with research and policy institutions in the UK. Although the Catholic Church remains its core constituency of actors, it does not have an identifiable group of campaigners operating with a common identity.

Oxfam GB, referred in this thesis as 'Oxfam', is the UK branch of Oxfam International, which consists of 19 affiliate members of country level branches across Europe, America and Canada. Oxfam emerged in 1942 in the UK as a relief committee for famine in response to the Second World War humanitarian emergency. Although its early activities were confined to Europe, by the mid-1950s it had turned attention to aid support for poor communities in Asia, Africa and South America. Oxfam has remained influential and plays a leading role in research and the production of educational material since the early 1960 when it appointed regional school organisers across the

⁷ Further information on the historical evolution of sample organisations can be found on the following hyperlinks to the cited pages on their websites: www.cafod.org.uk/About-Us ; Trócaire.org/search/content ; medsin.org/about/; peopleandplanet.org/aboutus/ ; www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do

UK in an effort to raise awareness of global poverty (Eade, 2002). The Oxfam campaign unit was set up in 1979 to create awareness about global poverty, and is a pioneer in the use of television footages and documentaries to build public support and awareness about global development and poverty. Today, Oxfam is a confederation of 15 organisations working in about 92 countries.

In 1996 Oxfam commenced its online operation and use of the Internet to further extend its various activities including online campaigns, and to further consolidate its position as a leading actor in producing development knowledge (Dogra, 2012:5). It has funded and undertaken a number of published research in the area of advocacy and public engagement such as its 'Mindset: A new tool for understanding our audience' published in 2008 as well as initiating the 'Finding Frames' report. Oxfam also works closely with official aid agencies at national and European level and has remained at the forefront of organising major collaborative campaigns such as MPH and the recent IF campaign.

Trócaire was established in 1973 by Irish Catholic bishops as a way for Irish people to contribute to international development and emergency effort. Since then Trócaire has grown to be a leading INGO in Ireland and works closely with Irish Aid, the official Irish government aid institution in delivering overseas aid. Trócaire plays a leading role in supporting the growth of DE in Ireland and is also involved in the development and production of educational materials used by schools and organisations across Ireland. It maintains an elaborate campaign website in addition to a dedicated network of campaigners made up of its volunteers and committed activists. As with CAFOD, the Catholic Church remains its main constituency of supporters, but Trócaire also maintains an identifiable group of campaigners it uses to conduct its public rallies. This sets it apart from the detached relationship INGOs such as Oxfam and to a lesser extent CAFOD maintain with their campaigners.

A common feature of the INGO case is that they have elaborate hierarchical structures with specialised units that oversee the various activities they undertake such as fund raising, campaign and advocacy, public education and humanitarian relief projects (Anderson 2001). They fall into the category of organisations Lang (2013) described as highly professionalised, bureaucratised and institutionalised NGOs that acquire "insider status" and adopt institutional modes of communication. Another feature of the INGO case is their comparatively strong resource base by which their contacts and collaboration with official aid institutions give them access to certain funding streams, the leverage to lobby policy makers as well as dominance in setting the narrative on global poverty and development.

In the next session, I present the data from the investigation using pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of participants from the sample organisations. As noted earlier, the views of the interviewees in the INGO case were considered their personal interpretation and understanding of process and procedures in the organisations they worked for. However, it is also considered that the interviewees participated in the interviews as representatives of their organisations. In attributing meanings, therefore, care was taken to triangulate the responses within each bounded case where such responses were not descriptive and considered the personal interpretation of the participants. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of all interviewees. I use the letters ‘Y’, ‘S’ and ‘R’ to refer to participants from the three organisations in the bounded INGO case as represented in the table below. Where a distinction is made between the views expressed from different organisations in the INGO case, I link the pseudonym to the specific organisation of the participant. For example, “a participant from CAFOD, Y1, noted/ agreed...” The real names of organisations are therefore used discretely where they served for clarity and to minimise risk of compromising anonymity.

In order to preserve the originality of the data and reduce possible contamination, the responses are reproduced verbatim as transcribed without any attempt to change or correct possible errors in grammar.

Table 3: Schedule of INGO Pseudonyms

INGO case	Respondents
Oxfam	S1, S2, S3
CAFOD	Y1, Y2, Y3
Trócaire	R1, R2

Numbers 1, 2 or 3 were added to the first letter of the pseudonym for each participant from the different organisations to indicate respondents in the interviews. The name of the organisation is used to infer unison or the official position.

5.3 ‘Campaigning’ as public appeals and raising public awareness

This section presents the data that contribute in addressing the main research question on: *opportunities for the involvement of NGO campaigners in identifying knowledge on global poverty in terms of **how** campaign issues are identified, **who** is involved and how the campaign issue is communicated*. Much of the data in this section was derived from the interviews with participants in the INGO case as well as from visual method on social media, which was the dominant arena where communication and interaction with

campaigners occurred. Document review on the selected campaigns that served as study baseline from each organisation was used for triangulation. In order to examine the opportunities for the involvement of NGO campaigners in the processes of identifying and communicating the campaign message, it was important to determine what the three INGOs understood or described as campaigning, and who their “campaigners” were. In presenting the data, I use “INGO case” when referring to the INGO category, and use the names of the organisations when highlighting the source of a particular data.

All the participants from INGO case (Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire) described advocacy as an activity that is best undertaken by experts within the organisation. This view makes a distinction between ‘experts/professionals’ who have the knowledge and skills to advocate, and campaigners who acted on emotions, rather than knowledge on the issue. This conceptualisation of campaigning, and the role of campaigners had implications for the way INGO case framed and communicated knowledge to their campaign audiences. A participant from Oxfam, **S2**, described their campaign: *“...it aims at active citizenship, (which) means awareness and peer influence for young people....advocacy is a thing that involves very fine skills, so the kind of people who do advocacy are professionals”*.

With INGO case, campaigning served to promote awareness necessary to take action that support the advocacy undertaken by experts in the organisation with the knowledge and skills to engage with policy institutions. When asked how the campaign activity of young people differed from advocacy, the respondent further explained: *“I think young people as active citizens are (also) advocating”...“everyone is capable of advocacy, but you would not be representing or advocating for the (our) organisation”* (**S2**)

The interpretation of advocacy as an activity for the trained and more knowledgeable professionals in the organisation places the campaigner as a consumer of knowledge rather than a stakeholder in constructing knowledge. Although CAFOD and Trócaire made a more nuanced distinction between advocacy and campaigning, the INGO case was more about an awareness of the issues in order to take a prescribed action that support the lobby of policy institutions. All participants from INGO case expressed this view. Regarding the purpose of campaigning with young people, the response from a participant **R2** at Trócaire captured the wider view across the sampled INGOs:

“It depends on the age group, for the under 18, we don’t expect political action, so the main thrust will be educational element. When it comes to high school age, young

people like to be more politically active, they like to understand what they are asking government to do...I think for both categories of young people education is important.”

The interviews revealed that the INGO case considered their activities around *public appeals*, *public rallies* and *public awareness* as ‘campaigning’, as long as the objective was to attract media attention and to mobilise public response on a particular issue. Campaigning could, therefore, mean charity appeals, soliciting public donations or raising public awareness on an advocacy initiative. For example, the public appeal to support humanitarian relief in Syria was described by participants in Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire as campaigning aimed at increasing awareness of the impact of the crisis, and aligned with the wider organisational humanitarian agenda. As a participant from Oxfam, **S2** commented:

“... the Syrian issue for example moved from it being low on our (campaign) agenda to high in response to the wider organisation.”

The visual observation of online documents of the IF campaign in which all organisations in INGO case collaborated also showed that campaigning can mean different types of actions. When asked about the activities that would be considered as campaigning, another participant from the same organisation, **S1**, added:

“There are many issues and the IF campaign for example included how to influence governments (UK and Irish) ring-fence their commitment to 0.7% of GNP for aid contribution to poor countries, address issues of multinational corporation behaviour around transparency...”

Another example of campaigning mentioned in the response from a participant from Oxfam was the *Occupy Wall Street* protest that started in the United States and spread into some European countries. The *Occupy Wall Street* (OWS)⁸ protest was also referred to as a ‘campaign’ that caught the interest of INGO case. In describing how INGOs try to respond and adapt to the dynamics in the environment they operated, **S1** from Oxfam commented: *“when Occupy Wall Street happened it came as a surprise and the organisation was not sure how to respond, as well as the Arab Spring”*.

This implied that campaigning could be a spontaneous action where the public are coopted to show support even before a clear understanding on what the issue or objective was. When asked what the purpose of their campaigning served, **Y2** from CAFOD said: *“Our aim is to achieve change so we look at different ways people can*

⁸ OWS started as a protest in New York the heart of the capitalist world and spread to become a global movement against corruption, social injustice and inequalities beyond the Wall Street offices to Europe and South America.

take action....there are a range of different responses we want depending on the campaign..." R1 from Trócaire also responded that: "Remember, not everyone in a campaign wants that level of depth; some will just come ask the issue and willing to take action."

Two notable points emerged from the responses on how campaigning was understood in INGO case. The first point was the different senses and range of public communication activities INGOs described as campaigning that include public awareness, public appeals and public protest. Secondly is the diffused actor environment in which individuals or self-organising groups can also define and mobilise public action. What can be inferred from these points is the break in the monopoly NGOs held as the dominant agency by which public voice can be expressed, and the possibility of diffused forms of mobilising campaign action outside vertical structures. Another point linked to the frames theory is that the different activities described as 'campaigning' require different ways of framing the message to accomplish a desired objective.

On the issue of who constituted their "campaigners", the response from the INGO case was similar. **SI** said: *"We previously saw for our campaign an amorphous public that is out there to be engaged. So one of the teams I work in is getting this understanding and knowledge that there isn't an amorphous public out there. There are groups of people that want to engage with particular issue, so that we have a more strategic approach to our audiences"*

There is an indication that Oxfam is at a stage of transition in which the campaign audience is no longer seen as a homogenous group, but a public that is best engaged as a segmented audience. However, in addition to the amorphous public audience that CAFOD and Oxfam mobilised, Trócaire also maintained a network of people that **R1** described as core campaigners that meet face-to-face in planned workshops and *"those who would be already engaged and would have been involved in volunteering"*. While campaigners in INGO case were not registered members of the organisation, they constituted of a fluid network of potential actors linked to the organisation by ICT platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and email lists.

With regard to the opportunities for the involvement of campaigners in identifying or defining the campaign issue, the response was similar in the INGO case. **Y2** from CAFOD said: *"We do not have that opportunity at the moment, and that is something we definitely need to look into"*. **S1** in Oxfam said: *"None whatsoever, absolutely none. The public audience has zero input and at a minimal level do the campaign unit within the organisation contribute, it is the policy and research units that decide"*. **S1** added:

“With big organisations like Oxfam, the problem is how deeply we engage with policy makers and on what terms.”

R1 from Trócaire offered a different perspective: *“well if you are listening to people, what they have to say can influence the process... but at the same time you can take it quite literally and say just because certain issues are suggested you change based on that...”* **R1** added that: *“you want to stay true to your values (as an organisation) not like organisations that want to give their audience what they want to hear and lose track of their mission...we have values we want to promote”*.

Although the participant from Trócaire did not categorically state that campaigners were not involved in identifying the campaign issue, there is a suggestion of an aggregated form of participation and a conscious effort to promote certain values defined by the organisation. However, as inferred from the response by **SI** and **Y2**, there was the recognition in INGO case of the need for a more strategic engagement with their campaigners. While the fundraising unit in INGO case was separated from the campaign and advocacy units, visual observation of their websites and review of campaign flyers showed that in practice, these INGOs integrated public awareness raising on global poverty with their humanitarian fundraising campaigns. The campaign link on their website encouraged their audiences to “give” or “donate” while promoting prescribed online actions with little information on the campaign issue.

While CAFOD regarded the catholic community as its core constituency of supporters, aside from fundraising initiatives that targeted the parishes, the campaign on global poverty was communicated in the same way and through the same channels as with their wider network of campaign audience. Moreover, document analysis of the campaign materials communicated to this constituency of campaigners showed that the representation of global poverty was framed on the Christian social teaching that emphasised the virtues of compassion and charity.

As seen in the screenshot of CAFOD campaign webpage in Figure 5 below, the highlighted “give” appeal often follows campaign messages requesting the public audience to sign up for action. The knowledge content on the campaign issue is uploaded as a resource document that can be accessed at the convenience of the ‘campaigner’, before or after the prescribed action is taken. There is also an emphasis on the power of online campaigning as entailing sending out a simple email to politicians and decision makers in institutions.

Figure 5: CAFOD campaign website



(www.cafod.org.uk/campaigning-guide/campaign-online)

The clustering of INGO fundraising appeals and public awareness campaigns influenced how global poverty was framed for public engagement. It also has implications for the opportunities for campaigners to be involved in the process of identifying and framing the issue. As Ollis (2011) also noted, the way campaigning embody knowledge would differ precisely in the opportunities and process they offer actors to negotiate their own meanings. Campaigns that focus on fundraising, for example, would have limited opportunities for actors to engage with or interrogate the root causes in negotiating meanings, as the frames are likely to evoke compassionate responses.

When asked whether the organisations considered it important that their campaigners got involved in identifying the campaign issues, the responses from all the participants were similar.

R1 from Trócaire said: *"Yes I think the audience does get involved because we are meeting people all the time in our outreach, and they tell us what they think... and people contribute when they comment on social media they are influencing the process".*

Y2 from CAFOD said: (Chuckles) *"Good idea! Yes, it is a good idea, one we need also to look at carefully. I suppose the challenge is to actually get a decision on what they would want to advocate on will be quite difficult."*

From the above responses, there is also a sense that the campaign and communication units considered it important for campaigners to be involved in the processes by which the campaign issue is identified and presented. However, there is also a desire not to lose control in what issue gets discussed, and how the issue is presented to the public audience.

This section showed how the term 'campaigning' was used in INGO case to mean different types of public communication that included appeals for charity donations as well as public awareness in challenging global poverty. It also showed how this was reflected in the way campaign issues were presented for public engagement. The clustering of charity and advocacy messages that required different types of frames, and the presentation of the issue as a simple online action have implications for how campaigners negotiate meanings and act as potential multipliers of knowledge on the campaign issue. Although the INGO case made no distinction between the wider public audience and their virtual network of campaigners, the data showed that they acknowledged the importance of the need for a more strategic engagement with their campaigners. The next section deals with INGO practices in identifying the campaign issue.

5.4 Identifying the campaign issue: who, how and what

Considering the INGO case used the term 'campaign' to refer to different types of communication aimed to elicit public response, I focus on the interpretation of NGO campaigning that is undertaken to raise public awareness. The purpose is to identify the opportunities that exist for the involvement of campaigners in generating and multiplying frames for public awareness. With specific reference to campaigning that is undertaken to raise awareness about global poverty, the INGO case categorised their campaigning under two broad types; *organisational campaigns* presented in themes that run for two or more years, and *single issue* campaigns that run for shorter periods.

The interviews and visual observation of the messages on their campaign websites revealed that the knowledge about global poverty that is used in organisational campaigns are derived from broad thematic campaign issues identified by the organisation. Single issue campaigns originated mainly from their humanitarian field experience overseas and target specific problems such as fairer prices for coffee farmers in a particular country. Both single issue and organisational campaigns are accompanied by a simple description of the conflict issue, which is not presented in a way that encourages further probe, and they often included images that evoke compassionate responses. Y1 mentioned CAFOD's current organisational campaign

themes: *“we have four major advocacy areas; economic justice, post 2015 MDG, Business sector and climate change.”*

Although all participants interviewed in INGO case explained that the issues they campaigned about emerged through processes within the organisations, the policy team was identified as the core unit that defined and decided the themes from which *organisational campaigns* were planned. **Y2** from CAFOD stated that: *“We have a process of looking at themes in our Advocacy on which we develop our campaign... The communications and campaign team explore framing the knowledge for the 18+ and the education unit for under-eighteen (in schools). In terms of how we translate that into the actual campaign, it will involve the whole group but largely campaign manager.”*

This was similar to the responses from participants from Oxfam and Trócaire. **R1** from Trócaire stated: *“our policy team would have conducted the research and would have interviewed academics from different parts of the world, and would have been rigorous and robust...and from that research coupled with the advocacy issues that arise from the field in the countries (overseas) we work would help identify issues that come to bear on potentially organisational issues”.*

S1 in Oxfam elaborated further: *“Our organisation has the mission of working with others to address issues of global poverty in addition to the humanitarian work it does across the world with marginalised communities. There is a policy team and a research team, so we construct this knowledge using research and identify them through rounds and rounds of discussions with meeting at different OXFAM branches”.*

When further asked who and how the content of their campaign was identified in presenting the campaign messages, **S3** said: *“the policy and research teams proposed campaign issues from which the organisational campaign themes emerges... the policy team also decides the way the knowledge content in public campaigning are framed.”*

Y2 from CAFOD explained: *“The campaign and communication manager’s role is to look at what we have, and we don’t really have a clear-cut process of framing the knowledge, it depends on the issue. But the aim is to see how we can change attitudes.”*

The abstract and ‘big issue’ organisational themes therefore influenced the broader direction and strategy of advocacy in INGO case, and defined the mode of communication the organisations adopted in reaching out to their campaigners and public audience. The aim of organisational themes to address broad agendas defined

by the organisation meant that the policy team and research units decided how the campaign message is framed. The campaign and communication units in INGO case were involved only at the point of disseminating the message to the wider public audience. The policy unit was described as ‘very influential’, and tensions frequently resulted between the policy and campaign teams on the choice of language in framing the narrative. As **S1** stated: *“the policy people find it difficult to let go what they put together even where the language did not resonate..., not even the campaign unit has any input; it is the policy team that runs the knowledge along with the research unit”*.

The objective of changing attitudes and perception is an important point of note in the comment by **Y2** from CAFOD, which implied that like DE, NGO campaigning also aimed at increasing public understanding beyond simply taking online actions. With the post-primary school campaign programme, INGO education units liaised with schools to plan activities with young people under-eighteen, and with a focus on learning campaigning skills. As **S2** described: *“We use ‘KUVAS’ when we talk about what we want to achieve with young people. The acronym stands for ‘knowledge, understanding, values, and attitude skills’. All these (components) have a strong foundation of knowledge”*.

Y2 further explained: *“In terms of engaging with young people, the communication manager will be involved in work with the education unit...there are representatives in the leadership team and working group who will be responsible”*. This is evidence of a process structured around actors within the organisation.

Regarding the way INGO case presented their campaign programmes with schools, **S2** in Oxfam said: *“Well we don’t consider it as DEVED (development education) strictly speaking, and we don’t consider it strictly speaking as campaigning in the way we campaign with adults...because when working with young people, we have a duty to balance between education and campaign. That balance has shifted like a pendulum depending on the political environment and the shifts have happened within the educational sector”*.

INGOs case also organised educational campaign programmes for the under-eighteens in schools. A common feature in the three sampled INGOs is the distinction they made between campaign programmes for young people under-eighteen and the activities available online for young adults. The activities for the under-eighteen is deployed through educational approaches that promote values, while the *“engagement with the over-eighteen (young adults) is organised around individual action, fundraising and campaign skills”*. (**S1, Y1**)

While the influence of the policy team was mentioned across the three organisations, the campaign and advocacy units in CAFOD had more leverage in framing the campaign message for young adults in local support groups affiliated to the organisation. As a participant **Y2** from CAFOD said: “*Communications and campaign team explore framing the knowledge for the 18+*”.

Although the campaign knowledge process in CAFOD involved working groups, which increased inclusiveness and reduced the dominance of the policy and research units, this level of involvement was limited to actors within the organisation. The diagram in Figure 6 below shows how campaign issues emerge from the broad organisational themes in INGO case, and the dominant role of the policy and research units in identifying and framing the content of campaign messages.

Figure 6: INGO case identifying the campaign issues



As depicted in Figure 6, the policy and research teams defined the broader organisational campaign theme from which campaign issues emerged. This process is reflected in the double arrows that indicate interaction between the policy and research units. The single arrow between policy team and campaign team shows a linear process and the marginal involvement of the campaign team in INGO case. Although campaigners were actors that reside outside the organisation, they were excluded from the process of defining and framing the campaign issues. Using Nonaka and Takeuchi’s (1995) knowledge creation framework, the one direction arrow between the campaign team and the campaign audiences represents a gap in the organisational knowledge creation process. For the INGO case therefore, there is a gap between how campaigners act as “issue publics” that can disseminate and apply knowledge on the campaign issue, and how they evolve as catalysts that can multiply public understanding.

The review of documents on how campaigners were recruited in INGO case showed that the organisations conceived of their campaign audience as their issue publics in the way they are engaged as a network of action takers that increase the legitimacy for their campaigns. For example, the Oxfam *Beginners Guide* available on their website titled: *Your guide to campaigning with Oxfam*, encouraged potential campaigners to:

“Try to reflect Oxfam’s values in the way you represent the organisation...”⁹ Although the *Beginners Guide* instructs prospective campaigners to find and join a local support or campaign group, the organisation also encouraged them to take individual actions online. Given the amorphous nature of their campaigners, INGO case considered individual actions taken online as an aggregated form of collective action.

Although this thesis focuses on campaigners at post-secondary level, it is important to get a sense of how campaigning aimed at public awareness was organised for young people at post-primary schooling, as this provides a perspective to the frame of reference young adults bring as autonomous actors. The interviews revealed that campaign programmes with schools were designed around developing different types of skills and values that encourage youths to take an interest in global development issues. **R1** from Trócaire said: *“We will be aware of the ethics about working with young people and how you approach them and use a development education context.”* The use of a DE context in developing a frame of reference for campaigners was also noted with Oxfam.

The aim of INGO case campaign programmes with schools was similar. **Y1** from CAFOD said their programme with post-primary school was to promote values, attitude and skills. This objective to influence values and perception was similar to ‘KUVAS’, an acronym Oxfam used to describe their focus on *Knowledge, values attitude and skills*. This set the stage for a learning approach to public understanding about global poverty, and paid attention to developing certain attitudes and values that were considered important for accomplishing organisational goals. Although the process of identifying and framing the campaign issue was similar to the single-issue campaigns, the educational units within the organisation were involved in ensuring it conformed to educational policy and the curriculum.

This section presented the data that described how campaign issues were identified within the organisation and the level of interaction between the different actors. Using a simple flowchart diagram, it showed how the issues in all three INGOs were identified from a preconceived organisational theme or advocacy issue. The significance of the organisational campaigns is that they run for a number of years and focus on broad issues. However, the abstract nature of the campaigns tend to emphasise online actions that target policy makers rather than public deliberation. Such abstract knowledge described by a participant as ‘policy heavy’ relates to a top-down nature of

⁹ [Your guide to campaigning with Oxfam](http://www.oxfam.org.uk/get-involved/campaign-with-us) page 6 www.oxfam.org.uk/get-involved/campaign-with-us

identifying and framing the campaign issue in a way that provided marginal opportunity for the involvement of campaigners as stakeholders.

Data on the role of the youth campaign programmes with under-eighteen pupils in schools also showed a desire by INGO case to influence values and attitudes, and an indication that INGOs desired to influence public perception beyond a basic awareness of the campaign issue. In the next section, I present data that contributes to further understanding the way knowledge about global poverty is framed and communicated to campaigners.

5.5 Communicating with amorphous campaigners

Understanding the communication channels and nature of the interaction between NGOs and their campaigners is important for analysing the modes of communication in arenas where interaction takes place. In presenting the data on the way INGO case communicates knowledge about global poverty to their campaign audiences, particular attention is given to the channels and mechanism by which the campaign message is disseminated. In addition to the interviews, I used document analysis and visual observations on the websites of INGO case to gather evidence in examining their communication practices.

All participants in INGO case showed a hesitation when they were asked how knowledge about the campaign issue was identified. The hesitation was on the use of the term “knowledge” and the sense in which the researcher used it. The first reaction that came from each participant was: *‘can you please clarify what you mean by ‘knowledge’?* This uncertainty about the term ‘knowledge’ was interesting considering that earlier in the interview, the three organisations in INGO case, Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire had earlier in the interview described their campaigning as based on ‘knowledge’ ‘understanding’, ‘values and ‘skills’. In each case, I clarified my use of ‘knowledge’ to mean pertinent and factual information about a conflict issue that is communicated to campaigners, and used to mobilise them to take action.

Although there is an emphasis on values and skills as important elements in the communication with their campaign audiences, participants in INGO case also expressed an interest in how campaigners engaged with knowledge on the campaign issue beyond sharing information about a planned action. As **R1** added: *“If an organisation looks to work and just want them (campaigners) to take action online, then for them, the knowledge is quite shallow. Whereas, if an organisation wants to engage with certain people deeply and want to act as multiplier, then the capacity and knowledge will be different”*.

The use of 'Knowledge' here implies that INGO case considered the content of their campaign messages as pertinent and actionable information that can contribute to public engagement with the campaign issue. When asked if they considered the representations of global poverty in their campaigning as factual knowledge, **S1** in Oxfam said: *Yes, we believe that greater awareness and knowledge on global issues will lead to greater public engagement with the issues that is common sense understanding...* **S1** also added that: *"Humans don't necessarily work in the deductive way of the more information, the more they engage". "...But we need a shift from a philosophy of campaigning from the focus on action to greater engagement with the issues, than influence politicians".*

There is a suggestion in the above responses that the campaign and communication units in INGO case recognised the need for their campaigning to be designed around promoting a greater engagement with the issue. In particular, **S1** response indicates that it is not so much the amount of information but how the message is framed to achieve public engagement with the campaign issues. This is also evident in the response by **R1** from Trócaire: *"Yes, it depends on where you are coming from. I think the way we approach our campaign would be a two-prong approach. We would work with volunteers, and we would look to build their capacity, so when we do, we don't just look at it as information sharing. We would work on a skills-based approach and build their capacity to engage the issue".* The response from the participants from CAFOD was more definite: *"Yes, absolutely, if you don't educate people on the issue they will not understand why they do what they do. It is fundamentally important we seek to do that".*

Visual observation also showed that the testimonies gathered from country programme partners and their network overseas constituted part of the source of knowledge they used in their educational programmes. Interviewees in INGO case considered the content of NGO campaign messages as factual 'knowledge'. Although they also considered the representation of global poverty as part of framing knowledge, this interpretation was considered their personal opinion, as the 'official' view would emphasise knowledge as the product of systematic research and expert documentation of field experience. The responses from the interviewees regarding their view about the 'knowledge status' of NGO representations of global poverty suggests that knowledge was considered as more than factual accounts, but included the way facts are framed and communicated to an audience. As **R2** said: *"So we don't just look at it as information sharing. We would work on a skills-based approach and build their capacity to engage the issue...we see the people as multipliers and people who can inform".*

Campaign messages in INGO case was communicated through a variety of channels. The most commonly used mode of communication mentioned by participants across the three organisations was their websites, email, and Facebook social media. The communication was unidirectional and took the form of sending campaign messages on global issues identified by the organisation presented in easy-to-read *sound bites* to prompt individual action. The support groups mentored by Oxfam and CAFOD were not necessarily seen as a standing campaign structure of the organisations, rather, they were considered as a network of community outreach actors mentored by the organisation. **S2** in Oxfam explained that: *“The youth group for good or bad are seen as part of the public audience, and have zero input, at minimal level do other units contribute, not even the campaigning team have minimum input”. “...the fact is that it (youth groups) is not aimed at campaign action”.*

The CAFOD teams and local support groups in the regions were regarded in a similar fashion. When asked if the local/regional groups were considered as being part of their campaign structure, **Y1** said: *“We don’t have that at the moment, and that is something we have to look at. At the moment, we engage young people at a later stage. Once we identify a theme, we go to different groups and look how the campaign will be engaging for different people. In terms of them identifying the issues, they are not involved in that process”.*

As **R1** from Trócaire noted: *“knowledge for the various activities of campaigning, fundraising, advocacy and development education come from the organisation’s leading research and work with programme partners overseas”.*

Like Oxfam and CAFOD, campaigners in Trócaire, (the Irish INGO) had no direct input into the processes of identifying and framing campaign knowledge. However, Trócaire differed in how it engaged with an identifiable network of activists regarded as its core campaigners. This identifiable group of campaigners were made up of already interested citizens such as volunteers and young activists that have a sustained relationship with the organisation. Evidence from Trócaire’s Facebook and the interviews indicated that interaction between their campaigners occurred mainly when the organisation planned a public demonstration. It also emerged that the same stock of knowledge was interpreted and framed to serve its different interests and activities in fundraising, DE, and public awareness campaigns against global poverty.

The role and use of social media is addressed in more detail in the next chapter. However, it is worth mentioning here that the email is usually a one-way communication between the organisation and its network of campaign audience that are subscribed to receive campaign information. This mode of communication did not

provide for group conversation and was often closed-ended, as they served to inform prospective campaigners and supporters of planned activities of the organisation. Evidence from the interviews and visual methods on their online interaction showed that the most common form of campaign action in INGO case was designed around individual action in the form of online petitions. The organisation assumed collective action by aggregating the campaign actions taken by individuals.

Visual methods carried out on the IF campaign website also provided a rare opportunity to observe the practices of a coalition of over 200 NGOs across UK that included INGO and student-led organisation cases. The IF campaign is discussed in more detail in section 5.7. However, it provided in this section, an illustration of the communication practices of the INGO case in engaging with their campaign audience, and how campaign rallies are used in communicating with policy institutions. The IF campaign provided a way of examining their communication practices in real time as well as a means by which to triangulate the interviews and data from the document review. With the INGO case, virtual observation of the IF campaign website revealed that INGO communication was between the organisations and an amorphous public audience, and was mainly carried out on Facebook and Twitter. As Y1 commented, *“our team worked to promote the use of social media to influence and communicate the agenda and when young people know the G8 is coming up they (the campaign team) use the social media to encourage awareness around the event”*.

‘Communicate the agenda’ implies the presence of competing interests and the tension between the various interpretations of campaigning as *public appeals for donation*, and *public awareness* aimed at mobilising public action. The IF campaign therefore illustrates how INGO case initiated interaction, which was usually the communication of planned events and reporting the organisation’s campaign accomplishments.

This section showed that participants in INGO case perceived the knowledge content of their campaigning as pertinent and informational, and the concept of knowledge as entailing the framing of factual information that is disseminated to an audience or the public. It also provided a perspective on how INGO case perceive the informational content of their campaign messages. Communicating the campaign occurred between actors within the organisation, and with their campaigners through various Internet platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and emails. The data revealed there was limited communication between the policy unit that defined the campaign issue and the campaigners who were stakeholders involved only at the level of the applying the knowledge in accomplishing a stated campaign action. The next section presents data on the role of the Internet in how INGO case sustain communication with their network

of campaigners, the types of action they promote in their campaigning, and what the public audience find when they visit the organisation's campaign website.

5.6 The role of the Internet and what campaigners find online

Data for this section was obtained mainly from face-to-face interviews, visual methods on the interaction on the collaborative IF campaign Facebook as well as document review of flyers on CAFOD's *Hunger for Change* campaign and Oxfam's *Grow* campaign. The importance of this section is to provide evidence that contribute to understanding how INGO case used the Internet in their campaigning, and for sustaining their network of digitally connected campaigners.

As noted in an earlier section describing campaigners in INGO case, there were no indications that campaigners were engaged as an identifiable group with shared identity. In general, the public audience were assumed as potential campaigners that could be mobilised to take campaign action on global poverty issues. This assumption is based on the possibilities of these NGOs to communicate their message to a fluid network of public audience connected by ICT. The Internet and social media platforms therefore made it possible to integrate and coordinate their network of actors within and between organisations, as well as across cultural and geographical boundaries. While support groups in INGO case were considered as a network of actors that *share, follow or like* the campaign message, there was little evidence that INGO case engaged their campaigners as actors with a shared identity.

Much of the interaction was sharing information about their activities and encouraging their campaigners to take actions by *liking* or *sharing* a story or image linked to an appeal campaign. To a lesser extent, this was different with Trócaire, which engaged with a network of identifiable volunteers that constituted a core element of the organisation's campaign structure, and therefore, a cohesive group that offered opportunity to generate a common identity. As explained earlier, the terms "share", "like" and "follow" are part of the *clicktivism* language used in communicating on social media, and are represented by symbols used to indicate acknowledgement of an information that is communicated. However, the use of these symbols did not necessarily imply any level of engagement with the campaign issue that was communicated. Furthermore, there was no evidence from the visual method that these semiotic modes of interaction proceed or derive from a common frame of reference, as they did not include written text that could be analysed. For example, an image shared could get a hundred 'likes' with no word said and this made it difficult to assess the frames and what was communication.

When asked about the role of the internet and communication technology, **S1** from Oxfam explained: *“Oxfam website has very many uses; 1, is the issue of campaigning, where we want the public to take action on issues, 2, there is the issue of fund raising, 3, is the trading line Oxfam shops.”* It is important to note here that the website was seen to serve the purpose of ‘taking action’ and ‘fundraising’. Raising public awareness was more about the campaign action than knowledge about the issue. With Oxfam, the use of Internet for its ‘trading line’ is linked to fundraising and Fairtrade merchandising. It is also important to note the gap between the education unit emphasis on knowledge and the campaign team’s mention of action as the focal point of their campaigning.

Regarding how they used the Internet in their campaigning, **R2** in Trócaire said: *“Sure, you are wasting your time when you don’t ask people what they want to engage in social media. If you go to Trócaire social media today you’d see that there is spirit of engagement looking for comments.”* “The spirit of engagement looking for comments” points to the desire by INGOs to encourage deliberation through the conversation prompts they post to elicit comments. The participants from CAFOD provided a similar response on the role of the Internet and social media when asked about their medium of communication. **Y2** said: *“We pay a lot of attention to Internet and social media when it comes to communicating the message of the campaign and promoting it. In terms of it being a resource for developing knowledge (on the issue), I’m not sure how much we do”.*

The responses here further suggest that for organisations in INGO case, the Internet and social media served mainly to create awareness around the different activities they include in their campaigning. As an official in the campaign unit, **Y2** response also implied there was no conscious effort to use the Internet or social media as platform for increasing knowledge about the campaign issues. The idea of knowledge was arguably associated with their educational programmes and perceived as something produced by the organisation and delivered to the public through structured channels. This was evident in **Y2** response on the opportunity the organisation offered campaigners to be involved in defining the campaign issue.

When asked if they considered their social media as a platforms to involve campaigners in identifying or defining the campaign issues, **R1** from Trócaire said: *“On whether we get or use the feedback...engagement with social media can initially be quite superficial as people get in and out... So we would be interested in people more committed, real advocates who can come to offline events as well....”*

Y2 from CAFOD said: *“Social media for me is more about communicating the message, identifying partners rather than getting people in the process before the*

message (campaign knowledge)... I'm not sure we are good at listening most NGOs are better at telling."

There seemed also an expression of doubt that the social media served as a resource for increasing or expanding knowledge on the campaign issue. This comment by **S1** below resonated with the response across the INGO case: *Yes, it is useful for mobilising people, but for the broader public, evidence shows that social media is not useful in changing perspectives; it can be used for action to promote local issues" (S1).*

The response from **R1** points to the desire to have more committed campaigners that can act as catalysts for multiplying public understanding. Similarly, the response from the participant from CAFOD indicated that the social media was seen as a channel for communicating knowledge only after it had been framed by the organisation. However, this response is only descriptive of the current usage rather than its acknowledged potential.

These responses again provide evidence of a tenuous relationship between the organisation and their campaigners in which campaigners were not engaged as stakeholders in framing the knowledge, but consumers of framed knowledge. However, the responses across the three INGOs showed that information and communication technology emerged as a core channel of communicating with their campaign audiences. The response from **S1** in Oxfam provided further evidence: *"...the website is a good place to publish information and knowledge...we use them in communicating to the public. But social media is not known to be a forum for campaign, but for social interaction"*. The issue about the Internet not being the place for changing perception is debatable in the current wave of the use of social media by extremist group in radicalising young people.

Visual methods on the social media interaction showed that the Facebook was the most used mode of communication with campaigners, while the Youtube was used more for soliciting donations through the use of video fundraising appeals. What the campaign audience see on the Youtube link in the NGO case websites was testimonies from individuals about hardship and deprivation and the compassionate need to make charity donations to 'lift families' out of the poverty trap. Demographic considerations was not a major fact in how campaign messages are designed or communicated to the public. However, there was an acknowledgement by interviewees from INGO case about the importance of engaging their campaign audience as heterogeneous social actors rather than as an amorphous public. This was evident in the response from **S1** in Oxfam also state: *"getting this understanding and knowledge that there isn't an*

amorphous public out there, there are groups of people that want to engage with particular issue, so that we have a more strategic approach to our audiences”.

The interviewees from Trócaire expressed a different view on the importance of demographic segmentation of campaign audiences. They argued that values were a uniting force with no age barriers, and therefore saw no reason for demographic segmentation in designing or communicating their campaign. This was implicit in **R2** response: *“In one sense we are aware that for public campaigns, there is often young adults and opportunities for getting them involved, but we would not take this in isolation, we would take a values-based approach... We look at values and think people of different age groups can share same values”.*

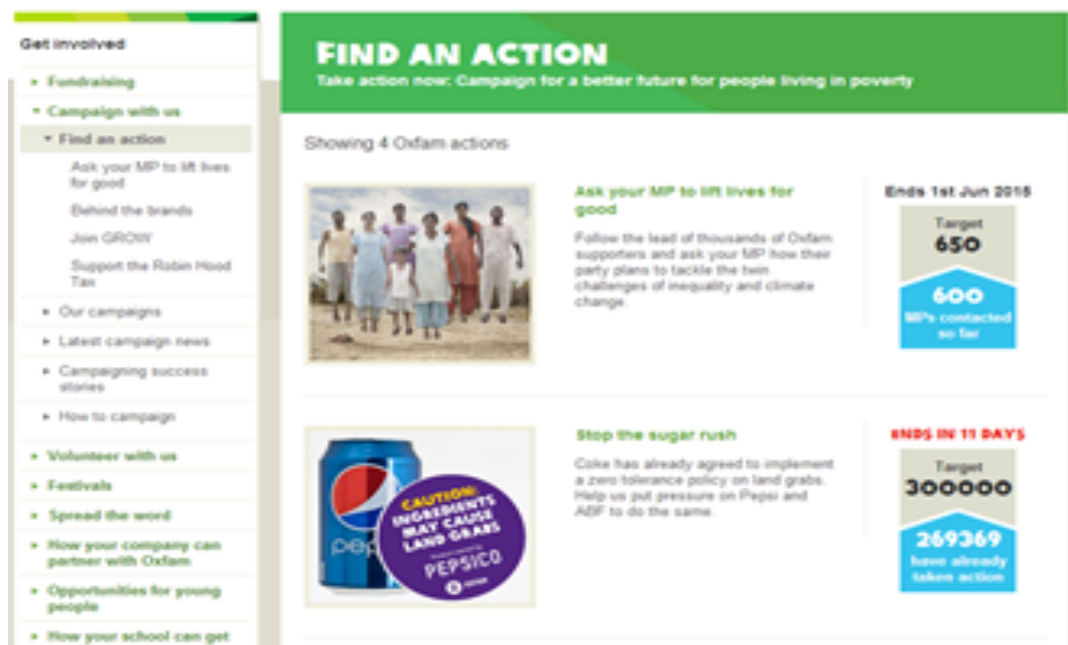
Visual methods showed that CAFOD, and to a lesser extent Oxfam practised such segmentation but in a limited way. Although there is a link on their campaign websites specifically dedicated to young people in primary and post-secondary age categories, the websites was designed to mentor young people on how to start their own campaigns and become successful campaigners. The responses from all participants in INGO case indicated an acknowledgement of the potential benefits for a more strategic engagement with their campaigners.

For CAFOD and Trócaire the faith-based INGOs, the church parishes also provided a way of reaching out to their core public constituency in fundraising. Charity boxes and donation envelopes are usually handed out to parishioners to support the poor. Although CAFOD and Trócaire see their campaigning on global poverty as directed at the wider public audience, the Catholic community is considered their ‘official’ target, and their campaigns are therefore designed to project the values and practices of the Catholic community and Christian audience. The inclusion of Christian social values such as compassion and sacrifice are therefore important for their narrative, the framing of their campaign message, and for the actions they promote. The use of prayers to evoke compassion and humanity was particularly prevalent in their YouTube video clips that replicate the combination of charity appeals and individual testimonies with social justice messages in their campaigning.

With Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire, *taking an action* on a campaign issue can be an individual experience that ranges from sending an online petition to making a personal sacrifice on their choice of grocery. The review of online publications relating to the campaigns on the Oxfam and CAFOD websites describes ‘taking action’ as sending an online petition to local Members of Parliament and other symbolic sacrifices such as living on 2 dollars a day (www.ifenoughfood.org).

The screenshot of Oxfam campaign webpage as seen in figure 7 below, is an illustration of the typical representation of global poverty the campaign audience finds when they visit INGO case campaign websites. Campaigners are encouraged to select a campaign theme from a catalogue of predetermined campaign issues. The screenshot shows a message on Oxfam 'Climate Change' and 'Land Grab' campaigns that were part of the wider 'Grow' campaign included in the document review for this thesis. The website offered a number of campaigns options each showing a target number of actions required, with deadlines for accomplishing the campaign. With this particular campaign, there was an animated picture depicting how donations could literally lift individual families' from poverty, and by extension eradicate global poverty, through petitioning local Members of Parliament and making donations.

Figure 7: Oxfam: brochure of campaign actions.



(www.oxfam.org.uk/get-involved/campaign-with-us)

At the top left hand side of the web link a menu invites prospective campaigners to get involved, with the option of *Fundraising* and *Campaign with us*. There is also hyperlinks to a number of campaign actions from which to choose as well as links to *Campaign success stories*, *'How to campaign'* and *how to 'Join the Grow campaign'*. With the climate change campaign, a direct link is made to natural causes such as drought, poor harvest and hunger, and campaigners are encouraged to ask their MP to 'lift lives for good' by addressing climate change. This particular campaign ran uptil June 2015, and the target online actions set at 650 of which 600 actions had been taken at the time of visual observation. The second campaign on stemming land grabs targeted the activities of multinationals such as Pepsi. The individual actions were tracked and

monitored using a countdown chart that indicated how many actions had been taken, and how many more were required to achieve a successful campaign by collective action. Although the researched information on these campaigns was usually uploaded, they were found in the archives of the organisations websites, and the emphasis was on taking an action to achieve the set target.

This section provided evidence for analysing the role of the Internet in INGO case communications with their campaign audiences. It showed that aside from their campaigning and advocacy, the websites of the sampled INGOs also served for fundraising and institutional lobbying, and that public awareness on global poverty was often subsumed in these activities. The data revealed the role of the Internet in building coalitions between organisations as well as a network of actors for non-membership organisations that aimed to mobilise public action. The Internet also offered opportunities to extend their reach to social actors across demographic stratification. The email and social media emerged as the most frequent channels of communication with actors within and outside the organisation. This medium of communication reflected the era of online campaigning, but also posed the question about how they might influence public engagement offline (Brandzel, 2010). The next section presents data on some specific examples of how NGOs in both sample categories interpret the success of their campaign against global poverty.

5.7 Illustrations of ‘Success Stories’ in INGO case campaigning

The data for the illustrative stories were obtained mainly from visual methods and document review of published materials available on the websites of the sampled organisations. They contribute in understanding the various interpretations of successful campaigns in INGO case, and the implications for public understanding of the root issues. The illustrations include documented stories that INGO case present to their campaigners as evidence of what campaigning can achieve, and what their actions can accomplish. The stories are drawn from ‘IF’ campaign and based on individual campaign action taken by their network of campaigners. The purpose of this section is twofold: firstly, it provides empirical examples on how INGO case frame and present knowledge about global poverty to their campaigners. Secondly, it provides specific examples of the campaign actions INGO case promote, and how images are used in multiplying particular narratives about global poverty.

The IF campaign is a uniquely important data element of this thesis. Firstly, the campaign happened at the time of choosing the sample organisations, and this delayed the negotiation for interview dates and the availability of participants for interviews. Secondly, the ‘IF’ campaign was a major campaign event in INGO case and was

considered a follow-up to MPH. It therefore presents a typical instance of current practices of INGO case campaigning that this thesis is concerned with.

*"The budget announcement is an incredible achievement and we'd like to say one massive thank you. For every action, for every email, for every petition, 'IF' you joined the campaign, 'IF' you emailed your MP, 'IF' you wrote to George Osborne, today is the day all your incredible support paid off"*¹⁰.

The statement above is a message from Oxfam to its campaigners commending them on a mission accomplished. It followed from the IF campaign in which the UK government indicated a commitment to spend 0.7% of national income on aid. For ethical reasons, no direct quotations are taken from comments made on the Facebook communication. The 'enough food IF' campaign (as was the full name) was launched by a coalition of over 200 NGOs under the aegis of BOND, the network of UK based NGOs. Although the campaign started from early 2013, the campaign rallies were held in June 2013 to coincide with the G8 meeting in which leaders of leading donor economies met in the UK.

The IF campaign centred on three issues namely: Hunger, Food and Aid. The thrust of the campaign was to pressure the UK government to commit to its pledge of 0.7% of national income for 'life-saving aid'. It also aimed to seize the opportunity of the G8 summit in UK to press world leaders to tackle the root causes of poverty. The campaign issues were framed and presented as: *the need for increased Aid to eliminate hunger, to address the problem of tax dodging in poor countries by multinational corporations, to stem land grabs for production of biofuel and initiate policies for more transparent conduct by multinational corporations* (www.enoughfoodif.org/about).

The stated campaign issues reflected the organisational campaign themes of the INGO case. The campaign therefore, served as a continuation of the lobby by the coalition of NGOs to put pressure on the UK government to meet a standing pledge to aid contribution. Visual method conducted on the website showed that background information on the campaign issues were presented in 'quick guide' highlights framed on a moral obligation for wealth transfers from richer countries to the poorer regions of the world as the logical solution to end hunger and deprivation. There was a link to further information on the campaign issue that did not address why economies in the 'poor regions' were in constant need of increased aid transfers from the rich countries.

¹⁰ (www.oxfam.uk/get).

The issues IF campaign addressed was listed in a simplified catalogue of the issues that combined public appeal for donations with social justice frames as stated below:

Aid – Enough Food For Everyone IF we give life-saving aid to stop children dying from hunger and help the poorest families feed them.

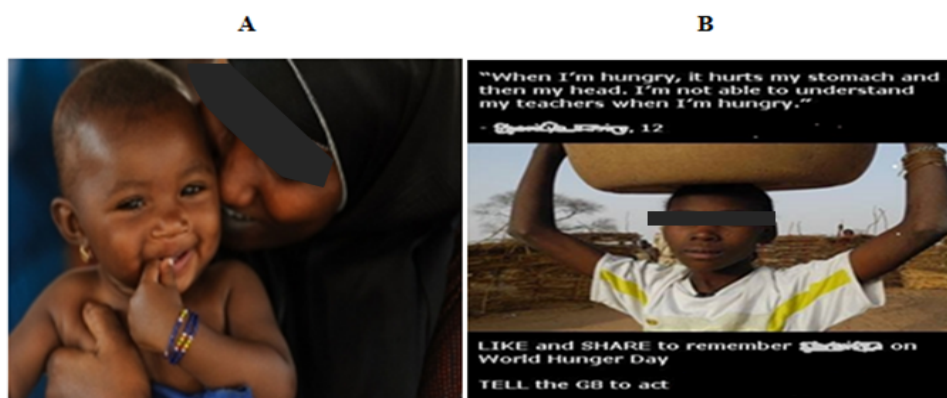
Tax - Enough Food For Everyone IF governments stop big companies dodging tax in poor countries, so millions of people can free themselves from hunger.

Land – Enough Food For Everyone IF we stop poor farmers being forced off their land, and we grow crops for food, not fuel.

Transparency – Enough Food For Everyone IF governments and big companies are honest about their actions that stop people getting enough food. (<http://enoughfoodif.org/issues>)

The explanation for the continuing imbalance is given as the ‘over-consumption’ and ‘over production’ in richer countries, and therefore the need for its citizens to reflect on their lifestyle. It also showed how certain types of images portraying despair and need were used by the organisation to initiate conversation. However the conversations that emerged can be associated with frames that evoked compassionate responses rather than interrogation. The image¹¹ seen in figure 8 A and figure 8 B are from the ‘IF’ coalition social media. These types of images form the basis of the interaction on the campaign against hunger and global poverty that emphasise ‘need’, rather than understanding the root causes of the ‘need’. The images also project the idea that aid ‘really stops children from dying’ and the compassion of the Western public can bring smiles and happiness to the faces of the most vulnerable, the women and children of poorer regions of the world (Manzo, 2008).

Figure 8: A & B Images from IF Coalition campaign



enoughfoodif.org/get-involved/youth

Cafod.org.uk/hungry, 2013

Similar narratives and images used in the Facebook links to the IF campaign in the various organisations attracted comments of guilt, empathy and the need to help the

¹¹ The image originated from Oxfam and CAFOD. They are partially censored so as to read the expressions of gratitude intended. The names and location of the mother and child are omitted here.

world's victims of western consumerism in the Global North. As illustrated in Figure 8 B of the young girl 'hurting from hunger', the use of photographs along with individual testimonies was a common communication strategy INGO case adopted to generate frames to elicit compassionate responses. Their campaigners by 'liking' and 'sharing' the images multiplied this frame.

The textual comments noted in the interaction on Facebook were frequently initiated by the organisations and the common responses from the campaign audience were an acknowledgement using the *thumbs up* symbol, signifying "*like*". A typical example was a message in the campaign that linked climate change to hunger in poorer nations. That message received 101 '*likes*' and only five comments with three of the comments simply saying 'well done' and the other two blaming it on 'high western consumption'. Another example was found in the poor response from their campaigners when CAFOD reported accomplishing the target 50,000 online actions to get the attention of the Prime Minister on Global Hunger. Only 17 '*likes*', 1 'share' was observed, and no textual comment, in spite of the 50,000 petition actions that were taken.

There was, therefore, little incentive for their campaigners to find out or to further engage with knowledge on the campaign issue. This illustration also showed that although online petitions to politicians can bring the issue to the attention of policy makers, the framing of global poverty on aid leaves little opportunity or incentive for the public audience to encounter and engage with knowledge on the root problem. Document review and visual methods undertaken on the IF campaign also showed that rallies were considered an important component of their public communication strategies. However, an examination of the interactions that followed INGO case rallies in the IF campaign laid considerable emphasis on the event turnout, the fun and side attractions that the rally offered young people, rather than the opportunity for deliberation. There was an implicit assumption in the post-event appreciations that the event turnout translated to success of the campaign, which relates with their desire to garner legitimacy for their action (Cameron and Haanstra, 2008).

The post-event '*thank you*' remarks posted on the IF campaign website stated the importance of the numbers and fun aspect of the rallies in the *message* to young adults for the 'amazing acts that made the campaign such fun and success'¹². The message posted on the dedicated link to young people paid little attention to the campaign issues and the discussion that followed on the Facebook was about the great fun and a memorable summer event. The post rally videos also indicated that for many the

¹² enoughfoodif.org/get-involved/youth

entertainment was the major attraction and most memorable experience they took from the IF campaign rally. Such visual images were used to bolster the media for the campaign to gain publicity for their actions. The impressive photograph on the turnout for the campaign rally, as seen below in Figure 9, showed how rallies were used to draw legitimacy to INGO case campaign rallies.

Figure 9 IF coalition campaign rally



enoughfoodif.org/get-involved/youth

The next two illustrations from CAFOD and Oxfam describe the type of actions they promote, and how campaign issues were considered as accomplished. The first from CAFOD is based on the 'hunger for change' campaign earlier described.

Illustration 1: 'CAFOD campaign works': www.cafod.org.uk/campaign

The campaign link on the CAFOD website describes *campaigning* as "a powerful way to address poverty and injustice... it tackles the root causes of global poverty, and not just its symptoms" (cited in the web link above). 'The Hunger for Change' campaign is stated as the organisations current big campaign issue that originated from their organisational theme, and was developed to challenge what it described as a *global food system*. This campaign was included as one of the stated IF campaign objectives, and the information supporting the action was presented around the narrative: "Give aid to stop children dying from hunger...help the poorest have enough food".¹³ This campaign message linked global poverty to the unequal power relation between small-scale farmers in poor countries of the Global South and multinational food companies in rich countries. The stated objective of this campaign on the CAFOD website was to secure aid that will support farmers as well as put pressure on UK government and the EU to check the power of global food companies.

¹³ www.cafod.org.uk/campaign

The knowledge content of the campaign issue was communicated in two main formats. One came from printed pamphlets with petition 'action postcards' that included a brief statement that linked food consumption in the Global North to shortages in the Global South. The second format was an online version of the campaign that included a five minutes video clip. The prescribed action CAFOD promoted for achieving the campaign objective was:

"Please, e-mail Prime Minister David Cameron now, calling for food to be shared by the rich and poor, so everyone has enough to eat" (Cafod.org.uk/hungry, 2013).

The second type of action promoted in INGO case was for campaigners to make personal sacrifices as members of the 'rich world', by making changes to their choice of groceries, such as buying Fairtrade¹⁴ products and making choices that reduce their carbon footprint. This campaign was considered successful when the target number of signed petitions was achieved similar to the 'IF' campaign where a target of 50,000 petitions were sent to the UK Prime Minister on World Food day October, 2013. In the same campaign, £2.7 billion was secured from G8 leaders to tackle malnutrition in developing countries.

What emerged from the CAFOD illustration is the emphasis INGO case placed on awareness to achieve a target number of actions, and little attention to promoting public engagement with the root causes of the campaign issue. Although the *Hunger for Change* campaign met its target of 50,000 actions, it aimed at getting the attention of policy makers and can therefore, be regarded as an institutional form of advocacy and communication strategy that offered minimal opportunities for public deliberation.

Illustration 2: Oxfam easy guide and successful campaigns

"Campaigning can be as easy as signing a petition or as exciting as joining thousands on a march" Oxfam: www.oxfam.org.uk/get-involved

The above quotation is the welcome message found on the Oxfam campaign web page during the IF campaign. Beyond the motivational purpose of such statements, the campaign action was seen as simply signing and sending off a petition. As with CAFOD, campaign action took the form of online petitions aimed at bringing an issue to the attention of policy makers. The Starbucks campaign by Oxfam provided another example of what is regarded a successful campaign in INGO case, and illustrates how online campaign actions can achieve narrow social justice objectives while also

¹⁴ Fairtrade is a global organisation with a stated mission of working directly with businesses and consumers to secure a better deal for farmers and workers. It brands itself as an international movement with a mission to change the way world trade works. www.fairtrade.org.uk

constraining opportunities for the engagement of campaigners with knowledge about the campaign issue.

The Starbucks coffee campaign was a corporate justice campaign aimed at persuading Starbucks, a multinational corporation, to pay a fairer price to Ethiopian coffee beans farmers. The public campaign was conducted mainly by the use of protest images and sending out petitions directly to Starbucks demanding the payment of a fairer price to Ethiopian coffee farmers. Starbucks yielded to the direct public communication and the social justice objective of the campaign was met. The campaign objective was therefore achieved by online actions that indicated the power of counterpublic arenas driven by information technology, and how public communication can result in collective action. Although these examples of successful campaigns in INGO case can be argued to have accomplished the specific objective of 'fairer' coffee price for Ethiopian farmers, they however address an isolated symptom without evoking frames for deliberation on the root causes of the broader issue of trade injustice between the 'poorer' and 'richer' countries. Therefore they make little contribution in multiplying public understanding.

This section provided practical examples of the practices of INGO case in undertaking campaigning, and the implication for how the campaign is framed. It showed the type of actions the organisations promoted, and how accomplishing the campaign objectives tended to emphasise action targets rather than public deliberation. The IF campaign illustration highlights how ICT is used to build networks of issue publics and counterpublics across organisations, and the limitations of institutional forms of advocacy in provoking public deliberation. Although the Starbucks campaign was a single-issue campaign, the public mode of communication resulted in a change achieved through collective action mobilised through ICT resources. The illustrations also showed how frames can influence deliberation, and served as practical examples of the interpretation of 'movement' in Touraine's (2004) resource mobilisation tradition that explain how collective action can also be mobilised in non-membership organisations. In the next section, I highlight the themes that emerged in this chapter and the basis of the assertions from the cases that will be used in analysing the findings.

5.8 Assertions: factors for analysing INGO case data

The purpose of this section is to extrapolate and organise evidence from the data by ranking and merging the themes in order to generate tentative assertions that contribute in conducting the cross case analysis (Stake, 2006). Considering that my position as a practitioner in the field of research influenced the design of my

methodology, and how I engaged with the data, I start by mentioning an advantage my experience contributed in analysing the data. My tacit knowledge in the field of study enabled me to detect important distinctions and nuances in the context and frames campaigners in the two cases used for interaction on their social media environment. Although the nature of the interaction observed on their Facebook appeared similar in many ways, INGO case communication in social media was analysed as occurring in the absence of a shared identity and with no evidence of a common frame of reference. This consideration was important in understanding how INGO case used ICT and the social media as a platform for interaction and communication.

The representations of global poverty in INGO case campaigning was considered as pertinent knowledge for informing and mobilising their campaigners to take actions towards accomplishing campaign objectives defined by the organisation. The interviews revealed that the policy and research teams within the organisation framed the informational content of INGO case campaigning, and that campaigners were only involved at the stage of taking action on the issue. The top-down approach in INGO case campaigning implied that campaigners were presented with knowledge about global poverty framed around natural causes that converged with their agendas in humanitarian appeals (Dogra, 2012:84). This practice has implications for how campaigners can be involved in the process of framing and multiplying the knowledge on the campaign issue, and in negotiating meanings as stakeholders that apply knowledge to accomplish a set objective (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995).

The responses from participants in INGO case showed the different senses in which the term 'campaigning' was used to include *public awareness raising* and *public appeals* for donation. Accomplishing the campaign objective was also interpreted as attaining a prescribed target of online petitions. These different understandings of campaigning implied different modes of communication and different frames for engaging, as well as different forms of mobilising public action that lend themselves to shallow and ambivalent responses (Lakoff, 2010). Although INGO case recognised the difference between campaigning that aimed at public awareness, and public appeals to solicit public donations, this understanding was not reflected in the frames they used in communicating their campaign message. For example, there was no distinction in how issues were framed and communicated in organisational campaigns aimed at public awareness such as the CAFOD 'Hunger for Change', and the public appeals for donations to the Syrian humanitarian crisis. Their campaign messages were clustered around heightening awareness of the campaign action, and therefore, the purpose and value of public deliberation in awareness campaign is lost.

The use of broad organisational campaign themes such as 'Hunger for Change' in framing INGO case campaign messages meant that the process of constructing knowledge was confined within the organisation to ensure that it reflected their wider humanitarian agendas. INGO case also conceived of advocacy as an activity undertaken by experts within the institution and therefore focused more on how they communicated with policy makers. There was also a dichotomy between "advocacy" as an endeavour undertaken by knowledgeable and skilled professionals, and "campaigning" as an activity that required a basic awareness necessary to take a simple action. This influenced the way INGO case engaged campaigners as a constituency of actors whose role was limited to *taking action*, rather than as catalysts that can multiply knowledge on the campaign issue. Considering that organisational campaigns were also designed around influencing policy makers, the campaign was developed around institutional advocacy in which the communication was directed at the state and its policy structures rather than to provoke public deliberation (Lang, 2013).

INGO case were not individual membership organisations, and their campaigners comprised an amorphous network of loosely connected action takers that can be mobilised to take prescribed actions to bring the issue to the attention of policy makers. Campaigners were communicated through a network held together by ICT, and mobilised to act on predetermined issues identified and initiated by the organisations. INGO case campaigners could therefore be described as co-opted issue publics that are invited to partake in campaign events, through the use of the organisation's mailing-list and social media platforms. However, INGO case recognised the need for a more strategic way of reaching out to their network of campaigners. The support groups and teams were mentored to promote the values and activities of the organisations at community and regional levels. The amorphous nature of campaigners in INGO case meant that there was minimal interaction and cohesion among their campaigners and this had implications for "developing a shared frame of reference to engage purposefully" (Ollis, 2008:45).

Considering that the campaigners were involved only at the point of sharing the messages and persuading the public to take prescribed actions, it can be assumed within the discourse of organisational knowledge theory (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Collins, 2010), that there exists a gap in the knowledge creation process that will have implications for how campaigners internalise knowledge to accomplish set objectives. The IF campaign revealed possibilities that ICT provided for both membership and non-membership organisations in maintaining a network of campaigners (www.enoughfoodif.org). Such networks enabled them to extend their

reach, and served as a medium for communicating the campaign message in an era of the decline in face-to-face interaction (Darnton & Kirk, 2011). The Internet, and in particular Facebook social media served as virtual venues for interacting with the organisation and for multiplying frames disseminated in campaign messages.

Another point that emerged in INGO case was the types of action the organisations prescribed and promoted in their campaigning about global poverty, and how they interpreted an accomplished or a 'successful campaign'. Accomplishing the desired campaign goal in INGO case emphasised attaining target number of individual actions and little attention was given to the wider objective of the action. Evidence obtained from online campaign document reviews on Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire as well as visual methods on their Facebook link to the IF campaign indicated that the types of action that was promoted in organisational campaigns such as *Land Grabs* (Oxfam), *Hunger for Change* (CAFOD) and *Climate Change* (Trócaire) encouraged individual action with little attention to generating group identity necessary for purposeful collective action.

5.9 Summary of Chapter

The data presented on INGO case showed that the representation of global poverty in their campaigning was considered as knowledge-based information by which campaigners were encouraged to take prescribed forms of action. INGO case designed their campaigning with a "holistic approach" to accommodate their wider organisational agenda of humanitarian appeal (Cox, 2011:71), and this manifested in the way public awareness campaign messages included charity appeals. The term "campaigning" was used to include public appeals for donation as well as public awareness, and no conscious distinction was made in how issues were represented and framed for different types of campaigns. Illustrations of what was considered as successful campaigns showed a focus on accomplishing a target number of online actions and the absence of purposeful action.

The data on INGO case also revealed that information and communication technology played a key role in how the campaign message was communicated to their audiences. The tentative assertions are broadly summarised as: ambivalence in the conception and interpretation of campaigning, how surface frames were used and multiplied, the top-down clustering of frames, the individual actions promoted, and the modes of communication that target policy makers. The next chapter presents the data from student-led organisation case.

Chapter Six: Student-led Organisations case campaign practices and Process: who, how, what

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present data on the student-led organisation case, which comprised of two student-led campaign organisations, People and Planet, and Medsin, that primarily undertake campaigning in challenging global poverty and inequality. This chapter is divided into 8 subsections that are also an initial stage of the interpretation of findings as they signpost the themes and factors for the cross case analysis. Following the introduction, a brief background to student-led organisation case is provided, and the rationale for constructing the organisations into a bounded system is restated. Although the chapter sections are organised to cover broadly themes that emerged from the data, they are not necessarily presented as answers to any particular research question. This allows for a fuller scope in the application of theory to the methodology in gaining new insights and relationship from the data (Gerring, 2007). However, an attempt is made in each section to relate evidence that address particular questions, and as a way of keeping track of the research objective and the scope of the thesis.

The two student-led organisations, People and Planet, and Medsin were constructed as a bounded system based on their youth-led and membership structure, as well as similarities in their core activity as campaign groups. The methods of investigation include interviews with staff of each organisation, notes from visual methods on their activity on social media as well as document review. The visual observation of the Facebook social media was conducted between the August 2012 and August 2013. The questionnaires administered to members of the student-led organisations also served for triangulating data from other sources. As in the INGO case, the factors for analysis were derived from broad themes that best contributed to understanding the practices of the student-led-organisation case.

6.2 Background to student-led org. case campaigning on global poverty

The two organisations in the student-led case People and Planet, and Medsin are registered non-profit organisations with charity status, and run by university students. They have a lean operational structure and maintain a horizontal network of associating branches linked by digital communication technology at local, national and international levels. Both organisations in the student-led organisation case emerged within the last two decades, with no presence in developing countries, and are much smaller in size and resource base than the INGOs. Although they establish a network

of collaborating partners in the Global North and with advocacy groups in developing countries, their operation is localised in the UK. Like the INGO case, the student-led organisation case campaigning aims to mobilise public action on issues of global poverty and inequality but differ in size, resources and the foundation of their network of campaigners on student membership across universities in the UK.

Inspired by the international federation of medical students association (IFMSA), Medsin undertakes campaigning to tackle global and local health inequalities through public education, advocacy, and community action. It was started by a group of medical students in Sheffield in 1993 and expanded its network of universities in the UK, gaining charity status in 2005. The objective at the early stage was to promote public health from a human rights perspective. The organisation however expanded its advocacy strategy on global health to national lobby to include global health as a course module in the mainstream medical school curriculum. In the late 1990s, they began to argue the connection between food security, income and social justice with individual health status and global health. Their involvement in the Jubilee 2000 campaign marked the integration of their work into mainstream campaigning on global poverty and inequality. Today, the membership of Medsin is comprised of medical students in universities with branches across the UK advocating for global health and poverty reduction. The nature of their concern for global health brings a perspective that makes a distinction between proactive and reactive advocacy. The former being advocacy aimed to create an environment that prevents a problem from developing, and the latter, to challenge an existing problem.

People and Planet are the biggest student network group in the UK with a stated mission of campaigning to end global poverty, defend human rights, and protect the environment. Founded in 1969 as *Third World First*, it was mentored by Oxfam in its early days and started off with the mission of raising money for overseas aid, and later changed focus to raising public awareness and advocacy. It also changed its name to People and Planet and evolved as a youth-led autonomous group that has acquired a reputation for activism and collaborative work with bigger campaign groups across Europe and the United States of America. Today, its network of over 30 branches across universities and colleges works to educate and empower students to take action on the root causes of social and environmental injustice. As explained in Table 4, I used the letters “C” and “J” as pseudonyms for the participants in student-led organisation case, and used numbers to distinguish between individual responses. With the student-led campaign organisations, the issue of anonymity was mainly to avoid using the real names of the individual respondents and the interviewees who claimed to speak for the organisation.

Table 4 Pseudonyms for Student-led organisation case

Student-led organisation case	Respondents
Medsin	C1, C2
People and Planet	J1, J2, J3, J4

Four of the seven participants interviewed in People and Planet were from the management committee that comprised of students and non-students members. However, in presenting the data I included the response from only one non-student member of the management referred to as '**J4**' because the transcribed notes showed data saturation whereby responses became repetitive offering no new information to the interview questions. In presenting the data, I use "student-led organisation case" when referring to the bounded case, and used the name of the organisations along with participants' pseudonyms to indicate the source of a particular response. The term interviewee and participants are used interchangeably with the latter used in attributing a claim to more than one respondent.

6.3 Framing the campaign issues in student-led organisation case

This section highlight evidence that contributes to addressing the main research question regarding the opportunities for the involvement of campaigners in identifying and framing the campaign issues. The data was derived from interviews, document reviews and virtual methods undertaken on their website and Facebook contributed to addressing the second research question on how global poverty campaign issues were identified. Participants in the student-led organisation case considered the process of identifying campaign issues as important for how campaigners respond and engage with global inequality. The questionnaire administered on campaigners who were also members of the organisation corroborated the responses from interviews in which all participants agreed on the importance of their involvement in identifying the campaign issue. **J4**, a non-student member of People and Planet management committee made a distinction between their approach and the INGO case: *"I think involving young people empower them in the decision process...other big NGOs concentrate on training people on how to do campaign, but we get young people involved in all the processes. If you are empowering them to generate their ideas, it will help them get more confidence in life..."*

Data from student-led organisation case indicated that their campaign projects with post-primary schools were important for mentoring young people to develop an interest

in global issues and active citizenship. In this regard, they introduced young people to activism at local level by encouraging their involvement in local community issues with global dimensions, such as recycling and energy conservation, in addition to sending online petitions to influence policy at community and college level. With regards to their campaign projects with schools, **J2** from People and Planet said their campaign with young people is: *“an orientation towards developing a passion on global issues ranging from environment sustainability to global inequality”*.

An ‘orientation towards developing a passion’ suggests a value based enterprise that evokes a personal connection (Ollis,2008). In triangulating the interview responses, a review of a video clip of People and Planet project with a school in South London revealed that students were introduced to local issues such as environmental and energy conservation in prompting them to reflect on the global dimension. This approach represented a subtle way of getting young people interested in global issues starting from the local level and making connections with the global implications. Although the campaign project with post-primary schools was an important part of their work to mentor future campaigners, student-led organisation case focused more on its campaign work with young adults in universities and higher education, and also saw the purpose of their campaigning as developing the next generation of activist. When asked how their “educational advocacy” approach was deployed in formal education settings, **J2** explained: *“Yeah, in university too we try to encourage active global citizenship but our concern mainly is to build activist for the next generation”...and in this way we are quite different”*.

The response from participant **C1** in Medsin was similar when describing their approach to campaigning with schools and how it fitted with their advocacy: *“Definitely, we describe ourselves as doing education advocacy in action, and they overlap. In running the campaign, you need to educate members on the issue before they engage in advocacy”*.

With student-led organisation case, the campaigners through a bidding process identified the campaign knowledge, and members democratically selected the organisational campaign theme. The process of identifying the campaign issues happened at their annual conferences or annual general meetings in which members from different branches are invited to participate in a series of interactive events that included workshops, training, presentations and discussion sessions. Prior to the event, individual members were invited to suggest and submit a campaign issue that was of concern to them, and the global development issues with the highest endorsements were brought forward for selection in their annual conference. When

asked who identified the campaign issue, **J2** from People and Planet said: *"The short answer is that our campaigns are proposed by students through a democratic event where they vote".* **J4** a management committee member added that: *"We get ideas on the campaign from members and prioritise those that fit with particular themes identified for the period."*

The process was similar in Medsin, as **C1** explained: *"...We invite people to bid for a theme ...so our voting members decide which one they want to take. In terms of framing the message we try to collaborate and see ourselves as facilitators and the experts within our members will facilitate the research material and communicate to frame that message".*

'Facilitate the research material' suggests a mediating process in which campaigners are involved in a dialogic process. Such a process is acknowledged as enabling meaning making and a shared frame of reference (Mezirow, 2000:16). The student-led organisation case saw this bottom-up or 'democratic' process as empowering and important to sustain the interest of the campaigner and build their confidence and competence as informed actors that can multiply knowledge on the campaign issue. On the importance of the involvement of campaigners in processes of constructing the campaign knowledge, **J2** stated: *Yes, it empowers young people. The strategies we use are democratic and allows for students to identify campaign issues they are passionate about"*

The democratic process was also a point noted by **C1** in Medsin: *"We have priority campaigns every year, so representatives from every branch will have a vote...we invite people to bid for a theme so our 40 voting members decide"*.

Medsin has national and regional policy and advocacy directors that coordinate this process, and advocacy was undertaken through various channels coordinated by working groups that focus on developing campaigners as knowledgeable social actors. On the importance of the involvement of campaigners, **J3** said: *"Yes, I think it should be driven by the students themselves, we (the organisation) are just a vehicle to facilitate that process, to achieve what they want to achieve ownership is important, and we are that empowerment vehicle"*.

Participants conceived of the term "knowledge" as something obtained through systematic research. However, they also considered tacit knowledge from experience as an important source and component of knowledge about global poverty. When asked whether they considered the information bigger NGOs disseminate in their campaigning a source of knowledge on global poverty, **J2** an interviewee in People and

Planet said: *"It is my understanding, or what I think of as knowledge is sort of something you know to be true. Emmh... what we see on NGO websites, they have an agenda and get evidence to suit that agenda. So I don't view this as knowledge. I see knowledge as coming from research"*.

When asked if and how their campaigning contributed to knowledge on global poverty, all participants agreed that knowledge comes in diverse forms and included social experience and from sources outside research. They also thought that the representation of knowledge about global poverty can be influenced by other agendas, and there was need to engage with all sources critically in making meanings. **J3** added: *"... knowledge comes from a variety of different sources. The problem would be knowledge coming from a corporate funded monitoring body, and I wouldn't consider looking at such websites"*. **J2** also agreed: *"Certainly we see ourselves as multipliers or part of the process of that knowledge, and we see the campaign as part of that process"*.

While interviewees expressed a plural view of what constituted knowledge, there was also a sense of distrust on the representations of global poverty by INGOs. The student-led organisation case operated a structure built around a network of semi-autonomous branches that mediated the involvement of campaigners in identifying, framing and disseminating knowledge. The emphasis on 'democratic processes' was central, and was mentioned throughout the course of interviews with all participants in the student-led organisation case. The importance of the involvement of the campaigners was restated again in **J4** response which reflects the wider view in student-led organisation case: *"It is not about how or where the knowledge comes from, but how we use the knowledge to make a difference"*

When asked if their campaigning was based on predetermined view and goals aimed to multiply a perspective, **J3** said: *"...I think we point young people to the direction of the information and knowledge, and they decide what and how they are going to campaign, so I disagree with that. People choose different levels of engagement through the briefing we provide, and they decide what they want to do."*

Although **J3** agreed that campaigning proceeds from a normative type of knowledge and values, the democratic process in which campaigners are involved in identifying and negotiating knowledge gave them ownership of what to know. The democratic process that allowed campaigners decide on the campaign issue addressed concerns about indoctrination that is associated with INGO case DE programmes. Student-led organisation case conceived of their campaigners as 'multipliers' of their narratives.

The term 'multipliers' also suggests the role of their campaigners as potential catalysts that can extend knowledge for public understanding. This suggests campaigners were considered as stakeholders that should be knowledgeable, and the idea of campaigners constructing their own knowledge is also noted.

In the student-led organisation case, young people themselves planned campaigns through a process that involved only the membership of the organisation. They expressed a consciousness about the pressure the source of funding can exert on how organisations frame the campaign issue. This position was implied in the response to what they thought about the representations of global poverty disseminated by dominant INGOs. **J2** in People and Planet said: *"...the problem would be knowledge coming from a corporate-funded monitoring body and I wouldn't consider looking at such websites."* **C1** from Medsin stated a similar position: *"the organisation does not undertake elaborate public funding appeals but seek donors that identify with their values and mission"*.

The student-led organisation case therefore see the framing of knowledge on global poverty campaigning as not only important for extending their narrative, but also emphasised the centrality of activism, and taking specific actions to address the root problem. As **J2** stated: *"So we look at action..., but at the same time we want to empower the activist with the knowledge to be knowledgeable"*

The emphasis on developing the campaigner as an informed activist, rather than a compassionate and uninformed 'action takers' is again made. In this regard, the student-led organisation case saw campaigners as stakeholders in constructing their knowledge, as well as catalysts for multiplying frames for understanding the conflict issue. This interpretation of their campaigning meant that they saw themselves as engaging in knowledge-based advocacy in influencing change, rather than acting to bring the campaign issues to the attention of policy makers. It also emerged that the practices of student-led organisation case did not provide channels for the wider public to get involved in the processes of identifying and framing the campaign. However, the invitation to participate in their conference face-face conference events is open to the public. The public therefore had the opportunity to get involved as part of the resource mobilisation in multiplying the frames they generate for their campaigns. As **J1**, a campaign officer from People and Planet noted: *"...we have no platform for the public to participate in the campaign process... You have to be in the network to contribute, and they contribute through Facebook"*.

The response from **J1** indicated that campaigners in student-led organisation case were a cohesive group that developed their own capacity and knowledge through peer interaction, networking with other groups, and used public modes of communication to extend their perspectives. Demonstrations or protests were used to introduce new narratives, communicate with the wider public and also as a way of putting pressure to institutions that can address the problem defined in the campaign objective.

This section revealed that with the student-led organisation case the campaign issues were identified framed and disseminated by campaigners who were also registered members of the organisation. They adopted practices that provided their campaigners with the opportunity to suggest and choose what they wanted to campaign about and how the message should be framed. This process encouraged campaigners to seek knowledge on the issue, and also laid the foundation for their identity as knowledge catalysts. The data also revealed that student-led organisations case saw knowledge for campaigning on global poverty as partial and incomplete, and the role of the organisation was to mediate that process, by pointing campaigners to different sources of knowledge. They saw their role as mediating the involvement of campaigners in constructing their own knowledge as autonomous knowers rather than acting as knowledge producers. Therefore, the student-led case placed equal importance on how knowledge was framed and communicated to the public.

6.4 Student-led campaigning: multiplying a social justice frame

The data presented in this section concern how the practices of student-led organisation case contribute to understanding campaigning as an activity that can enhance public deliberation on global poverty. The data is derived from interviews, review of online documents and virtual observation of their campaign websites. It elaborates on the practices of student-led organisation case, and draws mainly from visual method undertaken on their websites.

The student-led organisation case made a clear distinction between what they described as *campaign themes* and *campaign initiatives*. As noted earlier campaign themes are broadly defined conflict areas that are identified by the organisation and prioritised in their advocacy.

All participants in student-led organisation case stated the importance of making a distinction between broad themes and specific campaign initiative in planning and undertaking their campaigning. **J2** explained this important distinction: “...we have two things; ‘themes’ and ‘campaigns’. A theme is like a broad issue in the world, like

corporate power; you can't have a campaign to end corporate power for power. Campaigns have objectives, and we have processes to evaluate our campaigns."

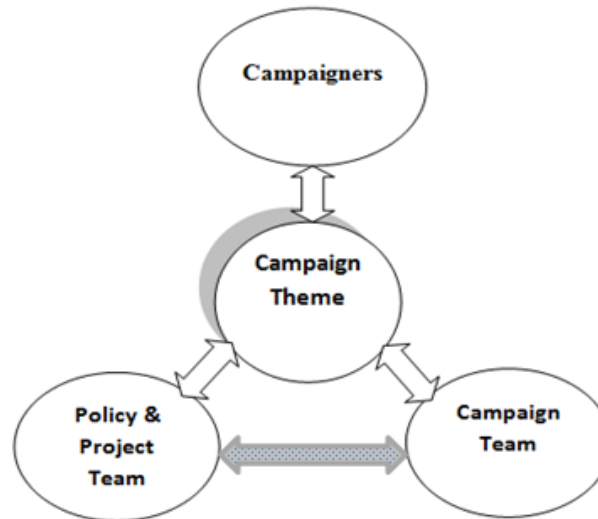
J2 gave a practical example: *"For example, we are working on a campaign to register affiliate groups to monitor the Garment industry and if you don't get a target number of affiliates, then we know the campaign strategy is not working"*.

The importance of this distinction lies in the issue of clarity of objective and message. Cox (2011) mentioned as important factors for why campaigns succeed or fail. Where the campaign issues are broadly stated the objectives are likely to be less clear and specific. **C2** in Medsin described two dimensions of advocacy that mirror the distinction between broadly stated global issues and campaigns that are designed with specific objectives: *"We do have 2 main forms of advocacy one is proactive and one is reactive"*.

From the context of global health issues, therefore, *proactive* advocacy would refer to disseminating knowledge that aims at increasing public awareness of the risks of global health problems. This includes, for example, knowledge of better sanitation practices, public and sexual health education, as well as practices that reduce environmental pollution. This type of campaign would be broad and with no clear measurable indicators. Such approaches can be compared to the organisational campaigns that are undertaken by INGO case such as *Hunger for Change* and the *Grow* campaign. On the other hand, *reactive* advocacy would concern campaigns that originate from an existing condition and therefore would have specific actions aimed at accomplishing a defined objective. The response from **J2** also showed that this distinction was important for framing campaigning in terms of how global poverty is represented, the mode of communication and the type of actions that are taken.

Student-led organisation case therefore conceived of campaigning as specific actions undertaken to accomplish a defined objective. The campaign theme is decided by campaigners who also go on to decide through a bidding process what specific campaigns they were in a good position to successfully undertake, and the resources needed to accomplish the set objectives. The campaign team and policy unit within the organisation mediate the process of framing the campaign. Figure 10 below depicts the important distinction student-led organisation case make between 'campaigns' and 'campaign themes' and the relationship between different actors involved in the process of identifying the campaign action. The double arrow between the policy team and campaign team indicates the interaction and connection between campaigners and the campaign theme.

Figure 10: Student-led org. case knowledge process



All respondents expressed the view that beyond public awareness, campaigning entailed ‘changing something specific’, and that includes the narrative. Participants were asked what the greater aim of their campaigning was, between ‘knowledge’ and the ‘action’. C2 from Medsin said: *“we don’t focus on awareness, but aim to impact specific change in campaigning”*.

Although the student-led organisation case did not see the objective of their campaigning as aiming at public awareness, they considered their role as social actors that multiply particular frames for public deliberation. On how they understood campaigning in relation to advocacy, C1 from Medsin said: *“Advocacy is more an act, so campaign will incorporate many kinds of advocacy...when you advocate you don’t necessarily campaign but when you (also) campaign you advocate and very core also is to empower the activist with knowledge on the issues”*. Student-led organisation case considered advocacy, campaigning and lobbying as same activities undertaken to achieve change, and the process of advocacy and campaigning as *“To create a network of people in order to influence the thoughts and actions of those around you, or those that can make the change you desire”* (medsin.org/advocate/).

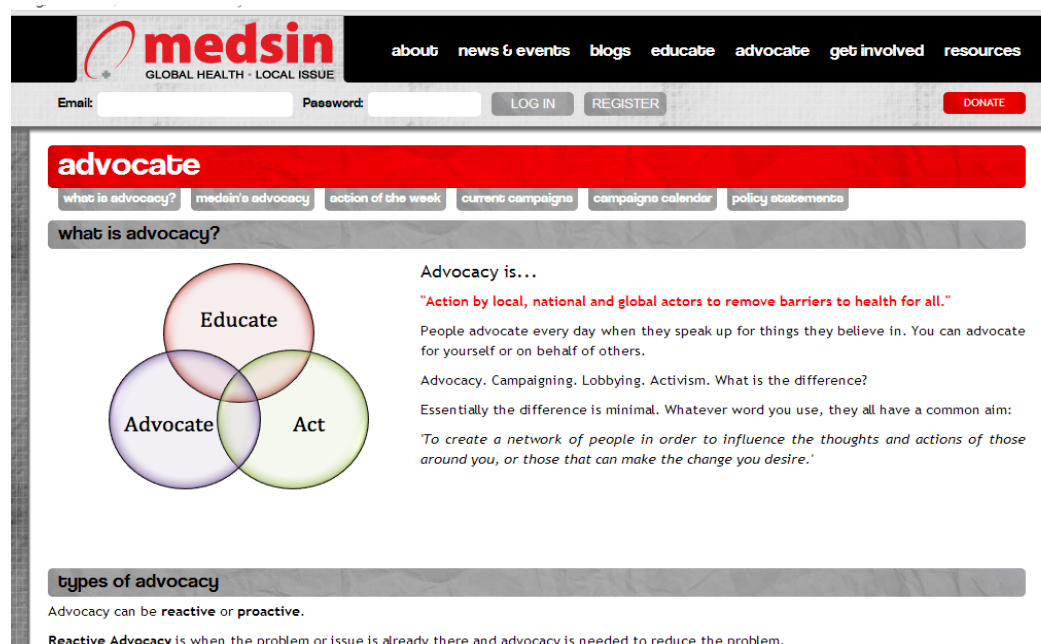
Campaigners in the student-led organisation case did not claim to speak for or represent the voice of the wider public. They considered their campaigning as providing the platform for subjugated voice to find expression.

C1 in Medsin described their understanding of campaigning as collective action: *“...so campaign will incorporate many kinds of advocacy. Campaigning is action beyond the individual.*

Visual methods conducted on their website also showed that most of their campaigns on local issues made a connection with the global implications of the issue, thereby creating a sense of connection between campaigners and the global dimension of local issues. The student-led organisation case did not consider their campaigning as aiming at public awareness, but to develop their capacity to advocate, and in the process multiply knowledge on the issue. **J1** stated that: *“To build activism within young people is very important to us. We think the knowledge is important, so we don’t indoctrinate students”*. **J2** repeated this point: *“Our main concern, however, is to build activists for the next generation.”*

The development of campaigners as activists committed to change was considered as enabled by knowledge and competence in mentoring and influencing peers, as well as giving direction to the organisation. As seen in figure 11 screenshot of Medsin website, the organisation makes a link between knowledge on the issue (represented as educate), advocacy and action.

Figure 11: Conception of advocacy in Medsin



According to **J2**: *“Student activist group are able to give organisations a strong moral purpose and give moral direction to an organisation. Many organisations in the US have student activist on their board.”*

Campaigning was therefore conceived of as a diffused form of advocacy in which actors are involved in the process of meaning making through activism. Negotiating meaning entailed the ability to make the connection between personal and public health from the context of an interconnected global community. What is central in their

campaigning is that actions should be based on adequate knowledge and shared values on the issue.

The student-led organisation case also saw the representation of global poverty in their campaigning as framed on a social justice paradigm. As noted earlier, they gave more emphasis to the way knowledge on the campaign issue was framed than how knowledge was generated. They considered the framing of knowledge as important to how the issue was presented to provoke particular type of responses, and how the campaigners as social actors understood the campaign issue. With particular reference to the use of photographs in their campaigning, J2 further explained: *“For example we don’t use photographs of starving people- We are more likely to do photographs of people protesting. Because we always try to emphasise the agency of organisations and people we work with rather than their helplessness, which is what a lot of NGOs fund raising do. So between us, I think we influence the way that knowledge is constructed.”*

The preference for protest images that question power relations was a core element of framing their narrative in challenging perceived injustice and unequal relationship between the Global North and the Global South. The critical approach to framing their campaigning is described further in section 6.6 with illustrations from specific campaign initiatives in which protest photographs were used in provoking public deliberation.

Data in this section indicated how the student-led organisation case conceived of campaigning as disseminating knowledge with the aim of achieving a specific objective, and as distinct from broadly stated organisational campaign. The importance of this distinction was linked to the need for clarity in framing the knowledge message and accomplishing the specific campaign objective (Cox, 2011). The data also showed how the practices in student-led organisation case involved campaigners in identifying the campaign themes, and how the campaign issue is presented to the public as well as the actions taken to accomplishing collectively defined objectives. Student-led organisation case designed their campaigning using social justice frames and protest images to provoke deliberation, rather than narratives that evoke humanitarian compassion. Campaigning was also seen as nurturing and sustaining a network of activists that can influence their peers and by extension, public perception.

The next section concerns data on the network student-led organisation case build in undertaking their campaigning, and the role it plays in the process of constructing their knowledge on global poverty. The external element of generating and framing knowledge on the campaign issue is presented in the next section.

6.5 Virtual networks and the role of the Internet

In describing data on the role and nature of networks the student-led organisation case use in planning and conducting their campaigning, particular attention is given to the role of information and communication technology in sustaining the involvement of campaigners. The section contributes in understanding existing possibilities as well as inherent challenges in the era of NGO online campaigning about global poverty. The data is based on the interviews, visual methods conducted on Facebook social media. The questionnaires administered on campaigners were used in triangulating the findings.

Similar to the INGO case, the Internet plays a central role in student-led organisation case campaigning about global poverty. However, the Internet is central for sustaining the structure of student-led organisations case and their operation as membership organisations comprised of semi-autonomous groups. Their use of 'network' relates to Castells' concept of the Network Society that referred to "a complex form of organisation held together by communication and driven by information flows" (Stalder, 2006:167). The process of 'networking' on the other hand describes the operation paradigm, and refers to a pattern of interaction among social actors with a common interest coordinating their activity through information flows (Castells, 2005). The network was important for understanding their organisation as a structure, their activity as social actors, and their identity as advocacy groups that create and disseminate knowledge.

Understanding the organisational, operational and communicative dimensions of the network is important when it is considered that the campaign networks refers to the fluid but enduring pattern of interdependence of social actors with a shared interest. The various dimensions of NGO campaign network is centered on the communication paradigm that is sustained by digital information flows (Stalder, 2006). When asked about their source of knowledge, **J4** described it as originating: *"Through student networks and social networks"*.

For the student-led organisation case, networking provided a direct link with social actors in the Global South that are the assumed beneficiaries of NGO campaigning about global poverty. Beyond collaborations, therefore, the network also served for knowledge exchange and the multiplication of frames in groups with a common purpose. For example, **C2** in Medsin explained the use of network: *"in some ways the international federation which we belong have membership from the Global South, and through interaction their voice filters into our overall work."*

The network is in turn driven by the communication possibilities enabled by ICT. When asked about the role of the Internet and social media in their campaigning, **J3** said: *"The internet is very important. It is the primary method by which we communicate, identify, negotiate and organise. Social media is especially important for the way we communicate and for instant interaction, feedback, and Facebook is the big one."*

The response from a participant in Medsin suggested that the network was not necessarily sustained by the social media, but by the communication power and possibilities of digital ICT as a whole: *"The Facebook and Twitter ...Yes, people use that a lot, we don't have like a system, through which we use social media, but you know we use the email and things like that to network ..."* (**C2**)

J3 from People and Planet said: *Yeah ... social media, Facebook is the big one. Although we have our page where we get feedback but every People and Planet group has their own social media space. We join those groups to communicate and join that whole network. We join the Twitter, which is a good resource of information and a way to reach our campaign target, and a good feedback mechanism to get information, etc.*

The different ways in which the Internet is used to direct campaigners to different sources of information in constructing their knowledge is seen in the practical example described by **J3**: *"For the corporate campaign, we work with partners overseas and contact them through Facebook directly and use films made by partners, Skype conference with trade unions in, for example, Mexico Indonesia*

Virtual forms of interactive communication such as Skype video calls were also used in building familiarity and a sense of solidarity among campaigners. One example of the use of communication technologies by People and Planet to promote a shared identity was observed on their website where members are encouraged to use Skype video. *"Are your group joining the Sweatshop-Free Campaign Skype call to organise the next wave of action across the UK? Join up here. Join the Skype call to plan for the next big Sweatshop-Free Day of Action!"*(www.peopleandplanet.org). Such practices contributed in building personal connections between campaigners in an era of the decline in face-to-face interaction.

However, face-to-face events were important for the student-led organisation case, and planned as part of their annual general meeting and conference. It provided an opportunity to generate group identity and shared values, as well as a frame of reference for new members. When asked how they assessed the level of engagement and commitment of their campaigners **J1** said: *"for example, we look at group numbers*

coming for events, after an event we also ask question like, how they feel about making change in the world”

Regarding how specific campaigns emerged, J3 said: *“Well we were already focusing on workers’ rights and then when the issue happened in Honduras, we already had that thematic mandate to campaign on that issue, so we found another student activist network which have very close links with trade unions in the global south, particularly in Latin America. So the knowledge for that campaign was provided by the workers in the trade union.”*

Public rallies were also an opportunity for interaction with peers, and in extending their narrative to wider public. The use of rallies and demonstration in campaigning is a feature Leipold (2002:75-76) described as “a tactics and strategy to derive legitimacy from the public support they mobilise”. Document review of website publications showed that demonstrations were organised using protest messages that send a direct message to the institutions or policy makers by public sit outs, occupy or marching through public places with protest placards. While the student-led organisations tend to prefer demonstrations, rallies are a more common feature with INGOs,. For the student-led organisation case, the appeal of public demonstration is that it sends a direct message and introduces a new narrative, while rallies are open and difficult to assess in terms of the clarity of message and narrative. The aim of public demonstration is not so much to pursue legitimacy for a cause, but to evoke public deliberation that can multiply a desired narrative as well as multiply venues of counterdiscourse. When responding to the question on how they source and frame the knowledge that is used for their campaigning, a member of the campaign and advocacy team at People and Planet, J2 said: *“we collaborate with similar groups for example, United students against Sweatshops, a network of students”*

Student-led organisation case expressed a lack of trust in INGO representations of global poverty, and stated the importance of seeking other sources of information in constructing knowledge for their campaigning. This is reflected in J3 response when asked if knowledge from INGOs contributed in planning their campaigning: *“what we see in INGO websites, they have an agenda and get evidence to suit that agenda”*. (J1) added: *“It’s hard to say, I’m quite critical about the nature of their (INGO) communication based on pity and charity, but at the same time I don’t see how democratic they are”*

The participants in student-led organisation case considered group action as the more effective way to undertake campaigning and therefore, saw the inclusion of campaigners in the planning and decision processes as a way of sustaining the

passion, commitment and focus on the campaign objectives. Campaigning was perceived as an activity best planned and undertaken as 'group action'. As J2 put it: *"...activist groups can give organisations a strong moral purpose and direction...and we consider group action as the best way to undertake campaigns."*

This section highlighted the centrality of networks and networking in student-led organisation case, and how it provided a structure for the involvement of campaigners in generating and multiplying common frames. The network provided the basic channels by which the student-led organisation case operated as campaign organisations and the structure for mediating collaboration between social actors with shared identity. Evidence from the data showed the student-led organisation case conceived of campaigning as a group activity that is best undertaken as a collective action. Their actions were framed on shared values that was negotiated collectively and enabled by diffused communication power afforded by ICT. Campaign demonstrations were considered a means by which social justice frames were generated and knowledge multiplied through their narratives. The next section provide examples of how student-led organisation case understand and consider their campaign objectives as accomplished.

6.6 Illustration of 'Success campaign stories' and actions

The *Sweatshop-Free* campaign by People and Planet provided an illustration of the mode of communication student-led organisation case adopt for campaigning, the types of images they used and when a specific campaign initiative is considered accomplished. It also provided evidence on how campaigning is framed and the types of action campaigners undertake.

The *Sweatshop-Free* campaign was designed from an organisational campaign theme identified and adopted by the students through their network of members. The campaign was designed as a solidarity action with factory workers in Indonesia, and the objective was to secure a £1.8 million redundancy payment from Adidas. This campaign was considered accomplished when the workers were paid off. The campaign involved three interfaced actions namely; petitions to the organisation, public protest and the boycott of Sweatshirts produced by Adidas. These actions were however planned to happen after the democratic processes of identifying, sharing and presenting knowledge on the issue through their research and network with trade union groups in Indonesia. The knowledge about the campaign issue was obtained through communication with their local and international networks as well as published reports on the conflict issue (www.peopleandplanet.org). Although this was a single issue campaign, the process of identifying and framing knowledge on the issue did not differ

from bigger organisational campaigns such as the campaign targeting 27 global clothing brands linked to the Bangladesh factory collapse in 2013¹⁵ in which campaigners were involved in identifying and framing the issue.

Student-led organisation case adopted a social justice frame in their representations of global poverty issues. Social justice frames are generated and multiplied through protest images described in visual methods “ways of seeing and knowing” that contributes to concept formation (Pink, 2013:4). Such protest images were considered to activate frames that initiate public deliberation and promote shared values campaigners used in constructing their knowledge. The use of protest images in place of photographs of desperation, misery and despair was also a way of questioning the dominant frame of compassion generated by INGO case, and disseminated on their websites. These images were also used to communicate and multiply similar frames for collective action, negotiating meanings as well as extending narratives that prompt the wider public to ask questions.

The broken Nike logo in figure 12 below, was observed in the People and Planet website and represented a typical form of communication used in their *Corporate Power Campaign themes* designed and framed to challenge the unjust relationship between multinationals and workers in developing countries.

Figure 12: People and Planet use of images



Examples of the images used by student-led organisation case showed how protest actions such as public demonstration multiplied a social justice frame in communicating their message and in accomplishing their campaign objective. Figure 13 below also shows a peaceful but disruptive protest action. The image was posted and shared on their Facebook.

¹⁵The Clean Clothes Campaign sought improved conditions for workers in the clothing industry (theguardian.com/world/2014/)

Figure 13: People and Planet public action



www.peopleandplanet.org

Such “sit outs” or “occupy” actions aimed to attract maximum attention, provoke public debate and introduce a new narrative about the campaign issue. Although confrontational and disruptive, these actions were planned as part of a range of actions that included online petitions. More than huge rallies that required crowd control and elaborate security plans, such public demonstrations were easier to manage and effective in introducing new narratives in communicating their campaign message to the public. For broader issue campaigns such as climate change for example, the campaign was considered accomplished when policy makers or targeted organisation take specific policy measures to reduce investment in non-renewable energy.

The data also revealed that student-led organisation case gave equal attention to the local dimensions of global issues, as noted in their online campaigning about local issues in the UK. This was also noted in the response from **C2** in Medsin: *“We take on issues in the UK like health inequality in the UK or government policy decision or UK organisations and how they interact with the international decision, climate change, population or issues that are important to us”*.

The *Fossil Free campaign* by People and Planet was one of such actions that linked global warming to local issues. Apart from the types of action that student-led organisation campaigner took, what differed from the INGO case illustration was the way the campaign knowledge was constructed and framed, the network they developed with assumed beneficiaries, and the counterpublics that allowed their involvement in framing knowledge. In some ways, they also saw themselves as enabling or providing venues for including marginalised voices through the networks they build with social actors in the Global South. The argument about a defined campaign issue with measurable objectives also emerged in the interviews where

student-led organisations that saw campaigning as more effective in initiating public debates when designed with specific objectives.

The view of campaigning as pursuing predetermined goals was rejected by student-led organisation case that pointed to the democratic process in planning and framing their campaigns. When asked of their opinion on the view that campaigning pursued predetermined goals, the response from **J2** a participant from People and Planet was: *“I disagree with that. I think we point young people to the direction of the information and knowledge, and they decide who what and how they are going to campaign.”*

This interpretation of campaigning differed from INGO case that considered advocacy as an endeavour that is best undertaken by knowledgeable experts in the organisation. The illustrations provided practical examples that support the evidence on how the campaign issues are framed, the types of actions taken, and how campaign objectives were considered as accomplished in the student-led organisation case. Knowledge of the campaign was obtained through their local and international network, and the involvement of their membership in deciding specific campaign issues. The online petitions to policy makers were considered as part of a range of actions that included public protest and boycott that targeted specific organisations in accomplishing their campaign objective.

The Sweatshop-free campaign under the corporate power campaign theme showed that the process of framing and constructing knowledge for single and broader issue campaign was similar and involved the campaigners as stakeholders that use common frames in accomplishing a collective objective. The framing of the campaign issue included the voice of the assumed beneficiaries in the Global South whose perspectives and knowledge filtered into mainstream discourses through their digitally connected networks.

6.7 Assertions: factors for analysing student-led organisation case

The tentative assertions for the student-led organisation case were guided by the objectives of the thesis to understand how student-led organisations identify and communicate knowledge for their campaigning, and how campaigners act as catalyst for multiplying knowledge. In addition to interviews, the data from visual method was used in gathering evidence from the websites and social media environment of the organisations. It is worth mentioning that my experience and knowledge as a practitioner in the field of study enabled me identify and interpret the nuances in ranking and merging data obtained from virtual methods with other data sources.

My experience enabled me to understand the importance of the annual conference activities of the student-led organisation case for the frames they used in their interaction on social media. For example, I was able to understand the context in which they used online semiotic symbols such as “like” and “share” and the frames which underlined the images they shared in their interaction on social media. Even where no textual conversations accompanied protest photographs, the global justice frame evident in the protest images they used in their interaction.

The campaign programmes that student-led organisation case organised with post-primary schools emerged as the basic level at which young people were mentored to become future campaigners that make a link between local community issues and the global dimension. The programme with secondary schools was described as ‘*active education*’, where students are introduced to activities that promote action on local issues that are framed in the context of the global implications. Campaigning in student-led organisation is structured on network of actors bond by their shared identity as a group of student-led campaigners with a common objective. As noted earlier the student-led organisation case relied on a networking process to organise their campaigning. Their network, which comprise of semi-autonomous branches, is held together by communication flows sustained by digital information (Stalder, 2006). A participant from People and Planet remarked: “*I don’t know about the bigger organisations, but we try to get the direct voices of the people concerned through networks*”.

For the student-led organisation case, the network provided a way of activating counterpublics, and a channel for sustaining interaction between social actors across local and international boundaries. The importance of the network for mobilising social actors across boundaries is noted when **J4** described their campaigning as organised: “*...through student networks and social networks*” and **J2** further explained: “*we collaborate with similar groups, for example, United students against Sweatshops, a network of students*”. Such networks enabled them develop and sustain a virtual form of solidarity by which they sustained their group identity.

The Student-led organisation case therefore consider their networks as mediated counterpublics where members engage in framing knowledge about the campaign issue. While student-led organisation case considered knowledge as coming from conventional research conducted by standard codes and practices, they also acknowledge the existence and importance of other sources of knowledge such as testimonies from lived experience. They also regard the representation of global

poverty by mainstream and dominant institutional actors with caution and look to other sources of knowledge as a way of triangulating knowledge about global poverty.

Student-led organisations made a clear distinction between organisational campaign themes that are broadly defined, and campaign initiatives as actions with defined objectives. This distinction was important in defining the campaign objectives, and for framing actionable knowledge. A participant from People and Planet explained this distinction: *“A theme is like a broad issue in the world, like corporate power; you can’t have a campaign to end corporate power for power. Campaigns have objectives, and we have processes to evaluate our campaigns”*.

The accomplishment of campaign objectives was measured by the outcome of specific actions that alter an existing condition for which the campaign was planned. While organisational themes were used in INGO case for creating awareness on the issue, for the student-led organisation case, campaigning involved actionable and contextualised knowledge that is applied in accomplishing specific change (Collins, 2010). For example, the student-led organisations considered getting an issue on the agenda of policy makers as just one part of a range of actions they undertake to accomplish their campaign objective. They also conceived of campaigning as a group activity, which actions were purposeful and collective, and in which actors were motivated by a common frame of reference. In this regard, personal involvement and face-to-face interaction were important in sustaining their values and commitment.

The student-led organisation case considered campaigning as a form of advocacy that enables pluralism and the collaboration between knowledgeable actors. Audio and visual communication technologies were used to develop the solidarity and affinity they establish in their face-to-face conference events where they generated a common identity as the basis for their interaction. This section provided further evidence to suggest that although student-led organisation case used the social media in a similar way to the INGO case, their approach differed in the way interaction between campaigners was framed by the values they collectively negotiate in their meetings, and the social justice narrative they used in their campaigning.

6.8 Summary of Chapter

This chapter presented data on the structure and practices of the student-led organisation case and how they organised themselves as a network of campaigners in which members are actively involved in identifying and disseminating knowledge in their campaign about global poverty. The data revealed the student-led organisation case adopted a democratic process in which members decided campaign issues, and

the organisation performed a mediatory role in framing knowledge about global poverty. It also showed how student-led organisations used their network to generate counterpublic that provided alternative arenas of expression. This enabled them to encounter diverse sources of knowledge and include the perspectives of marginalised groups and the assumed beneficiaries of campaign action in framing knowledge about global poverty.

The chapter also revealed how student-led organisations case programmes with post-primary schools laid the foundation for their campaigners to develop and embrace social justice frames in making connections between local issues and their global dimension. The data also provided evidence on how student-led organisation case interpret and understand knowledge as coming from diverse forms and sources, and how the organisation multiplied their narratives using common frames. The organisation did not assume the role of 'knowledge producer', but acted as mediators that point campaigners to the diverse sources of knowledge. Illustrations of the types of action promoted and undertaken by student-led organisations provided examples of how the success of their campaigning was linked to accomplishing specific objectives beyond seeking the attention of policy institutions. The importance of the choice of the images, and the use of public demonstration as a way of generating similar frames, and for multiplying a particular narrative was noted. Their understanding of campaigning as a component of advocacy meant that campaigners were conceived of as knowledgeable actors and potential catalysts that can multiply knowledge on global poverty.

The chapter concluded with generating tentative assertions that provide themes for the cross case analysis performed in the next chapter. The tentative assertions broadly suggest that student-led organisation case provided opportunities for their campaigners to be involved in constructing knowledge on global poverty. This enabled their campaigners take ownership of the knowing process, and to evolve as potential multipliers of understanding on the campaign issue. The next chapter undertakes a cross analysis and discussions on the finding.

Chapter Seven: The Analysis and Discussion of Findings

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I undertake a cross case analysis of findings from the two bounded NGO cases. Considering the case study approach typically concludes with a report presentation, the discussion and analyses is presented as a concluding report on the findings (Yin, 2009:130). The purpose of the discussion and analysis of findings is to generate theoretical explanations that contribute to addressing the research problem. In performing the cross case analysis, I applied the conceptual framework in interpreting the data, and in proposing how the practices of NGO campaigning has implications for the way campaigners can act as multipliers of public understanding about global poverty. The discussion is guided by the research objectives, and the tentative assertions generated from the data presented in the fifth and sixth chapters.

The chapter begins with the discussions on how NGOs considered the representations of global poverty in campaign messages as factual knowledge by which their campaigners and the wider public are mobilised to take action. Subsequent sections of the chapter analyse implications for how the campaign knowledge was identified and framed in the two bounded cases. Organisational knowledge theory was used in proposing how INGO campaigners are potential stakeholders in multiplying frames for public understanding about global poverty. In analysing the data particular attention is given to understanding NGO campaigning as an activity in which campaigners generate or use common frames to introduce and multiply a particular narrative about a defined problem.

While theoretical explanations in the report do not serve the purpose of generalisation, they provide a basis for drawing conclusions and gaining a heuristic understanding of the implications of the practices NGOs adopt in their campaigning (Gomm et al. 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Stake, 1976). It also pays attention to the possibilities the Network Society provides for NGOs to sustain a mediated counterpublic space where deliberation can take place. An initial typology is also proposed for understanding how different types of campaigners are influenced by the communication strategies and mode of advocacy NGOs adopt in reaching out to their campaign audiences. The chapter therefore, provides the basis for the arguments and propositions made in the concluding chapter (Yin, 2009).

7.2 NGO representations as knowledge for public understanding

This section discusses the theoretical and definitional aspects of the research findings, and also sets the context for the propositions in the concluding arguments. It analyses how both categories of NGOs perceive their representations of global poverty as pertinent and actionable knowledge aimed at influencing public engagement. A descriptive analysis of the way knowledge about the campaign is framed and disseminated in both categories of NGOs is also undertaken. The phrase ‘to engage with global poverty and inequality’ includes taking an interest in the debates, sharing information on campaign issues, and taking informed actions that are based on a social justice perspective.

As noted in the two last chapters presenting the data, there was a sense of uncertainty expressed by participants in both NGO cases on how they understood the term ‘knowledge’. This uncertainty was resolved in the course of the interviews when participants from the INGO case and the student-led organisation case agreed that they considered the representations of global poverty in their campaigning as factual information that they use in raising public awareness and for mobilising campaigners. The responses from both cases also suggested that the organisations consider their representations of global poverty as *informational knowledge* (Castells, 2006), and the basis on which their campaigners take actions aimed at accomplishing the campaign objectives. This was evident in the responses from a participant from CAFOD: *“Yes absolutely, if you don’t educate people on the issue, they will not understand why they do what they do. It is fundamentally important we seek to do that”*.

There was also a specific reference to public engagement from a participant from Oxfam: *“Yes, we believe that greater awareness and knowledge on global issues will lead to greater public engagement with the issues. That is commonsense understanding...”*. This implied that campaigners acted on framed information to accomplish a set objective. It is therefore important that the distinction between ‘having *knowledge about*’ a campaign issue, and ‘raising *awareness of*’ a campaign action is recognised in NGO campaigning. Awareness of the campaign action, and knowledge about the campaign issue has different implications for increasing public understanding.

During the course of the interviews, the meaning of the phrase ‘knowledge about the campaign issue’ emerged as inferring the informational content of NGO campaign messages, including their representation of global poverty. The experience of researcher and participants reaching a mutual understanding on the use of the term

'knowledge' in the course of engaging an issue was a practical example of 'negotiated meanings' that happens through engagement and reflection with a contested issue. Student-led organisation case considered the involvement of their campaigners in framing knowledge as a necessary journey they needed in order to evolve as catalysts that can increase public understanding. However, their understanding of the process by which representations of global poverty became 'knowledge' differed with INGO case in the sense that student-led organisation case considered the role of the organisation as directing campaigners to different sources of knowledge. This relates to both the critical constructivist approach to knowledge and organisational knowledge theory that both propose the involvement of social actors in constructing their knowledge (Robson, 2002; Kincheloe, 2005:2). Similarly, it supports the proposition in organisational knowledge theory that knowledge is achieved only when information is interpreted in a context using a common frame (Leonald & Sensiper, 1998; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995).

Therefore, for the student-led organisations, the role of the organisation was to mediate the involvement of campaigners in constructing their knowledge about the conflict issue through a process that exposed campaigners to different sources of knowledge. As J3 from People and Planet said: *"Yes, I think the students themselves should drive it, we (the organisation) are just a vehicle to facilitate that process...to achieve what they want to achieve ownership is important, and we are that empowerment vehicle"*.

Although there is a clear distinction in the way INGO case and the student-led organisation case engaged campaigners in producing knowledge, there was convergence in the way they considered the information they communicated in their campaigning as factual knowledge. However, the response from the student-led organisation case above indicated a clear acknowledgement of the importance of ownership and autonomy in constructing 'actionable knowledge'. While the implications of these interpretations are addressed in a later section, it can be argued that NGO representations constitute what the public get to know about global poverty, and therefore, influence *public understanding* about international debt, trade and aid (Darnton & Kirk, 2011:19). The informational nature of this knowledge also relates to what Castells (1996; 2005) described as knowledge-based information, which refers to knowledge that is produced and applied as a resource for accomplishing a defined objective.

The convergence in the interpretations of the informational content of campaigning that emerged in the course of the interviews provided the context for the proposition of the term '*campaign knowledge*' as used in the later sections of this chapter to mean: *the informational content of campaign messages derived from published and unpublished*

*sources, including testimonies and visual representations of events and the existing conditions in specific countries or regions, as well as the causal factors communicated as factual accounts by which organisations advocate and mobilise the public to take action.*¹⁶

In the above conceptualisation of ‘campaign knowledge’, the term ‘*campaign message*’ refers to representations of the conflict issue in NGO media that encompass published and unpublished information and video testimonies (Dogra, 2012). ‘*Published and unpublished*’ sources refer to the tacit (experiential) and explicit (explicated) elements of knowledge that is communicated. ‘*Visual representations*’ refers to the use of images to communicate a message that conveys a particular narrative, and also relates to ways of *seeing* and *knowing* in the visual methods applied in the methodology. ‘*Causal factors*’ refers to the root causes and their related dynamics. This interpretation derives from organisational knowledge discourse in which information becomes knowledge when it is interpreted and given a context (Lin and Wu, 2005). As noted earlier, this experience of ‘negotiated meanings’ that emerge in the course of the research investigation is an advantage of using a theoretical foundation in defining and applying the methodology in a qualitative research.

Although INGO case maintained that they separate their campaign activities from fundraising, evidence from the data showed this was not the case in practice. There was also evidence of the clustering of public appeal messages with campaigning aimed at raising public awareness about global poverty in the way the INGO case framed and presented their campaign. This contradiction was also noted by Dogra (2012), and also Tallon, (2013) in their separate doctoral studies that analysed the difference ways NGO media influenced public perception of global poverty. Their interpretation of the term ‘campaigning’ to include different types of public appeals meant that framing of global poverty often reflected their wider organisational agenda of humanitarian charities. The three organisations in INGO case (Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire) all made a point about collaborating with other actors in planning their advocacy and in accomplishing their humanitarian work in poorer parts of the world. As a participant from Oxfam explained: “*Our organisation has the mission of working with others to address issues of global poverty in addition to the humanitarian work it does with marginalised communities across the world*”.

One of the ways the INGO case framed knowledge about global poverty and inequality around charity appeals was by designing the messages on broad organisational

¹⁶ This definition of ‘campaign knowledge’ emerged from a discursive process where meaning was negotiated in the course of the interviews. It was itself a practical experience of a central theory in qualitative research

campaign themes such as 'climate change' and 'global hunger'. The response from a participant from Trócaire (see section 5.4, page 117) highlighted practices in INGO case in which the knowledge they used for campaigning to challenge inequality, to solicit public donations, and for advocacy and DE came from the organisations' research and experience from their projects overseas. The clustering of frames for their advocacy, public awareness and fundraising endeavours meant that these INGOs framed knowledge to suit and accomplish their various public appeal activities. Therefore knowledge was framed on broad organisational themes to serve for both public awareness of their fundraising appeals, and public support that bolster legitimacy for their advocacy initiatives with unintended consequences of undermining a salient desire to also increase knowledge about global inequality.

The focus on broad campaign themes rendered the knowledge abstract. While promoting narratives that projected poverty as resulting from natural causes, it also provoked compassionate responses associated with charity aid framing of global poverty (Manzo, 2008; Biccum, 2007). Therefore, I argue that the clustering of charity frames with knowledge about the campaign issue, and the use of top-down approaches to knowledge not only constrain opportunities for the engagement of campaigners with global poverty, but also promoted a detached form of engagement. Although the hybridisation of frames for public appeals for donation with campaigning to enhance public understanding about global poverty offered INGOs economies of scale in reaching their audiences, it also influenced the ambivalent framing of knowledge for public engagement with global poverty (Yanacopulos and Baillie Smith, 2008).

While the clustering of frames in campaigning is addressed in more detail in a later section, I argue that the tendency to cluster the frames used in the different interpretations of campaigning in INGO case resulted in unintended multiplication of *shallow* frames (Darnton & Kirk, 2011). The next section undertakes an analytic description of how the campaign issues are identified in the two case categories with particular emphasis on how the campaign issue is decided, and who is involved in framing the campaign knowledge.

7.3 Identifying the campaign issues and the 'campaigners.'

Examining how campaign issues are identified and who is involved in framing and communicating the message was important in understanding how the knowledge for NGO campaigning on global poverty is constructed. This section describes whom the sampled organisations considered as 'campaigners', and the immediate target of their communications. It also provides evidence that supports the conceptualisation of campaigners in this thesis as NGO 'issue publics'.

Campaigning has been described as a “communication strategy undertaken by NGOs or similar groups in achieving citizenship outreach” (Lang, 2013:23; Dechalert 1999). Dechalert’s (1999) suggestion that NGOs that aim at social change or change in attitudes adopt strategies that reach out to the broader public promoting citizen engagement is important for understanding campaigning as a public communication repertoire. Also notable is Chapman & Fisher’s (2000:25) description of campaigning as an important strategy NGOs use in “communicating their message, enhancing their profile, and building public support for their actions.” The ‘campaign issue’ refers to the object of knowledge that is framed and communicated to mobilise action, and the term ‘engagement’ includes public deliberation, and taking action on the specific problem (Bourn & Brown, 2011). Therefore, the way the campaign issue is identified and represented as informational knowledge is considered at two levels of analysis; firstly, the way the campaign issue is selected, and the actors involved; and secondly, how knowledge on the issue is framed and communicated to promote public engagement.

For the INGO case, the campaign issue was identified through processes within the organisation, and the content framed mainly by the policy and research units. The data indicated there was marginal input from the campaign team in the INGO case. This was evident in the response from **S1** in Oxfam: *“the policy and research teams proposed campaign issues from which the organisational campaign themes emerges... the policy team also decides the way the knowledge content in public campaigning are framed.”*

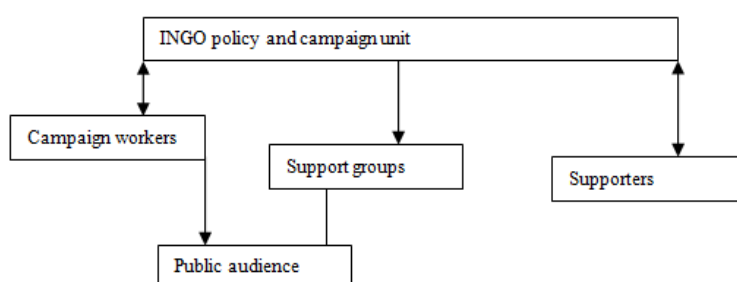
The response from an interviewee from Trócaire was similar, and reflected the practice in the INGO case: *“our policy team would have conducted the research and would have interviewed academics from different parts of the world, and would have been rigorous and robust... their work would help identify issues that come to bear on potentially organisational issues”.*

The confinement of the process of identifying and framing the campaign knowledge within the organisation resulted closed off opportunities for NGO campaigners and ‘issue publics’ to experience meaning making that results from the *combination* and *internalisation* stages described in Nonaka & Takeuchi (1995) framework. This practice aimed at ensuring that the wider agendas and values of the organisation were preserved and reflected in the framing of global poverty for public engagement. Therefore, campaigners in INGO case were not involved in the critical levels of knowledge creation described by Wickramasinghe & Lubitz (2007), but were included only at the end point of applying the knowledge to a problem. This implies that

campaigners were conceived of as an audience, rather than as stakeholders that applied the knowledge to accomplish an objective defined within the organisation.

The diagram in figure 14 below provides an illustration of the process by which the campaign knowledge was created in INGO case. It is developed from the interviews undertaken with participants from Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire.

Figure 14: INGO case campaign communication flowchart



The flowchart offers an illustration of the interaction between various actors involved in framing and communicating the campaign knowledge. It shows a linear process in which the policy and campaign research teams in INGO case identify and produce the informational content of the campaign message they disseminate as knowledge about global poverty. The double arrow between the policy and research unit, and the campaign workers show a pattern of interaction that contrasts with the linear communication with the campaign audience. Communication with their campaigners therefore occurred only at the level of disseminating information about the campaign. The double arrow flow between the organisation and ‘supporters’ or committed donors, was for donor accountability. Although there was interaction between the organisations and local support groups they mentor, the single arrow indicates a linear communication flow between the policy team and local support groups that were also part of the wider public audience. What can be extrapolated from this data is that the practice whereby INGOs confined the processes of identifying and framing the campaign issue within the organisation constrained the opportunity for campaigners to act as stakeholders that use knowledge to accomplish set objectives.

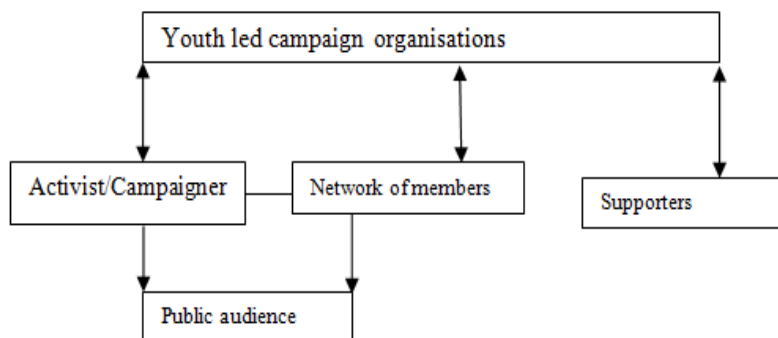
Within the theory of organisational knowledge, this represents a gap in which campaigners as actors, and stakeholders collaborating to accomplish a set objective are excluded from the critical processes of generating pertinent and actionable knowledge. The implication is that campaigners are unable to involve in negotiating meaning or become catalysts for multiplying public understanding about the unjust

practices of multinational corporations for example. It is also worth noting that the two distinct but interrelated levels of identifying the campaign issue, and framing the campaign knowledge were condensed into a vertical process in INGO case. This practice differed with student-led organisation case that included campaigners at all levels of identifying and framing the knowledge.

The student-led organisation case directed campaigners to different sources of knowledge, and thus provided campaigners with an opportunity to encounter different perspectives in constructing their knowledge on global poverty. They took on the role of mediation, rather than acting as gatekeepers and validators of knowledge. This implied that campaigners in the student-led case were involved in the four processes of *socialisation*, *externalisation*, *combination* and *internalisation* identified in Nonaka's knowledge creation framework (Nonaka, 1994), as important for actors collaborating to achieve a common objective. The inclusion of campaigners in this process has implications for not only how the campaign knowledge is framed, but also how campaigners, as stakeholders, understand and engage with the conflict issues. Nonaka & Takeuchi (1995) described how the combination of explicit with tacit knowledge results to as internalised understanding that is necessary for the application and multiplication of knowledge. The student-led organisation case adopted strategies that maximised voice and "speaking up" that Lang (2013) suggested was more deliberative than a passive form of participation such as signing petitions.

The diagram in Figure 15 below represents the process of identifying, designing and communicating knowledge in People and Planet, and Medsin. The double arrows indicate the communication and participation pattern of flow in the two student-led organisation case.

Figure 15: Student-led organisation case interaction



The double arrow between the network members who are also campaigners indicates channels of involvement in the knowledge creation processes. 'Activists' were considered to be experienced and skilled campaigners who mentor the less

experienced campaigners. With the student-led organisations, campaigners were involved throughout the decision making process of identifying and framing the campaign issue. This process relates with Wickramasinghe & Lubitz's (2007) proposition of the knowledge cycle in which the generation, creation, distribution and application of knowledge can be conceived of as an integrated process, which stages are mutually implicated.

The conceptualisation of campaigners as NGO 'issue publics' in this thesis was earlier explained as an adaptation to Lang's (2013:11) use of the term interchangeably with 'subpublics' to describe the assumed status of NGOs as representing the voice of the wider publics. The nature of the relationship between INGO case and their campaigners described in this section further justifies the distinction made between NGOs as proxy publics and their campaigners as NGO subpublics. It also provides the basis for INGOs such as Oxfam and CAFOD whose campaigners are not members of the organisation to consider their campaigners as heterogeneous actors to be engaged more strategically. The student-led organisation case differed in the sense that members of their network of branches constitute campaigners within the organisation, and therefore self-regulating 'issue publics'. The student-led organisations considered their role as mediating the expression of voices, and enabling campaigners generate shared values and common frames. This view of their role as both mediators of knowledge and activators of frames relates to Touraine's (2004) resource mobilisation tradition of social movement, and McCarthy & Zald's (1977) collective action enabled by the presence of group identity.

This section analysed how campaigning in INGO case is predominantly undertaken as an online activity in which the organisation aggregated the individual actions by campaigners as 'collective action' taken to accomplish a defined objective. In this mode of campaigning, the actors do not experience the social processes that result to the formation of collective identity necessary for generating similar frames, and taking purposeful action (Lang, 2013). The link between group identity, shared values and purposeful collective action emerged as important for multiplying actionable knowledge, and by extension public understanding (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Stalder, 2006). The data also revealed that in spite of acknowledging the importance of young adults in their campaigning, Oxfam, CAFOD, and to a lesser extent Trócaire had no clear process of engaging with young people who are identified as an important segment of NGO campaign audience (Bourn, 2010; InterMedia, 2012; Suas, 2013).

Although Trócaire maintained a core network of campaigners made up of young volunteers, it framed its campaign to target an amorphous campaign audience

considered as potential action takers. Although CAFOD also maintained a dedicated web link for young people¹⁷, however, in similar fashion to Oxfam, such platforms focused on developing the skills of potential campaigners as individual actors, and encouraged them to start their own campaigns paying less attention to generating a common identity.

7.4 The knowledge dimension of campaigning: advocates and catalysts

People who have understanding can undertake useful actions because they can synthesise new knowledge (Clegg, 1999)

Having described how the campaign knowledge is identified, and who constitutes NGO campaigners in the two case categories, I consider the identity of campaigners in the student-led organisation case as knowledgeable advocates that generate and multiply frames. I also analyse their identity as public audience and 'issue publics' that can provoke deliberation that is necessary for increasing public understanding. This provides the logic for analysing how NGO practices results to the emergence of two types of campaigners that can be associated with the two cases, and which of these identities can act as catalysts for multiplying knowledge about global poverty. I also propose how non-membership INGO campaigners can move from "surface" to "deeper" frames (Darnton & Kirk, 2011:102) necessary for increasing public understanding.

Although the study did not include campaigning with under-eighteens, evidence from the data showed that the programmes NGOs undertake with young people in post-primary schools are important in understanding the perspective and frame of reference young adults bring as campaigners and NGO issue publics. Evidence from the data indicated that educational campaign programmes undertaken by INGOs to promote knowledge, values and attitudes towards development and global poverty are designed around the *subject knowledge* delivered through the school curriculum (Bourn, 2012). The discussion on how knowledge is perceived within the organisations provided the context for analysing the meaning frames NGOs use in their campaign messages and the nature of the interaction between the organisations and their campaign audiences.

As noted in the presentation of the findings from INGO case in chapter 5.4, Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire see their representations of global poverty and inequality included in educational materials as knowledge that provide young people the competent to become global citizens that can make their judgement. A participant from

¹⁷ Screenshot of the sampled NGO campaign webpages are included in the appendices.

Oxfam explained the thrust of their approach with post-primary schools: *"We talk of 'KUVAS' when we talk about what we want to achieve with young people-the acronym stands for knowledge, understanding, values, and attitude skills. All these (elements) have a strong foundation of knowledge"*.

This response suggests that the educational approaches the INGO case adopt for their campaign programmes with under-eighteens combined knowledge on the issues with normative values and attitudes that promote a particular way of perceiving global issues. Although the INGO case framed knowledge about global poverty to align with the apolitical principles of liberal education that underline the school curriculum, they also aimed to promote certain normative values in challenging conditions they define as unjust and unequal relationship. Therefore, framing the campaign about global poverty is often subsumed in the wider desire of the organisations to communicate their charity appeal and fundraising messages. This has arguably resulted to generating hybrid narratives that combine charity and social justice frames that is found in their campaign messages and which has been a subject of critique in DE literature. The most common manifestation is the abstract and apolitical presentation of global poverty in educational materials that is produced by NGOs and adapted for DE in post-secondary school. As Bryan and Bracken (2011 cited in Tallon, 2013) noted, NGO educational materials adapted to disciplinary subjects in Ireland, as in the UK often contradict the stated objectives of official aid policy objectives to address the root problem of global poverty and inequality. They further described this discrepancy as a structural conflict between NGO primary charity agendas and their image as advocates for social transformation.

Considering that the NGO organisational themes provide the framework for the knowledge they use to pursue their various interests in DE, campaigning, and charity appeals, it is important that NGOs distinguish between the frames they generate and communicate with the public audience. Available literature also indicated that the methodologies used for INGO campaign programmes did not differ from the frames used in DE that have been widely criticised for constructing the Global South through the prism of disaster, poverty and famine (Baillie Smith, 2013; Cohen, 2001; VSO, 2002). According to Bell(1994:193) "where NGO educational materials are integrated into disciplinary subjects, it portrayed a combination of moral concern and fascination with the exotic as the basis of their imagination" of non-western society. As Dogra (2012) noted, beyond the hybridity of public awareness and fundraising messages, the charity frames used in textual and visual materials undermine NGO objective of increasing public understanding, as they ignore the structural and historical imperatives of global poverty and inequality.

Although participants in the INGO case described their campaigning as based on knowledge and values, they did not consider the role of campaigners to be one of engaging in advocacy. Advocacy was conceived of as an activity undertaken by the more knowledgeable and skilled professionals within the organisation. The response from participant in Oxfam made a distinction between campaigning and advocacy that suggested INGOs maintained a professionalised level of communication with public institutions in which campaigners only play a supportive role: *“I think young people as active citizens are (also) advocating...everyone is capable of advocacy, but you would not be representing or advocating for the (our) organisation”*. (S2)

Campaigners were regarded as a constituency of action takers who raised public awareness through actions that mainly support the advocacy initiative of the organisation. The conception of campaigners in INGO case as less knowledgeable actors that are mobilised to support the initiatives and actions defined by the organisations has implications for how knowledge is framed and presented, and opportunities for the involvement of campaigners as autonomous knowers. What can be inferred from the literature is that educational approaches that ignore the structural and political dimensions of global poverty and inequality have implications for the types of frames NGOs use in their campaigning, and how their campaign audiences perceive and engage with the campaign issues. This is particularly relevant to the educational campaign programmes NGOs undertake with schools.

The student-led organisations saw their campaign initiatives as mentoring the next generation of campaigners and activists, and this was evidenced in the way they designed their public education and school programmes around local issues with a global dimension. The response from Medsin exemplify this process: *“We take on issues in the UK like health inequality in the UK or government policy decision or UK organisations and how they interact with the international decision, climate change, population or issues that are important to us”*.

A participant from People and Planet also described their campaign projects with young people in schools as: *“an orientation towards developing a passion on global issues ranging from environment sustainability to global inequality”*. There was an emphasis on knowledge and activism that was a clear departure from the notion of creating awareness, to an idea of taking an interest in community issues, and acting on certain normative values to bring about a desired change. Their campaigning was therefore structured around advocacy and activism as a means of mentoring and developing their membership as informed actors and catalysts for multiplying public knowledge that can increase understanding about global inequality.

Practical examples of their social justice approach to campaign knowledge is found in the mentorship of young people on community issues, and the illustration offered by the success story of their *Sweatshop-free* campaign that secured redundancy payments from Adidas for workers in developing countries. As seen in the screenshot on the Medsin website in Figure 11 (6.4, page 151) depicting their interpretation of campaigning, a strong link is made between ‘advocacy’, ‘education’ (knowledge on the issue) and ‘action’. This relationship was also noted in the response from a participant from Medsin who described their understanding of campaigning as an intricate part of their advocacy: *“Definitely, we describe ourselves as doing education advocacy in action and they overlap. In running the campaign, you need to educate members on the issue before they engage in advocacy”*.

For the student-led organisation case, the campaigner also engaged in advocacy and therefore had to be knowledgeable enough to speak on the campaign issue as well as share knowledge with their peers, and the wider public. Campaigning was seen as an activity that led to a specific change, rather than limiting to public awareness. This interpretation of campaigning and campaigners differed in practice from what was found in the INGO case, where advocacy was an endeavour undertaken by knowledgeable and skilled experts, and campaigners considered social actors whose role was to increase legitimacy for the organisations’ campaign initiatives. The interpretation of advocacy as an activity for knowledgeable experts within the organisation reflected the institutional mode of advocacy adopted by INGO case that aimed primarily at influencing policy makers rather than to provoke public deliberation (Lang, 2013).

Two types of NGO ‘issue publics’ that can be associated with the practices of the two cases that emerged from the data. The first, are campaigners actively involved in generating and multiplying frames for public deliberation, and the second, those detached from the knowledge creation process but coopted to take actions. Considering the latter are excluded from the processes of identifying and framing the campaign, they have little potential as catalysts that can increase public understanding about global poverty and inequality. Visual methods on the websites of Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire indicated that campaign audiences were persuaded to email their Member of Parliament (MP) as part of individual actions that are aggregated by the organisation as collective action. This type of online campaign action involved sending a standardised petition postcard to policy makers aimed at accomplishing a set target by which the campaign is deemed accomplished. Such appropriated forms of collective action served mainly to increase the legitimacy of NGO campaign initiatives, and for multiplying a compassionate frame of reference (Ollis, 2011).

The practices of student-led organisations was analysed in this section with particular focus on the ways in which campaigners were involved in constructing their knowledge on global poverty, and the role of the organisation in mediating this process. Drawing on the discourses in organisational knowledge theory, it argued that the role of campaigners as members of the organisation included involvement in the creation of actionable knowledge applied in accomplishing a collective objective (Davenport & Prusak, 1998; Nonaka & Takeuchi (1995); Spencer (1996). I also argued that a knowledge-led approach to campaigning in which INGOs mediate the involvement of their campaigners in constructing knowledge would enable campaigners to develop as catalysts that can multiply public understanding.

7.5 Activating and communicating frames for NGO campaigning

Understanding how the INGO case activate and multiply particular narratives in their campaigning about global poverty is important for analysing the role of their campaigners as issue publics, and the identities their campaign practices reproduce. In this regard, I discuss in more detail, their communication practices, highlighting the strategies they adopt, the dual frames they activate, and the types of action they promote in their campaigning. The section contributes in generating theoretical explanations for how the practices of INGO case campaigning reproduce an ambivalent constituency of issue publics that multiply compassionate frames. It draws on existing literature in analysing the amorphous nature of INGO case campaigners, and how institutional forms of communication constrain the activation of frames that can promote public deliberation'. The section also provides the baseline for theoretical propositions generated from the cross case analysis in subsequent sections.

Chapman & Fisher's (2000:15) description of campaigning as an activity undertaken by groups and individuals that use particular frames to "communicate a defined conflict issue, build public support for their action and draw attention to new narratives", provides the context for analysing campaigners as potential multipliers of knowledge about global poverty. Although the data revealed that both the INGO case and student-led organisation case undertake their campaigning for these reasons, they adopt different strategies and tools for generating the frames they use in pursuing their objectives. Considering that INGO case regard their public audiences as potential campaigners, their messages target their network of amorphous campaigners and by implication the wider public. For faith-based organisations like CAFOD and Trócaire, the catholic community is communicated as a strategic audience, through local parishes, and particularly where the campaign is aimed at fundraising.

The INGO case design and plan their campaign to bring the campaign issues to the attention of policy makers, and therefore adopt communication strategies that aim at communicating with policy institutions rather than to evoke public deliberation. Although INGO case undertakes campaigning to increase public awareness, the actions and communication strategies adopted are intended to complement the advocacy and lobby initiatives of professionals within the organisation. Participants considered their campaigning on global poverty as an integral part of the wider humanitarian development activity they undertake to support marginalised communities across the world. **R1**, a participant from Trócaire stated: *“Our organisation has the mission of working with others to address issues of global poverty in addition to the humanitarian work it does across the world with marginalised communities”*.

Although participants in INGO case mentioned the importance of linking with other organisations in addressing global poverty, evidence of such cooperation was found only in occasional collaborative campaigns such as MPH and IF campaigns. There was little evidence to suggest that such collaborations were sustained after campaign events such as rallies that are planned to catch the attention of political leaders in donor countries. The comment from a participant in Oxfam reflected the common view expressed across INGO case: *“With big organisations like Oxfam, it is the problem of how deeply we engage with policy makers and on what terms. It is not so with smaller organisations”*.

This implied an emphasis in communicating with institutions rather than the public. However, participants in INGO case acknowledged the need to engage more strategically with their campaign audience in a way that recognises their heterogeneity. The importance of a more strategic approach to engaging with their campaigners is discussed in a later section. The emphasis INGO case put on influencing institutions and policy makers relates to what Lang (2013) described as ‘institutional advocacy’ in which communication tools include lobbying, sharing expert knowledge and experience with policy makers. The type of communication that occurred between the INGO case and their campaigners was mainly visual and textual messages communicated on their websites, and through their social media environment as seen in figure 7 (in section 5.6) that shows a screenshot of Oxfam’s campaign page. Beyond the basic information provided to encourage campaigners to send off online petitions to policy makers, there was no evidence that the content of INGO case campaigning was presented in a way to encourage interrogation, or a deep engagement with the campaign issue. Considering that the content of their campaign messages are presented to promote their broader organisational advocacy and humanitarian agendas, there was little opportunity for their campaigners to generate frames that promote social justice.

Lang (2013) noted that using similar frames is important for promoting public understanding because it offers a narrative for how a particular issue is perceived and interpreted. Visual observation on the Facebook activity of the two cases showed that although campaigners in INGO case used similar frames, it was one dominated by charity narratives. Such frames were found in both the texts and visual images used in representing global poverty and inequality in the collaborative IF campaign, as well as on the websites of INGO case. For example, the frames used in representing the Syrian humanitarian appeal was similar to that of the global justice *Hunger for Change* campaign in which appeals for charity donations were used in communicating knowledge about the campaign issue. Such representations has been widely criticised as shallow, and as detached from the wider historical and political dimensions (see, for example, Ibrahim and Hulme, 2011; Chouliaraki, 2010).

The clustering of frames in their various campaigns resulted to combined messaging Dogra (2012:28) described as a “hybridisation” in which knowledge presented to the public was de-contextualise from its political and historical dimension thereby diminishing its value for deeper engagement. As Dogra (2012:165) noted, “the use of images framed from the genre of charity appeal had the dual impact of de-emphasising the accompanying text and promoting a charity frame”. Furthermore, such hybrid frames minimised the need and motivation to seek more knowledge on the issue, as the campaign objective was considered accomplished when a target number of online petitions to local politicians is achieved.

The forms of action INGO case promoted on their campaign websites encouraged campaigners to make a personal sacrifice that symbolised a change in their consumption pattern, such as patronising Fairtrade products in their choice of groceries, or foregoing a meal. This was considered an action that could reduce the disproportionate high consumption of the northern public in the global food chain¹⁸. I therefore propose that the representation of global poverty that projects a contradicting dualism of charity and social justice messaging not only leads to ambivalent individual frames that promote compassionate responses, but also constrained the possibility of provoking public deliberation. It is important to note that the two faith founded INGOs, CAFOD and Trócaire described their approach to social justice as influenced by the philosophy of Christian social teaching. Such an interpretation aligned with narratives of benevolence and ‘the cheerful giver’ frame that were also used in the INGO case *Hunger for Change* and *Climate Change* campaigns. The photograph in figure 16 below shows a sense of fulfilment expressed in an individual action taken by a

¹⁸ enoughfoodif.org/get-involved/youth These actions were also found on their individual websites

campaigner in the INGO case. Although such actions are devoid of group identity, they were considered an important step towards accomplishing a campaign objective.

Figure 16: Individual action



www.oxfam.org.uk/get-involved/campaign-with-us

Similar actions included encouraging campaigners to patronise Fairtrade goods marketed by these INGOs. Such self-exalting actions promoted an identity of the benevolent and compassionate northern giver with the power and the good heart to graciously alter the destiny of the poor in the Global South. The point here is that the presentation of knowledge in narratives that promote individual sacrifice and compassionate responses offers marginal motivation for campaigners to seek further knowledge on the issue.

Unlike the student-led organisations whose members interacted as campaigners, the INGO case considered and engaged an amorphous public as potential campaigners to be mobilised to take action in achieving the organisation's campaign goals. This approach to campaigning that relied on an amorphous campaign audience was not based on group identity and shared values necessary for purposeful collective action. It is however, important to state that although CAFOD and Trócaire, considered their Christian and catholic audience as their primary and identifiable constituency, the frames they used in communicating with this constituency was no different from that used with their wider public audience. The promotional approach used for communicating the campaign issue meant that knowledge on global poverty was presented in a format that was simple and marketable, with more emphasis on publicising the campaign than increasing knowledge about the campaign issue. Baillie Smith (2013) associated this approach to engaging global poverty and inequality as a commodified individualised approach that offered little opportunity for public interaction on the campaign issue. INGO case also considered their campaign activity as the

organisation's campaign rather than as a conflict issue defined by the values of campaigners.

With INGO case, the individual actions taken by amorphous campaigners were aggregated as collective action. However, this assumed form of collective action is challenged by authors such as Morris (1984), Ollis (2011), McCarthy & Zald (1977), that propose purposeful collective action is achieved by the presence of group identity. Purposive collective action can be understood from Castells' interpretation as "an action that is taken by a group, or individuals using common frames, and that forms part of a wider course of action aimed at achieving a defined outcome" (Stalder, 2006:77). Apart from its role in supporting peer mentoring, group identity is also argued to be important for generating a shared frame of reference necessary for purposeful collective action (Pettigrew, 1991). Commentators on INGO practices such as Chouliaraki (2011) and Jefferes (2012) have argued that the humanitarian marketing approach to campaigning focuses on the individual than collective action, and this impairs the element of shared values, self-interrogation and peer influence that develop campaigners as agents of change.

As noted earlier, although INGO case assumed individual actions as collective action, this did not generate or confer group identity to their amorphous campaigners. Mueller (2003) noted that organisations that represent large numbers of individuals required separate and selective incentives to curb free riding that occurs through a detached engagement with the campaign issue. This suggests that INGOs would require identifying and strategically engaging with a segment of their campaigners such that they can generate group identity necessary for purposive collective. As Ollis (2011:263) noted, there is an important distinction between the identity formation of campaigners from less cohesive groups and those from committed groups. Therefore, the aggregation of individual actions that are taken without conscious reference to other campaigners acting on the same issue questions the assumption that individual action can be considered as purposive collective action. It also raises questions on how current INGO case practices can develop campaigners as catalysts for multiplying public understanding of global poverty. The next section focuses on how the communication practices in student-led organisation case enable them generate similar frames in constructing their knowledge and for activating public deliberation.

7.6 Generating frames for public deliberation and collective action

This section contributes in analysing how the practices of student-led organisation case contribute to understanding campaigners as stakeholders that can activate frames for public deliberation. It also provides evidence for generating theoretical explanations on how the student-led organisation case initiate and sustain mediated public arenas that include the perspective of the assumed beneficiaries of NGO campaigning. Other considerations are the types of action student-led organisation take, and the importance of the presence of group identity for collective action.

As revealed in the previous chapter, the student-led organisation case saw their role in campaigning as supporting and mentoring campaigners to become advocates and potential activists that can multiply knowledge about the campaign issue. The ‘campaigner’ is therefore, not just an actor in accomplishing the campaign objective, but also a stakeholder in constructing and multiplying knowledge about the campaign issue. Visual methods undertaken on the website of Medsin revealed that student-led organisation case considered their role as: *“To create a network of people in order to influence the thoughts and actions of those around you, or those that can make the change you desire”* (medsin.org/advocate/).

Influencing the perception of the public through their network is therefore a mediated process for extending their frame in accomplishing the campaign goal. It also emerged that campaigners were considered to be advocates, and therefore, required to be knowledgeable about the issues for which they campaign. This was clearly stated by **C1**, a participant in Medsin: *“Advocacy is more an act, so campaign will incorporate many kinds of advocacy...when you advocate you don’t necessarily campaign but when you (also) campaign you advocate, and very core also is to empower the activist with knowledge on the issues”*

The student-led organisation case understood the primary purpose of campaigning to mean seeking change through informed and a critical understanding of the campaign issue. ‘Critical’ here refers to an understanding of the influence of power in both the knowledge creation process and the political context of the issue (Kincheloe, 2005:11). The data also indicated a similar view from People and Planet on the role of campaigners as knowledgeable advocates. The distinction student-led organisation case made between organisational themes that encapsulate the wider advocacy interest of the organisation, and specific campaign initiatives was important for generating common frames they used for introducing a new narrative. As **J2** from People and Planet explained: *“...A theme is like a broad issue in the world, like*

corporate power; you can't have a campaign to end corporate power for power. Campaigns have objectives, and we have processes to evaluate our campaigns". This made it possible for them to set specific objectives, generate a common frame of reference, and to provide the basis for evaluating their campaign initiatives.

The distinction student-led organisation case made between organisational 'campaign themes' and the 'campaign initiative' was also important for how the campaign knowledge was presented to activate frames that can promote deeper public engagement. In this way, they avoided the problem of ambivalent narratives and contradictory frames found in INGO case campaign messages. Although student-led organisation case undertakes campaigning for similar reasons as with the INGO case, their actions aim primarily to achieve a specific change, and to introduce new narratives. Therefore, they adopt a public mode of advocacy in their communication that encourages deliberative dialogue. I therefore argue that the way NGO campaigning can influence public understanding of global poverty will depend on the opportunities campaigners have in constructing their knowledge, and to multiply deep frames in the process.

In a review of literature around public engagement, Hogg (2011:3) argued there was evidence that deliberative engagement is particularly useful when communicating with the public about complex development issues. While the practices by which student-led organisation case mediate counterdiscourse is discussed in the next section, I focus here on the tools and communication strategies NGOs use to activate similar frames, which Pettigrew (1991) suggested as necessary for promoting public understanding.

I use the three broad communication indicators proposed by Lang (2013:56-57) that determine the ability of NGOs to activate similar frames with their campaigners, namely; the density of communication, the mode of communication, and the target of their communication. Ollis (2008:45) suggested that 'generating a common frame of reference' that is centred on social justice was important for evoking the passion to seek *change*, rather than the compassion to *give*. As a membership organisation, student-led campaigners were themselves issue publics, that used and a shared social justice frame to provoke deliberation, and in the process, achieved density by communicating with similar frames. The student-led organisation case placed more emphasis on how knowledge of the issue was framed and multiplied, and considered involving young people in the decision process as more empowering. This also differed from the INGO case that focused on developing campaign skills in young people. It also emerged that the student-led organisation case did not necessarily see their role

as producing knowledge; rather, they considered their purpose as mediating the involvement of campaigners in constructing their knowledge.

This inclusive process of framing the campaign also relates to discourses in organisational knowledge, and Mode2 knowledge production, where groups with a shared interest produced and disseminated knowledge in the course of applying it to a problem (Gibbons et al., 1994:6-10). I therefore argue that framing the campaign knowledge is also part of the meaning-making on the conflict issue, and that NGOs can act as mediators of this process. The protest images used in People and Planet's *Corporate power campaign* (see Appendix 7A, p. 224) provided examples of how images were used to frame the campaign issue, and how they served as tool for activating social justice narratives. Protest images also contributed in generating similar frames that are important for sustaining the interaction between campaigners on social media, and for multiplying their narratives (Lang, 2013; Hogg, 2011:4).

Regarding the target of their communication, the student-led organisation case directed their campaign at the specific organisation rather than institutional policy structure of the state (peopleandplanet.org). This mode of public advocacy was noted in the images they used in their public demonstrations such as the use of a broken NIKE logo seen figure 12, in section 6.6. The advantage of group identity in achieving collective action is implicit in the response from a participant in People and Planet: *"...activist groups can give organisations a strong moral purpose and direction...and we consider group action as the best way to undertake campaigns."*

The reference to activism relates to their use of 'movement' as a mode of organising and mobilising collective action. It is noteworthy that Oxfam a non-membership INGOs has used the concept of 'movement' to describe how collective action is mobilised for their Fairtrade initiative aimed at influencing how global trade works. In an era when face-to-face interaction in NGO campaigning has declined, the role and notion of solidarity and movement is supplemented by virtual forms of interaction in counterpublic arenas generated by the student-led case. Although Thompson's (1995) proposition of mediated counterpublics explains virtual arenas for interacting, the importance of interpersonal bond associated with face-to-face interaction cannot be overlooked.

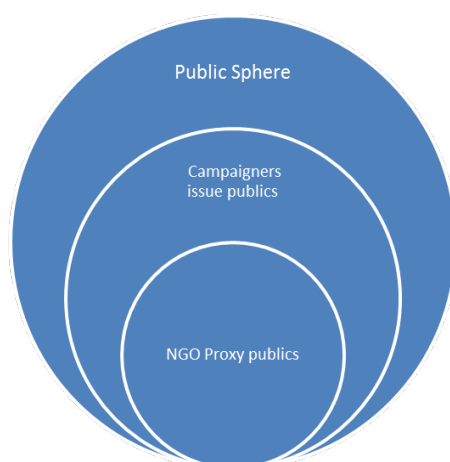
While student-led organisations case membership structure provided conditions for the soft technologies of personal interaction, it is different with INGO case in which campaigners are not registered members. I therefore argue that the presence of group identity in student-led organisation case provided opportunities for campaigners to multiply common frames, and to activate virtual forms of solidarity by which they extend

their narratives and sustain counterpublics. The basis for sustaining such virtual solidarity can also be argued to be founded on the affinity and interpersonal familiarity student-led campaigners build in their annual face-to-face conference activity where they socialise and negotiate a common frame of reference for their online interaction.

The resource mobilisation discourse in social movement literature contributes to understanding how non-membership organisations can adapt movement strategies as a communication repertoire to mobilise public action in a diffused power era (Morris, 1984; Castells, 2000; Touraine, 2004; Della Porta & Diani, 2004). It also provides for group phenomenon, which Stalder (2006) associated with collective action, and the role of individual action in non-membership organisations. The aggregation of collective action in INGO case arguably to result to free-riding, where campaigners embrace the convenience of online actions hope to benefit from the actions of committed activists driven by social justice values (Olson, 1965; Mueller, 2003).

For NGOs with non-membership campaigners, exploring the potentials of engaging their support group more strategically would be a way to harness group identity and achieve purposive collective action. The influence diagram in figure 17 below provides a way of conceptualising the relationship between NGOs as proxy publics, and their campaigners as issue publics' that are part of the public sphere and also the target of NGO campaigning that aims at public awareness and understanding. It illustrates the overlapping spheres in which Campaigners act as NGO issue publics, stakeholders in accomplishing set objectives as well as potential catalysts in extending their narratives about a defined problem.

Figure 17: Campaigners as issue publics and catalysts



The diagram in figure 17 depicts the different but integrated levels of the public sphere in which NGOs in their assumed role as the voice of civil society operate at the micro

level as proxy public. At the macro level is the wider public sphere that is also the target of increasing awareness and understanding. The conceptualisation of the public in the relational realm of micro to meso levels further strengthens the argument for the importance of identifiable actors and potential catalysts that can multiply knowledge to increase public understanding about the campaign issue. While INGO case do not operate as membership organisations with identifiable campaigners, possibilities exist for them to engage more strategically with their local support and outreach groups in promoting a shared identity.

The support and mentorship INGO case provide affiliate local community outreach groups indicate there exist structures and channels with which to engage and involve them as identifiable 'issue publics' that can generate and multiply frames for public deliberation. It is worth stating here that such a proposition does not lose sight of the limitations of INGO case as highly professionalised, institutionalised and bureaucratised organisations with a primary agenda of humanitarian charity. However, the acknowledgement in INGO case of the strategic importance of recognising the heterogeneous nature of their campaign audience supports the argument this thesis makes about opportunities the digital ICT era offer campaigners to become multipliers of public understanding. Therefore, I propose that an approach to campaigning that involves campaigners in the processes of identifying and framing the campaign issue provides them opportunities to evolve as knowledge catalysts.

This section contributed in identifying the different levels at which NGO campaigners can be involved in activating frames that contribute to multiplying public understanding about global poverty. Drawing on evidence from the practices of student-led organisation case, it argued how NGOs can act, as mediators of knowledge in supporting campaigners to become catalysts for increasing public understanding. I argued that the practices whereby INGOs maintained a detached relationship with their campaigners, and in which campaigners constitute an amorphous audience undermines the generation of group identity necessary for purposful collective action.

7.7 Student-led campaign networks and mediated counterpublics

This section pays particular attention to the concept of 'network', and the way it is used in NGO campaigning to mobilise campaigners. I limit my analyses of 'network' to the way student-led organisations use it as a counterpublic, and a counterdiscourse arena. I also analyse the role of the Internet and social media in sustaining these networks.

The Internet and social media emerged as important for both student-led organisations and INGO case. However, the student-led organisation case used it in a way that contributed in sustaining the bond campaigners establish in face-to-face interaction at their annual conferences and workshop events. This provided their campaigners the opportunity to develop a virtual form of solidarity they sustained through their networks enabled by digital ICT. What made the student-led case use of social media and Internet-based networks uniquely different from the INGO case was the counterpublic they mediated, and the counterdiscourse that emerged as a result (Thompson, 1995; Fraser, 1992). This provided campaigners the opportunity to construct their knowledge and develop as potential catalyst that can multiply knowledge as well as integrate the perspectives of assumed beneficiaries of NGO campaigning against global poverty.

Castells description of the network as “a complex form of the organisation held together by communication and driven digital information flows” (cited in Stalder, 2006:167) contributes in understanding the plural and diffused propensity of social networks, as well its structural and operational dimension. Evidence from the data presented in the previous chapter showed that the student-led organisation case conceived of their networks as a pattern of interaction that enabled collaboration between their campaigners. This was evident in the way they used their network in sustaining a mediated counterpublic by which they engage and collaborate with diverse groups. Gibbons et al.’s (1994) Mode2 knowledge production proposed how interaction between heterogeneous groups with converging interest results in new modes of knowledge-based information. The network in student-led organisations can, therefore, be described as a form of organising their activities, and a way of bridging capacity gaps that integrated ‘structure’ and ‘agency’. This form of interaction that is driven and held together by digital information flows explains Castells concept of *communication power* (2009; 1997; Stalder, 2006).

Existing literature supports the suggestion in this thesis that INGO case uses the term ‘network’ in two main senses that referred to their ‘network of campaigners’ and their ‘network of partners’. In both instances, the conception of the ‘network’ did not suggest a diffusion of power, rather, it portrayed a vertical structure of digitally accessible actors or campaigners and knowledge consumers whose actions are aggregated and appropriated by the organisation. The network of partners on the other hand refers to the relationship between INGO case, and their overseas project partners that constitute a primary source of the knowledge they use in their campaigning. Country partners served the purpose of effective programme coordination, and as a structure for generating knowledge in sustaining their dominance and gatekeeping role as development knowledge production. Baaz (2005) noted that within the broader context

of development institutions, the term 'partners' has been analysed to convey more than a descriptive connotation, and also carry embedded qualities of power relationship.

The student-led organisations used the term 'network' in more than one sense. In praxis, it referred to their interaction with other knowledge actors/sources that are excluded from mainstream discourse, as well as the horizontal form of association that maximise the expression of voice. However, the term 'network' was used by student-led organisation case in a sense that conveyed collaboration that enabled pluralism in the production, dissemination and application of knowledge. This conception of network differed from the vertically structured forms of knowledge production found in the INGO case. Considering the critical constructivist stance adopted in this thesis, the above conceptual clarifications are important for understanding how these networks enable student-led organisations navigate issues of power imbalances in the processes by which information becomes validated knowledge (Torres, 1998; Spencer, 1996). The role of the network as a horizontally diffused structure, and a communication paradigm that enables the inclusion of the perspective of marginalised actors in the Global South exemplified the convergence between constructivism and the Network Society. Lang (2013) suggested that such horizontal structures reflected a lower level of institutionalisation and bureaucratisation that allowed innovation, reflexivity and pluralism.

While the INGO case used the term 'network' and 'partners' in a coordinating and appropriating sense, the student-led organisation case used it in a *public* and *empowering* way to build their capacity and promote pluralism. For example, although People and Planet and Medsin did not have a presence in developing countries and the financial resource base to operate outside the United Kingdom, they extended their network to include civil society groups in the Global South. An example was seen in the campaign undertaken by People and Planet challenging the treatment of factory workers in Honduras by UK multinational garment companies. The counterpublics generated through networks with marginalised groups influenced their narratives, and provided venues for the integration of subaltern voices into mainstream discourse. It also served as a triangulation process in constructing their knowledge. Maton and Moore (2010:37) suggested, that "when actors make knowledge claims or engage in practice, they are at the same time making a claim of legitimacy..."

Beyond the communication of planned activities, the network in INGO case serves a form of organising and coordinating their activities, and for achieving greater efficiency in undertaking their charity initiatives. With the INGO case therefore, the network was used to refer to partners that work towards achieving the organisation's interest and

agendas. It was also used as a means by which the organisation communicated their values and raise public awareness about their activities, rather than for activating frames that can provoke public debate (Harrison, 2010; Cox, 2011).

Another related point is the role of the Internet, and the way the social media is used in NGO campaigning. Bennett (2004) noted that the web has emerged as the most important networking medium for mobilising voice for campaigning because it enables rapid and horizontal dissemination of information and the potentials for interactive opinion formation. In a seminal study on NGOs and the use of networks to mobilise members, Keck & Sikkink (1998:2) used the term Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) to describe actors bound together by shared values and a common frame of reference. However, online action is often criticised for promoting clicktivism, a culture of shallow engagement associated with the Internet (White 2010), and by which the identity of the ambivalent campaigner takes form.

As noted in the illustrations on the types of action INGO case promoted, the surface frames used in the sound bites about the campaign issue were sufficient to prompt campaigners to send a petition to policy makers in accomplishing a set target of actions. Data from visual methods of the INGO case websites showed that the communication on their Facebook social media occurred predominantly in monologues such as *'like'*, *'share'* that can be associated with the culture of clicktivism (White, 2010). The convenience of the click of a mouse as a mode of taking action has been described as an individualised top-down approach to knowledge that promotes a false sense of accomplishment (Smith, 2008), which offers marginal opportunities for the involvement of campaigners. The online form of campaigning designed around the convenience of *'finding'* and *'taking'* an action from the comfort and privacy of a digital device is therefore a relaxed, hands-on and detached way of influencing global change. With major campaigns such as the IF campaign, public rallies similar to the Make Poverty History, and Jubilee 2000 served more to bolster the legitimacy of NGO action by the impressive turn-out that is seen as a public expression support for the campaign issue.

A common practice with INGO case campaigning was the manner in which they framed their campaign rallies around festivities, a practice which Cameron & Haanstra (2008) described as the *'feel good'* or *'sexy rallies'* approach to campaigning designed to attract young people. As revealed in the 2013 IF campaign, the interaction and comments that followed INGO collaborative action focused on the fun and entertaining aspects of the rally, rather than on the campaign issue. While the entertainment is seen as a way of appealing to young people, it had the tendency to detract from the

campaign issue and encouraged ambivalent forms of engagement with global poverty (Cohen, 2001; Cameron & Haanstra, 2008). Visual methods undertaken on the interfaced IF campaign Facebook showed that the organisers included a caution to their campaigners that campaigning to end poverty entailed more than signing a petition. It suggested other actions: *“one of the strongest messages you can send to politicians and companies are through the food you put on your plate...choice of food that keeps us healthy and save the planet”*.¹⁹

Campaigners were encouraged to patronise Fairtrade products *“so that farmers from poor countries put enough food on the table”* (*ibid*). Such actions framed on personal sacrifice “reinforce an apolitical understanding of global poverty that explain it to natural causes” (Dogra, 2012:13). This differed from the protest images used by student-led organisation case that aimed at communicating with the public in a way that would provoke deliberation, and the questioning of ambivalent narratives. Another nuanced but important distinction pertains to the use of the Internet and social media. While the student-led organisation case and INGO case used the Facebook in similar ways with regard to the volume, language and nature of interaction, the student-led organisations used a common frame of reference generated in face-to-face annual events. This experience was absent with campaigners in INGO case.

The network also provided the basis for considering the notion of virtual solidarity, and Touraine’s (2004) resource mobilisation approach that explains the possibility of mobilising collective action, even in non-membership organisations. It is worth noting again that although Trócaire, and CAFOD sustained close communications with their catholic parishes regarded as the core of their public audience, they were not engaged as a cohesive group, but as a catchment area in their fundraising initiatives. While CAFOD considered their faith community as pivotal to their humanitarian work, evidence from the data showed that they were communicated and engaged in a similar way as the wider public audience in terms of how the campaign issue was framed and disseminated.

The combined feature of the network as a communication structure and social agency makes it a mediated public space for counterdiscourse (Thompson, 1995; Fraser, 1992). The inclusion of ‘other’ voices therefore disrupted the tranquillity of dominant narratives as they filter into mainstream discourses. This process is enabled by the praxis of *communication power* and *informationalism* in the Network Society that can be understood from two dimensions. The first describes the way digitally connected

¹⁹ www.enoughfoodif.org/about-campaign/guide-if

networks enable horizontal communication between individuals and groups from diverse cultural locations, and across economic boundaries. The second dimension is explained in Nonaka & Takeuchi's (1995) knowledge creation model where the interaction between tacit and explicated knowledge leads to the internalisation of knowledge that includes experiences, meanings and the context in which a problem is defined.

This section considered the interpretation and use of networks in constructing knowledge on global poverty in the two bounded NGO cases. I analysed how the concept of the network differed between the two cases, and how student-led organisation case conceived of it as a mechanism for generating and multiplying common frames beyond its use in bridging their resource capacity. I also discussed how networks served as a means of triangulating existing knowledge that reconstituted ahistorical and apolitical representations of global poverty through counterpublic. I also analysed how student-led organisations were able to achieve a form of virtual solidarity through the common frames and affinity they established in their face-to-face interaction at annual events, and how this in turn influenced formation of group identity. I also argued how student-led campaign organisations used their networks to mainstream knowledge from the assumed beneficiaries of their campaigning. The section contributed to understanding how the practices NGOs adopt in undertaking their campaigning can result in different types of campaigners and how they can become catalysts for multiplying knowledge on global poverty.

7.8 Mode2 campaigning: enhancing the engagement of campaigners

The analyses in the previous sections are taken a step further in proposing an initial typology that offers a dialectical way of analysing the types of campaigners that can emerge from the practices of the two NGO cases. The typology provides a way of understanding how different forms of communicating and mobilising campaigners have implications for how they can become catalysts for multiplying knowledge about global poverty. The proposed typology shifts attention from the nature and structure of organisations to their modes of communication, and the use and role of the network of social actors in NGO campaigning.

In proposing this typology, I focused on three broad areas namely, how the informational knowledge that I also referred to as 'campaign knowledge' is framed and presented, the types of action NGOs promote and the mode of NGO communication with their campaigners. I consider how the dynamics in these factors manifest in the proposed typology, and how it can be used in analysing and improving the practices of

NGOs in promoting public understanding about global poverty through campaigning. As noted earlier, the practices whereby INGO case clustered humanitarian charity and development advocacy frames in communicating their campaigning served a dual purpose of integrating humanitarian charity appeals with their interest in development advocacy (Dogra, 2012). While the hybridisation of charity and social justice frames offered economies of scale in communicating their advocacy and humanitarian appeal messages, it holds out little opportunity for the involvement of campaigners or incentive to seek further knowledge on the campaign issue. The term 'involvement' is important in making a distinction between deliberative voice and passive participation associated with what Darnton (2011) referred to as *surface* and *deep* frames that INGOs use in their campaigning on global poverty.

It is worth stating that a fundamental difference between campaigners in the INGO case and student-led organisation case is the membership and non-membership form of their association. While campaigners in INGO case were mobilised as issue publics that are presented with campaign issues that are defined and framed by the organisation, campaigners in student-led organisation case identified and generated the frames for their campaign initiatives. With Oxfam, CAFOD, and to a lesser extent Trócaire, campaigners acted as a co-opted issue public that were encouraged to take actions in support of advocacy that aimed at communicating with policy institutions. On the other hand campaigners in student-led organisation case acted as their own issue publics, and therefore used common frames to define the campaign issues and generate group identity. However, evidence from the data showed that INGO case recognised the heterogeneity of their campaigners, and the importance of engaging them in a more strategic way. The response from Trócaire reflected the common view expressed by participants from INGO case that: *"it is limiting to look at the public from a demographic or segmented view. However, it is recognised that some campaigns might be more effective with certain segment of the population, particularly young people"*.

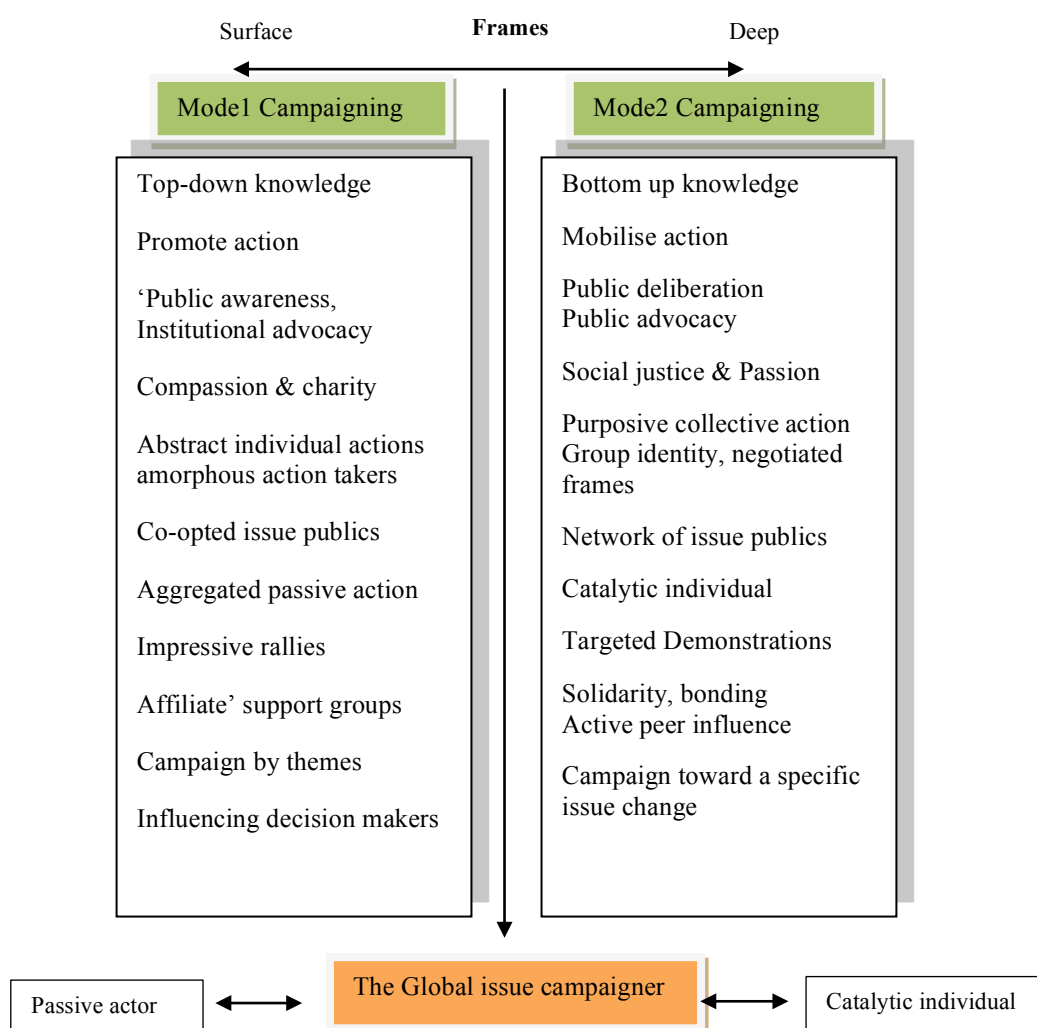
The conception of 'movement' as a strategic way of mobilising social actors beyond membership organisations provided a basis for exploring the possibilities of generating group identity that is necessary for purposive collective action in INGO campaigning (Touraine, 2004:718). Such possibilities exist in the Network Society era that is characterised by the connectivity of a network of social actors with a common interest, and the communication power enabled by ICT. 'Movement' was also analysed as a strategy for evoking public deliberation through extra-institutional modes of communication. The use of this strategy was argued to be also possible in non-membership NGOs that choose to engage strategically with their support group. While

Leipold's (2002) categorisation of campaigning by the organisation's activity offer a useful way of understanding their structure and peculiar behaviour, the typology proposed in this thesis goes further to consider dynamics such as their communication strategies, mode of association, the frames they activate for their campaigning.

In this proposed typology, campaigning is analysed as resulting in two types of campaigners, and different types of identity formation linked to the nature of the interaction between the organisation and campaigners (Ollis, 2011). The features associated with Mode1 and Mode2 campaigning represent qualities that can be found in the practices of INGO case and student-led organisation case. My conception of Mode2 campaigning relates to Mode2 knowledge production in which knowledge is produced and disseminated in the context of its application to problem (Gibbons et al. 1994). Mode1 campaigning on the other hand is associated with the practices of the INGO case, where campaigners are presented as a product from which individuals select and take action. My use of the term "mode1" and "mode2" campaigning is for analytical purpose and serves only as a stratification of the trends derived from applying theory in the interpretation of data.

In describing the initial typology, which I refer to as 'Mode1' and 'Mode2' campaigning, the qualities and characteristics associated with each mode draws on the theories applied, evidence from the data, and related discussions in the literature. However, attention is given to the knowledge processes and the types of identities that relate to the form of association between the organisation and campaigners, and the role of campaigners as a network and social agent. The typology is presented in a schema that provides a visual way of understanding the relationships between the different trends and practices adopted in NGO campaigning, and logic for projecting the outcome of particular approaches to campaigning about global poverty and inequality. Although this schema is derived from data on the practices of the two NGO cases investigated, it is also useful for analysing the implication of the modes of advocacy and communication strategy other types of NGOs adopt for engaging and mobilising campaigners. The diagram in Figure 18 below attempts to map the values, attitudes, identities and practices that relate to the *surface* and *deep* frames proposed in the Finding Frames.

Figure 18: Modes of campaigning



The double-headed arrow that runs across the top end of the schemata indicates fluidity, and possible levels of adaptation between the two poles (Mode1 and Mode2). The vertical arrow that runs between the modes indicates the ultimate direction that represents two types of global campaigners described as: 'the passive actor' and 'catalytic individual'. Rather than a neat demarcation, the associated qualities represent broad ideals that may have taxonomies within and across the two classifications that reflect the level of NGOisation in a particular organisation. The qualities associated with each ideal pole may, therefore, appear with varying degrees of adaptation in different organisations.

In relation to the processes of creating and framing knowledge, the main distinction between Mode1 and Mode2 campaigning is the centrality of the bottom-up approach to knowledge in Mode2. 'Bottom-up' refers to involvement of campaigners at the level of framing the knowledge. However, Knowledge in the Mode2 campaign is also seen as partial, incomplete, produced and applied in the context of power imbalances. Therefore, with the student-led organisation case, representations of global poverty

remained information, and became knowledge only when campaigners themselves interpreted the the issues in a context using a particular frame (Cox, 2011).

The detached engagement with global poverty issues can be associated with the approach to campaigning I described as Mode1 campaign. I also related this approach to campaigning to Yanacopolus & Baillie Smith's (2008:307-8) analysis of a trans-cosmopolitan framing of global poverty that combined the feeling of commonality with narratives of the 'distant other'. The contradiction of this dual logic of difference and commonality in campaigning is found in the ambivalent and shallow representations of global poverty in messages delivered in sound bites, and that promoted detached actions. Although the distinction between public rallies and public demonstration as a communication strategy is not fully explored in this thesis, I considered the ways they are used in the sampled organisations to refer to modes of communication that target either public deliberation or policy makers. The use of public demonstrations in Mode2 campaigning implied a communication strategy aimed at provoking deliberation and introducing new narratives that also contributed to sustaining virtual forms of solidarity. Such deliberative mode of public communication served as a repertoire for extending and multiplying social justice frames.

The huge rallies organised by INGOs that put emphasis on 'feel good' and crowd turn out can be associated with surface frames, and an ambivalent identity linked to Mode1 campaigning. Evidence from the data indicated that student-led organisation case was less exposed to the contradictions that resulted to ambivalent forms of identity, as they used social justice frames that evoked the passion to question, rather than the compassion to give. The conscious choice by student-led organisations to substitute images of hopelessness with images of protest suggests an awareness of the conflict it presented for the social justice frames they used and the power of such images to evoke public deliberation. I therefore argue that online campaign actions detached from the root issues, and the ambivalent framing of global poverty that evoke humanitarian responses relates to what Baillie Smith (2013) described as the complex subjectivities that shape northern public imaginaries of development.

Another distinction between Mode2 and Mode1 campaigning is the type of actions that are mobilised or promoted. In this typology, the term 'to mobilise' action fundamentally differ from 'to promote' action. 'Promoting' an action is used in referring to the persuasive consumerist approach adopted by INGOs to encourage their campaign audiences to take an action in support of their advocacy. To 'mobilise action' on the other hand, relates to shared values, and the presence of a common frame of reference by which groups take collective action. The concept of Mode2 campaigning

characterised in the practices of the student-led organisation case is a form of campaigning that places peer group interaction and solidarity at the core of campaigning.

As represented in Figure 18, both modes of campaigning operate with an end goal of producing a 'global issue' campaigner. The bottom end of the schema shows two variations of the 'global issue campaigner' in which Mode1 is linked to the passive and compassionate actor, and Mode2 campaigner, associated with the catalytic individual that can multiply public understanding (Hogg, 2011). The contrasting identities of the two global campaigners are highlighted in the important distinction made in the IF campaign evaluation between the notion of "heightened public awareness" about the campaign, and "increased public understanding" about the campaign issue (Tibbett and Stalker, 2013:18). The 'global issue campaigner' can therefore, be either a social actor with a detached awareness sufficient to accomplish an online campaign action promoted by an NGO, or a knowledgeable actor with the passion and ability to influence public perception of the campaign issue. The catalytic individual is associated with the knowledgeable actor in Mode2 campaigning because of the involvement of campaigners as actors and stakeholders in framing and disseminating knowledge aimed at accomplishing a common objective.

7.9 Summary of Chapter

The discussion and interpretation of data adopted a cross case analysis approach in which tentative assertions were generated from the data following a systematic sorting and merging of evidence gathered from the two bounded cases. Factors for analysis derived from this process were organised around themes in generating theoretical explanations that contribute to addressing the research problem. The themes reflected the aim and objectives of the thesis, and therefore focused on the practices, interpretations, processes and meanings in approaches to campaigning adopted by NGOs in the two bounded cases. The analysis drew on discussions from related literature, and was used in conjunction with evidence in generating theoretical propositions for the concluding arguments.

Both categories of NGOs considered the representations of global poverty in their campaign messages as knowledge aimed at enhancing public understanding and engagement with global poverty and inequality. What differed was the process by which the campaign knowledge was produced and communicated to their campaigners, and their role in that process. For student-led organisations, such representations became knowledge only when they are interpreted and understood within a context. The importance of the educational campaign projects undertaken by

both INGO case and student-led organisation case played an important role in terms of the frame of reference campaigners bring as potential issue publics.

The term 'campaign knowledge' was understood as factual information, and accounts of lived experience that was interpreted, framed and presented to a campaign audience in textual, visual and/or semiotic forms. I used evidence derived from visual method on their websites and social media to show how the types of actions they promote, and the communication strategy they adopt produce different types of campaigners. I analysed the way less institutionalised NGOs such as the student-led organisation case integrate the perspective of subaltern voices into mainstream discourse through mediated counterpublics enabled by ICT (Thompson, 1995; Fraser, 1992). I argued that an approach to knowledge that enabled the encounter with voices from the wider public will engender a more critical and reflexive way NGO campaigners engage with global poverty. The role of ICT was analysed in the context of how NGO network of campaigners were sustained by digital communication technology, and how it was used to generate and multiply similar frames for collective action.

An major contribution of this chapter is the proposition of mode1 and mode2 campaigning as a dialectical way of understanding how the advocacy and communication strategies NGOs adopt has implications for how their campaigners can become catalyst for increasing public understanding about global poverty and inequality.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Statement of the study context, aim and objectives

This chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the thesis. It begins by restating the research problem, the aim and objectives, its rationale, and how the investigation was conducted. I also recap on the highlights of the discussions on the interpretation and analyses of findings, and conclude by stating the overarching argument, and the contribution of this thesis to the field of knowledge.

The thesis explored the communication practices of two categories of NGOs, and how the interaction with their campaigners can enable them become multipliers of public understanding about global poverty. The research was therefore, concerned more with the knowledge dimensions of NGO campaigning for increasing public understanding about global poverty than approaches to running a successful campaign. The objectives of the thesis were; firstly, to examine how NGOs identify, frame and communicate the informational content of their campaigning about global poverty. Secondly, to identify opportunities for campaigners to become catalyst that can multiply knowledge for increasing public understanding about the campaign issue; and thirdly, to understand the role of ICT in NGO campaigning in terms of practices that enhance the involvement of campaigners in framing the campaign issue.

8.2 How the study was conducted

The research problem was defined in the context of evidence from studies that suggest falling levels of public understanding about global poverty in the UK, in spite of the collaborative and individual campaigns undertaken by NGOs since Make Poverty History in 2005. The pilot study was carried out to obtain background information on the research environment, and was useful for clarifying the basic assumptions in formulating my research questions. I problematised the research around the contradiction between the falling level of public understanding about global poverty and inequality, and the steady increase in public donations to NGOs in the UK (Darnton & Kirk, 2011). I formulated three research questions in examining the role of campaigning for public understanding, and for investigating the practices of two categories of NGOs that undertake campaigning on global poverty and inequality.

The main research question focused on the opportunities that exist for the involvement of campaigners in identifying and framing knowledge on the global poverty campaign issue. The second question was on identifying the actors involved in defining the campaign issue, and the third question examined how the practises of student-led

campaign organisations can contribute to understanding campaigning as promoting public deliberation. In addressing the research problem, I adopted critical constructivism as an epistemological position that makes a link between the knower, what is known, and the knowing process. While recognising the distinction in the domains and categories of knowledge, this epistemological position maintains that history and experience inevitably reflect in all forms of knowledge (Kincheloe, 1995). This approach proceeds from a theoretical assumption that "... all knowledge is an interpreted representation of reality" and are therefore, contingent, contextual, contested and framed (Rogers & Horrocks 2010: 128 cited in Brown, 2013).

I adopted the organisational knowledge perspective that proposes knowledge as contextual and interpreted information that organisations create in collaboration with actors that apply the knowledge in accomplishing a set objective (Davenport & Prusak, 1998; Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). I also applied Castells (1996, 2000) Network Society theory that proposes a diffused era of knowledge production in which diverse actors interact and collaborate in constructing knowledge, and bypassing in the process, the hierarchies of dominant knowledge actors. I used Gibbon et al.'s (1994:6) proposition of a problem-based and socially produced knowledge in making the link between organisational knowledge theory and the diffused arenas of knowledge production in the Network society. The integration of these concepts and ideas provided a framework with which to navigate the interdisciplinary and multifaceted dynamics of the research problem. I adopted the collective case study approach in examining trends in the practices of the two categories of NGOs, the first, that undertakes campaigning as ancillary activity, and the second, student-led organisations that undertake campaigning as their core activity.

I adopted a methodological approach that combined face-to-face interviews, document reviews, visual methodology on online interaction, as well as questionnaires administered to student-led campaigners. I adopted the purposive sampling technique, a non-probability sampling technique suited for where the researcher is familiar with the sample population, and the sampling not primarily aimed at achieving proportionate representation (Creswell, 1994). The rationale for purposive sampling was to identify quickly the source of relevant data that represents the typical instance of where rich and credible data can be derived. The sampled INGOs Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire are leading actors with a long history and influence in the production of knowledge for DE and advocacy. The sampled student-led campaign organisations included People and Planet and Medsin that are two of the most active student-led campaign groups with membership across universities in the UK. The visual observation of the nature of interaction in the 'IF' coalition campaign, which involved over 200 NGOs across the UK

was particularly useful in strengthening the data for generating theoretical propositions. It also provided an opportunity to observe the interaction between organisations and campaigners on social media across the UK and Ireland.

The rationale for using the collective case study research design was to gain access to the processes by which the NGOs produce and frame knowledge for their campaigning on global poverty, and the opportunities for campaigners to participate in that process. I identified patterns replicated within each group in undertaking a cross case analysis of the two categories, and applied theory in generating the concluding propositions (Yin, 2011). To increase validity, the data analysis was undertaken using a process of triangulation that constantly cross-checked evidence from different sources of data, and ensuring my interpretations were guided by the theoretical framework and methodology adopted for the thesis (Thorogood & Green, 2004).

8.3 Locating the study in related literature

The literature review chapter played an important role in contextualising the research as well as provide secondary materials to support the interpretation of data. The first part of the literature review provided an insight into the related debates and discourses around NGOs as civil society organisations and their relationship with campaigners. It also discussed the knowledge dimension of their representation of global poverty, and the importance of the frames NGOs used in communicating their campaign message.

Particular attention was given to the discussions on the role of NGOs as development knowledge producers, and their assumed role as proxy for civil society. Lang's (2013) discussion on modes of advocacy and the communication strategies NGOs use in reaching out to the publics and the implication for their spheres of influence was particularly useful in conceptualising NGO campaigning. Dogra's (2012:2) discussion on NGO as "carriers of cultural and material knowledge" was important in formulating the subsidiary research questions as well as analysing the contradictory use of charity and advocacy frames in their campaign on global poverty. The literature on the type of identities that result from the inherent contradictions in NGO campaign practices was critical in applying my conceptual framework (Ollis, 2011; Yanacopulus & Baillie Smith 2008).

The second part of the literature review addressed the discussions around the conceptions of knowledge applied in this thesis, and specifically, Castells' (2004) concepts of *communication power* and *informationalism*. The interpretation of 'movements' as a repertoire for collective action was influenced by Touraine's (2004) social movement tradition of *resource mobilisation* as a way of mobilising actors across

diverse locations in challenging the binary structures of social domination. Under this formulation, movement was conceived as a repertoire for public communication and a strategy that can also be used by non-membership organisations in achieving collective action. Organisational knowledge theory provided a conceptual basis for constructing campaigners as stakeholders in applying knowledge aimed at accomplishing set goals and offered an alternative perspective to the social learning discourse in DE. The conception of “knowledge” as factual accounts of observed events interpreted into actionable information provided a way of analysing the messages NGOs use in their campaigning on global poverty (Leonard & Sansiper, 1998; Davenport & Prusak, 1998). Under this formulation, individuals that apply knowledge aimed at achieving a set objective were also considered stakeholders in its production and dissemination.

8.4 Presenting and analysing the data

I stated my positionality as a researcher with insider experience, and an awareness of the challenges and opportunities my subjective knowledge as a practitioner presented in undertaking this research. In presenting and analysing the data, I adopted a reflexive approach that enabled depth and rigour in using the qualitative design. In the fifth and sixth chapters, I presented the research findings, and sign posted my arguments from evidence that emerged from the data. The fifth chapter presented data on Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire that were constructed as a bounded unit and signified as ‘INGO case’. Data from the second bounded case that comprised of People and planet, and Medsin referred to as ‘Student-led organisation case’ was presented in the sixth chapter. Tentative assertions were generated at the end of the two chapters from where the factors for the cross case analysis were identified. I also used the IF campaign that involved a coalition of over 200 NGOs to illustrate trends in the practices of the two cases.

Drawing on the literature, I further considered the implications of the clustering of charity appeals and campaign knowledge. I then proceeded to undertake a discussion and analysis of my findings in the seventh chapter.

8.5 What the study found out

The study found that the sampled INGOs (Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire) engaged in combined messaging that clustered charity and social justice frames in communicating their campaigning. This approach was considered a top-down approach in which the campaign issue was decided by the policy and research teams, and with little opportunity for the involvement of the campaign unit and support groups that were involved only at the stage of promoting action. The top-down approach to knowledge

on the campaign issue included the use of images of desperation that furthered a narrow perspective detached from the historical context of the root causes of global poverty. Both categories of NGOs understood the concept of knowledge from its traditional meaning as the outcome of research undertaken through coded processes and procedures applied in discovering objective truth. However, they also considered the representation of global poverty in their campaign as *informational knowledge* by which campaigners are mobilised to take action. The study also found that in the INGO case, major campaigns aimed at challenging global inequality were framed around the wider humanitarian charity agendas of the organisation, and this was reflected in their representation of global poverty.

The study revealed that apart from an amorphous public audience, Oxfam had no identifiable cohesive group they could describe as ‘campaigners’ or people acting collectively and purposefully to achieve a set of shared objective. While CAFOD considered its Catholic and Christian audience as its core constituency, they were not engaged as a cohesive campaign structure therefore the framing of the campaign was not different from how it was presented to the wider campaign audience. Although Trócaire maintained an identifiable group of campaigners, there was no indication of their involvement or participation in identifying campaign issues.

The campaign issue and informational knowledge was decided, framed and handed down for action. While campaigners in Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire,²⁰ were co-opted to take action on issues identified by the organisation, campaigners in People and Planet and Medsin consisted of student memberships across UK universities. The study also found that the framing of campaign knowledge on abstract sound bites about the campaign had the implication of reinforcing the charity narratives found in NGO media and fundraising appeals. The hybridisation of campaign knowledge to include charity appeals therefore meant that the campaign audience was frequently exposed to the aid and humanitarian charity frames used by the INGO case. The use of images that evoked a particular type of emotional response was also analysed as part of the shallow frames that de-contextualised knowledge on global poverty, hence providing little opportunity for the involvement of campaigners.

The communication of the campaign was done mainly through the campaign websites of NGOs, and in particular, the social media. Facebook and email emerged as the most commonly used medium of communication between organisations, their campaign audiences and the amorphous campaigners. The nature of interaction on the Facebook

²⁰ Trócaire also had an identifiable group of campaigners made up of past and present volunteers that engaged in offline actions in addition to their online actions with amorphous campaigners.

was more of 'telling' and 'promoting' the activities of the organisation which was done predominantly through the use of images supported by paraphrased testimonies and sound bites on the campaign issue. This type of communication elicited simple monologues such as the use of 'like' and similar consumerist forms of responses linked to online culture of *clicktivism* White (2010) described as a detached form of engagement. This nature of communication did not encourage the involvement of campaigners in the process of framing knowledge on the campaign issues, and therefore, incongruous with the connection critical constructivism makes between the knower the known, and the process of knowing. Although the student-led organisations used and interacted on social media in a similar way the INGO case did, they differed in the context and frame of reference they establish in the face-to-face encounters in events that underline their interaction on Facebook.

The educational approach to campaigning the INGO case and student-led organisation case adopt for their projects in post-primary school is important for the frame of reference and perspective young adults bring as autonomous actors. It also influenced if their emotions resulted to the passion to interrogate or the compassion to give. For example, the introduction of young people to activism on local and community issues by which they made connections with global issues differed from INGO case approaches that are designed around the liberal education curriculum. It also emerged from the investigation that the relationship between INGOs and their campaign audience is tenuous, and detached individual actions are aggregated as collective action. The implication was that the three sampled INGOs Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire considered their campaign activity as the organisation's initiative and their campaign audience as potential actors that can be mobilised or persuaded to take particular forms of action.

As Ollis (2008) noted, the belief in a commonly defined cause gives a collective purpose to the actions groups take, and where it is based on social justice, such actions evoke emotions of passion. I argued that an individual action in campaigning framed on charity aid lends to compassionate responses, and the projection of the 'self' above shared values that can be multiplied. The practice where INGOs promote certain types of actions that encourage a detached form of engagement offered little opportunity for campaigners to reflect on held assumptions and to seek further knowledge on the campaign issue (Ollis, 2008). In proposing a more reflexive and dialectical approach to conceptualising campaigning, I noted that the sampled INGOs Oxfam, Trócaire and CAFOD that are not primarily campaigning organisations are influenced by their wider humanitarian charity agendas. The Network Society and the organisational approach to knowledge, therefore, offer NGOs an opportunity to provide

the campaigner and autonomous knower the opportunity to be involved in the process of creating knowledge on the campaign issue.

The plural knowledge process and the participatory practices of student-led organisation case provided evidence of the possibilities the diffused knowledge environment can offer for the involvement of NGO campaigners in the era of ICT and Internet based campaigning. The student-led organisations conceive of, and used their networks as a communication paradigm, and also as agency that sustain the diffusion of power in the process of framing the campaign message. Networks also served for integrating subaltern knowledge that is filtered and appropriated by the gatekeeping practices of dominant development knowledge producers. The communication channels and network the student-led organisation case established with social actors in the Global South resulted in the inclusion of the perspective of assumed beneficiaries of NGO campaigning into mainstream discourse about global poverty.

8.6 Main arguments

This research referred to the Finding Frames report as providing the baseline assumptions in examining NGO campaigning as an activity that can contribute to increasing public understanding of global poverty. It described how campaigners are conceptualised in two categories of NGOs, and analysed how NGO campaigners can contribute in multiplying knowledge about global poverty and inequality. The literature on the strategies NGOs adopt for communicating with the public was examined within the context of the potential to provoke public deliberation.

The overarching argument is that an approach to NGO campaigning that involved campaigners in identifying and framing the campaign issue provided them opportunities to generate frames in constructing their knowledge as stakeholders, and as catalysts that can multiply knowledge for public understanding about global poverty. Such an approach required that campaigners themselves are knowledgeable about the campaign issue, and that their motivation is based on common values and a shared frame of reference. I therefore argued that the diffused knowledge and digital network era present possibilities for INGOs to explore opportunities that enable their campaigners to be involved in negotiating meanings, and to become multipliers of knowledge for public understanding.

Drawing on organisational knowledge theory and critical constructivism, I proposed that the framing of knowledge has implications for the way the campaign audience perceive and understand global poverty. This argument is supported by evidence from the practices of student-led organisations that showed how campaigners were involved in

framing and multiplying social justice narratives in their campaigning about global poverty. Reference was also made to existing literature on campaigning that acknowledge the ability of student-led campaigning to create new symbols of a social problem and introduce a new narrative that enable personal reflection (Leipold, 2000:82).

In addition to the moral arguments, a knowledge process that disaggregates voice and allows the inclusion of marginalised knowledge by actors from the Global South will engender pluralism in the way global poverty is framed and presented to the public. I argued that the practices in which INGOs maintain a detached relationship with an amorphous campaign audience undermined the essence of agency, peer influence, and group identity necessary for collective action. Using concept of 'movement' as a strategy for mobilising collective action, I referred to Touraine's (2004) resource mobilisation tradition of social movements, which propose the ability of formal and non-membership organisations to mobilise collective action. The resource mobilisation approach takes into account the diffused centres of power in activating social actors, and emphasise the importance of common identity for collective action. It also considers movement as a mode of engagement and a way of organising collective action.

Considering the unique opportunities Network Society offered NGOs to mediate the encounter of their campaigners with diverse forms and sources of knowledge, I argued that the clustering of charity and social justice frames in campaign messages constrain opportunities for campaigners to engage with knowledge about global poverty. I further argued that the top-down presentation of campaign knowledge framed on narratives of charity aid diminished the incentive for campaigners to seek or engage with knowledge on the root causes of global inequality.

8.7 NGO global poverty campaign successes: a gap in knowledge?

In order to understand how public perception and campaign actions are influenced by knowledge on the conflict issue, I used three examples to illustrate what the two NGO cases considered successful campaigns, and the basis for mobilising campaigners to continue to take similar actions. The first example from CAFOD showed how getting the campaign issue on the agenda of policy makers through online petitions did not necessarily translate to increased levels of understanding as post MPH surveys on public perception of poverty indicated (Darnton, 2011:19; COI, 2011). This thesis applied Lang's (2013) analysis of how institutional modes of advocacy adopted by INGOs limit the opportunities for public deliberation and therefore, engagement that

can increase public understanding. The CAFOD 'success story' illustration highlighted the framing of campaign message on charity aid and Christian social teaching values as the solution to ending hunger and global poverty, and the prescribed actions were based on compassionate responses that placed a burden of 'giving' on the individual, and the Northern public.

The second illustration from Oxfam showed how a single successful campaign only deals with a single case such as the Ethiopian coffee producers, and therefore, limiting to the symptom of a wider structure of global inequality detracting from the root causes. Such successful campaign actions would have to be replicated in similar symptoms or instances of corporate or trade injustice, while ignoring the structural causes and diminishing the opportunities for increasing public understanding. The third illustration from student-led campaign groups showed the same isolated successes similar to the INGO case, but with a fundamental difference in how the campaign knowledge was framed to expose the root causes. The student-led organisation case also used a strategy that focused on public communication that not only provided opportunities for campaigners to construct their knowledge, but also to multiple their narratives through deliberation on what they defined as unjust. The processes they adopted in generating frames and communicating the campaign issue involved the campaigners at the different stages of constructing the campaign knowledge.

While the student-led organisations also campaign on single cases, the textual content, visual images and video messages they used were framed around social justice. They also used their networks to sustain group identity, and as a tool for extending their narratives in mediated virtual arenas where they engaged in counterdiscourse. The network was therefore, used in its communicative dimension to bridge their capacity gaps, as well as to legitimise the knowledge of marginalised groups and the assumed beneficiaries of campaign actions.

8.8 Contributions to knowledge

The research responds to a common view in DE discourse that NGO campaigning offers little prospects as a platform for increasing public understanding about the root causes of global poverty and inequality. This thesis contributes to knowledge in the fields of GE and NGO campaigning on global poverty from three broad considerations. Firstly, it contributes to the literature on NGO campaigning in its proposition of campaigners as NGO 'issue publics', and therefore, potential catalysts that can multiply knowledge for public understanding. In this regard, the thesis highlighted the importance of group identity that enable student-led organisations generate and activate similar frames which they use to multiply their narratives. It therefore

contributed in extending the debate on the need for NGOs to engage more strategically with their campaigners in ways that can promote group identity, and the generation of common frames. It also shows how the constructivist framework can be applied in analysing how the diffused processes of knowledge production in the Network Society provide opportunities for the involvement of campaigners as knowledge actors that activate counterpublics.

The second contribution this thesis makes is the application of organisational knowledge theory in analysing the role of campaigners as stakeholders that construct and disseminate knowledge aimed at accomplishing objectives defined within the organisation. It also adds a perspective to the debate in DE on forms and arenas of knowledge production for autonomous learning, and in NGO campaigning, the modes of communication that promote public deliberation. The role of images and simiotic forms of interaction on social media emerged as important for generating and multiplying frames. The concept of *campaign knowledge* was also proposed as a way of conceptualising the informational content of NGO campaigning that makes a distinction between raising awareness about a campaign action, and communication aimed at increasing public understanding about a campaign issue.

The third contribution of the thesis is the proposition of Mode1 and Mode2 campaigning that offers a dialectical way of analysing the practices of NGO campaigning as a process that can result to two types of 'global campaigners': the potential catalyst that can generate frames and multiply public understanding, and the compassionate and passive campaigner that acts on predetermined frames. This schema offers a way of understanding NGO campaigning in an era of the Network Society characterised by diffused communication power and pluralism in the sources and forms of knowledge. Mode1 campaigning was associated with raising public awareness sufficient to prompt detached actions aimed at getting the attention of policy makers. Mode2 campaigning on the other hand was linked to the activities of knowledgeable advocates that can multiply understanding among their peers and the wider public. These two modes of campaigning reflect ideals that can be used to argue how the modes of advocacy and communication strategies NGOs adopt have implications for how campaigning provides a platform for enhancing public understanding.

With specific reference to DE, the study offers a way of analysing DE and NGO campaigning as complementary endeavours that contribute to navigating issues of indoctrination that confront curriculum-based approaches to increasing public understanding. It therefore attempts to bridge the gap between DE and NGO

campaigning by highlighting the importance of mediated publics and self-directed ways of knowing about global poverty.

8.9 Limitations of the study

The limitations of the study can be found in three main areas; firstly, is the number of samples used in carrying out the investigation. The initial research design was to sample seven organisations in order to achieve larger numbers of interviewees to strengthen the basis for generalisability. Given the time and resources available for the research, it was not possible to include that number of sample organisations as only the three organisations responded within the study timeline for identifying the samples. For example, it took a waiting period of thirteen months, several visits between Ireland and UK, emails and telephone calls to secure a commitment and dates with Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire due to their busy schedule and involvement in planning the IF campaign.

With the student-led organisations, the problem was to plan and wait for a time the coincided with their national events when all the relevant officers could be reached, as well as the opportunity to administer questionnaires to their campaigners. The limitation of the number of participants in the samples was however mitigated by the fact the all the organisations included in the research were leading actors in development knowledge production and global poverty campaigning in the UK. The purposive sampling technique in combination with the collective case study afforded the opportunity to include the most active, experienced and influential organisations. The visual method used in gathering data from the Facebook activities of over 200 NGOs involved in the collaborative IF campaign strengthened the validity of the findings. The method that involved observing the nature and density of interaction in the integrated Facebook activity of the collaborative IF campaign enriched the source and scope of the data.

Another limitation relating to the data process was that questionnaires could only be administered to campaigners in the student-led organisations as it was not possible to obtain the contact details of NGO campaigners. This led to adjustments in the research design which had aimed to administer questionnaire to campaigners in both sample categories. Campaigners in the INGO category were largely an amorphous audience and therefore difficult to identify, and the organisations were unable to facilitate third party survey of their campaigners and support groups. This led to re-framing the research problem limiting it to the communication practices of the organisations and the interaction with their campaigners in building theoretical explanations that enable a heuristic understanding of the wider population. This implies the finding can only serve

for naturalistic generalisation in which readers gain insight through intuitive reflection on the analysis and evidence presented. I used secondary surveys by InterMedia (2012) report in the UK, and the Suas (2013) survey on young people's perceptions of global poverty in Ireland, in triangulating the interviews and data from visual observation of the Facebook. These surveys contributed in providing the basis of certain assumptions about the perceptions of young people.

Although the thesis argued for involving campaigners as stakeholders in framing the campaign, it included only two types of NGOs in the data sample. This limits the extent to which the findings can be applied to other types of NGOs such as 'Restless Development', and 'Global Justice Now' that are more professionalised but radical campaign organisations. However, the concept of Mode1 and Mode2 campaigning takes into consideration the wide variety of membership and non-membership NGO campaigners, and can therefore be useful for understanding the practices of a variety of NGOs that undertake campaigning. Another limitation was the absence of a robust critique on the theoretical component of the discussions on Castells' Network Society, and Organisational knowledge theory. Both theories have mainly been analysed from their application in corporate environment of profit organisations, and existing critique is not relevant to non-profit civil society organisations. For example, the concept of knowledge-based information was not fully developed by Castells as he focused on the implications ICT in social relation of production. Similarly, Organisational knowledge theory focused on the activities of actors operating within profit driven organisations. In addition to the suggestions in the next section, this gap provides an opportunity for examining the application of these theories to civil society organisations such as NGOs that collaborate with social actors that operate outside the organisation.

8.10 Areas for further research

I identified three areas for further research that emerged from this thesis. The first is to explore further my proposition of the notion of *campaign knowledge* as a form of socially produced knowledge framed for public awareness and engagement with global poverty. This form of knowledge I explored in the context of organisational knowledge and the Network Society can be further developed in terms of how the frames generated in counterpublics can be extended beyond online deliberations to offline engagement, and how nonmembership campaigners can be involved. The second area is my proposition of Mode1 and Mode2 types of campaigning and how they can serve as a framework for NGOs and policy institutions in designing and analysing and improving the NGO campaigning about global poverty. Such a framework offers a useful way of understanding different types of campaigning, the identities they shape,

and how NGOs can mediate the development of their campaigners as multipliers of knowledge.

The third area for further research pertains to how INGOs with non-membership campaigners can engage more strategically with an identifiable component of their campaign audience in generating group identity necessary for generating a common frame of reference. Such a research would concern investigating how INGOs can engage more strategically with their support groups in identifying and framing the campaign issue. This will contribute in generating group identity necessary for purposeful collective action, and in enabling their campaigners become catalysts that can contribute to increasing public understanding about global poverty.

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APPENDICES

Appendix one: Information sheet

Project information

Title of research: Exploring the knowledge dimension of NGO campaigning on global poverty: a Network Society perspective

The study examines how INGOs construct knowledge on development and global poverty and the implications for the way the public perceive and engage with global development issues. The study will specifically focus on the knowledge INGOs use to design campaign and advocacy programmes and how young people aged 17-25 encounter, perceive and engage global poverty issues. The **aim** of the study is to explore possible relationships between INGO knowledge process on development and global poverty and the modes of communication in NGO campaigning. The **objective** is to understand the process by which knowledge for campaigning on global poverty is framed and communicated NGO campaigners in terms of who is involved in identifying the issues and stories communicated. It is particularly interested in how campaigners can be involved in constructing their knowledge and become catalysts for public understanding on global poverty. The study is undertaken within the context of the advances in Internet and computer technology (ICT) and its influences on current conceptions of the knowledge society.

The research will include 4 sample organisations (Oxfam and CAFOD in the UK and Trócaire in Ireland) selected through purposeful sampling of INGOs engaged in producing educational and public engagement resources.

Overall Methodology will include face to face interviews and content analysis of internet flat forms to understand how knowledge for development is constructed, questionnaires and none participant observation to explore how knowledge is interpreted by the public. Hermeneutic dialectics and thematic methods of analysis will be applied to understand how the Internet influences the knowledge production process.

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Appendix two: CONSENT FORM

I have been given an explanation of the research project and what it aims to investigate

I understand that the information I provide will be anonymous and I will not be identified in any analyses or reports resulting from the data resulting from the data collection

I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information traceable to me without giving reason

I agree to take part in this research through participation in the interview/questionnaire

Signed

Print Name:

Date:

All information provided will be treated with outmost confidentiality and used only for the purpose of the study. Where requested, the interpretation of data collected will be made available before final publication of research. The study will be governed by the BERA ethical guideline and will obtain the approval from the Institute of Education research ethical review process.

Son Gyoh: +353 (0)876644154; email:songyoh20@yahoo.co.uk

Appendix three: Interview questions for International development organisations

1. How is the content / information used for your campaign on global health and development identified and who is involved in framing the message?
2. Do you regard the information used for campaign on global health and development as knowledge (B) Is your campaign different from advocacy work and how?
3. What are the processes involved in generating and framing the knowledge used for public engagement campaigns and who are your target audience?
4. Which has more influence on how the global health issue in your campaign is identified: , 1, smaller network groups; 2, the bigger international NGO community? And how so?
5. Does your organisation provide any platform for young adults /the public to get involved in the identifying global campaign issues in your organisation? If yes, how?
6. What is the major aim of your campaign and advocacy work with young people at post -secondary schools? action on the issues or knowledge on the issues
7. Does the internet/social network play any role in how issues are identified and knowledge communicated for campaign on global development and how?
8. What sort of campaign action does Medsin take inside the UK and are this different from developing countries?
9. What organisations do you work with, in and outside the UK
10. Which has been your biggest campaign issue in the past 2 years, how was the campaign issue identified?
11. What time frame and how do you evaluate your campaign activity?

APPENDIX Four: Questionnaire for campaigners

Tick one or more answers as appropriate

1. What are your key source (s) of knowledge/information on development and global poverty-
A, NGO campaigns/info, **B**, TV , **C**, Radio, **D**, Newspaper, **E**, educational journals
2. Which of these sources do you consider the most informative on knowledge on global poverty?
A, **B**, **C**, **D**, **E**, (you may tick any 2 that apply most)
3. To what extent does this source of knowledge provide you a better understanding of the nature and causes of global poverty?
A, Very helpful **B**, Fairly Good, **C**, not helpful, **D**, Not sure
4. Is your perception of global poverty influenced by the information encountered in INGO campaigns programmes? **A**, Very much, **B**, No influence **C**, a little influence **D**, not sure
5. Which of these mediums best communicates lived experience on development and global poverty: **A**, Campaigns, blogs, **B**, social media (face book Youtube) **C**, testimonies from communities/individuals? **D**, Other (specify)
6. Do you think it is important that young adults are involved in the process of identifying knowledge issues on development and global poverty is generated? **A**, important, **B**, not important, **C**, makes no difference **D**, don't know/not sure
7. Do INGO campaign issues influence the type or nature of action you take on development /global poverty? **A**, yes **B**, No
8. Do you feel the knowledge you encountered in INGO campaign messages reflect or represent the perspective of people in developing countries? **A**, YES **B**, No **C**, not sure **D**, Not very accurate
9. What in your opinion are the top three challenges for developing countries?
A, Access to health, **B**, access to education, **C**, corruption, **D**, international debt, **E**, starvation and food shortages
10. How do you think these issues can be resolved?
A, Greater aid support for NGO effort **B**, increase Trade and market opportunities, **C**, direct aid support for less developed countries **D**, Targeted educational and health programmes
11. Who has the main responsibility for addressing challenges in developing countries? **A**, Govt. of developing countries, **B**, Govt. of developed countries, **C**, International NGOs?
12. Are you familiar with the **Grow** Campaign on Oxfam website **A**, NO **B**, YES
13. Are you familiar with CAFOD 'great generation' or 'hungry for change' campaign **A**, YES, **B** NO,

APPENDIX Five: Interviews with communication and campaign officials Medsin

What is the source(s) of the information/knowledge for your campaign on global development issues? B, Is the content of your campaign and advocacy work influenced by the campaign issues on big INGO websites and how?

Do you think it is important that young adults get involved in the process of identifying knowledge issues on development and global poverty? If yes, how can this be enhanced/ achieved?

What has been your biggest campaign issue this year, what time frame,

How was the issue identified and what were the processes of generating the knowledge?

Are you familiar with any current campaigns by Oxfam, CAFOD OR Concern/Trócaire that relate with your work development and poverty?

What is the major aim of your campaigns with young people? - Action on the issues or knowledge on the issues and how do you evaluate the impact on young people?

To what extent do you think the knowledge in International NGO (INGO) campaign programmes reflect the voices from developing countries?

Which are the three most important INGOs that influence the work of your organisation on development and global poverty?

What role if any, do the fields of development or global education have on your campaign and advocacy work?

APPENDIX Six: Summary of outcome of pilot study

Title: INGO knowledge processes: from ‘development knowledge’ to knowledge for Global development education

Introduction

- a pilot study to find out how International Nongovernmental Organisations (INGO) generate the knowledge for Development and Citizenship education.
- Specifically, how the knowledge issues are identified, who is involved in narrating the stories on global poverty
- the opportunities INGO knowledge processes offered for encounters with other sources and forms of knowledge.
- the pilot study was undertaken with Concern Worldwide and Christian Aid Ireland through in-depth face to face and telephone interview

Context

- Based discussions on the need for a paradigm shift from ‘public support’ for ‘public engagement’ on development and global poverty (see Finding Frames Darnton and Kirk, 2011).
- studies suggest a relationship between the way knowledge on global poverty is framed and how the public perceive global development
- Era where advances in digital communication technology enable encounters with multiple knowledge sources and nature of knowledge and narrative linked to ‘knower perception.’

Theoretical implications

- The ease, intensity, speed and counter power that enables encounter with different forms and sources of knowledge see opportunity for subjugated knowledge and other narratives
- converge with the ideas of the network /knowledge society knowledge pluralism
- Concept of problem-solving /issues based knowledge built on prior and shared experience than expert discovered applied knowledge(Castells,2005; Gilbert, 2008; Kincheloe,2008)

Key findings

- knowledge used for development education comes from four main sources: INGO community; development cooperation institutions e.g., DFID & Irish aid; regional institutions/agencies e.g., EU, UN; the academic community - research publications & projects
- INGOs have the closest link with local experience, therefore ‘validators’ of ‘local knowledge.’
- that INGOs do not design their websites as a platform for interaction between its audiences/partners.
- Websites used mainly for fund raising and communicating their work to funders/ public, the internet provides an additional function of communicating and coordinating campaigns

From development knowledge to global education resources

- INGO Country partner programmes (in developing countries) emerged as an important source of generating knowledge on development and poverty.

- At this micro level, the local Knowledge is obtained from those with the lived experience (CFSC)
- The Country programmes officials work with local partners and collate information on lived experience on a wide range of development issues
- The information is processed into 'worthy knowledge' through selective gate-keeping and transmitted to the INGO head office where it is held as validated local knowledge
- The knowledge transmitted includes text and visual images used for educational programmes, campaign/advocacy and fundraising activities.

Levels of transmutation of 'local' knowledge

- a transmutation from 'development knowledge' to knowledge for development education on global poverty- Through issues gatekeeping
- a further process of de-contextualisation when it gets detached from the context and transmitted for appropriation into the mainstream narrative

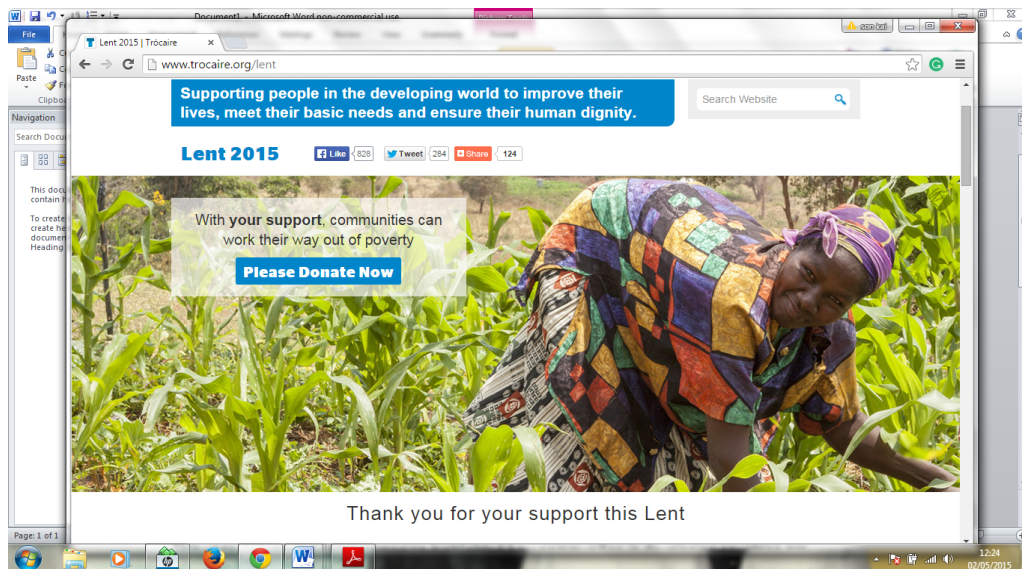
Appendix seven A: Trade injustice Vs. Ambivalent images used in framing campaigns



A1: Sweatshop Free Week of Action: Typical Campaign images found on People and Planet website



A2: Images used by bigger youth-inspired organisations such as Restless for trade injustices narratives



A3: Trócaire poverty reduction campaign aimed at supporting income for people in Africa



Appendix Seven B: Email invite to a face-to-face event

Hi Son

Last year I went to the **Summer Gathering - People & Planet's annual training event** - and it was an incredible experience. I want to encourage you to come along this year.

It was amazing to meet so many wonderful fellow activists who were working so hard for a better world. **The event really made me feel like part of a national movement.** The environment was very welcoming and made me feel like I could really share my thoughts and ideas openly. The training we received and the ideas shared by everyone taught me new skills and helped improve the campaigning I went on to do with my own group back at university.

The **great food and awesome entertainment** were just extra bonuses on top of an already superb 4 days filled with truly the best that activism has to offer!



Summer Gathering 2015 is just around the corner. It's all happening 2–6 July Dinting, a short train ride from Manchester. Come along for 4 days of fun, action and training. You'll learn how to win campaigns, work with the media and take direct action. Plus camp fires and parties!

[Book your tickets before 10 June](#) to get an early bird discount – all your food, training and accommodation for just £40!