

**The hero in foreign aid communication:
The Planner vs. Searcher approach in foreign aid
organizations' storytelling**

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Abstract

This research examines how foreign aid organizations construct the hero in storytelling in videos on YouTube. The study aims to identify a Planner vs. Searcher approach in the stories of aid organizations by applying elements from narrative theory and storytelling theory to different approaches on how to solve poverty. Narrative theory and storytelling theory suggests that stories include certain characters including a hero as well as a problem and solution. This was related to the Searcher vs. Planner approach on how to solve poverty. A Planner approach focuses on external help and hence provides external solutions that should be pushed forward by external heroes. The Searcher approach, on the other hand, suggests for the locals to be the hero in their own story by following their own solutions. With a narrative analysis, the study investigates whether the hero and solution in aid organization's storytelling is local or external to identify a Planner or a Searcher approach. The study focuses on UNICEF and Save the Children. 50 videos per organization in the time 2010-2015 are analyzed. The analysis studied the structure and the meaning generated in this by focusing on how certain elements are defined i.e. the characters, problem and solution. These elements were categorized according to Propp's seven spheres of action and aid approaches. The most frequent pattern identified in 71 out of 100 videos was an external hero with an external solution which indicates a Planner approach. The second most frequent found in 18 videos was a local hero with an external solution. This also indicated a Planner approach because the focus was on an external solution. For both of these patterns, the external characters like the aid organization and donor were constructed as crucial for reaching the solution while the locals were constructed as suffering and too helpless to reach any solution by themselves. Only 6 out of 100 videos showed local heroes with local solutions. For the case of Save the Children which had 4 of these videos, the local solution had been framed as a problem. Hence, the Searcher approach which was reflected in the videos was not acknowledged. Furthermore, several elements relating to a Planner approach were identified in the videos like a strong emphasis on the donor, the aid organization's definition of the problem reflecting Western values and a tendency to portray the poor as suffering and helpless. Based on this, it was concluded that the stories represent a Planner approach both through small elements but also on an overall level.

Key words

Storytelling, Storytelling elements, Foreign Aid Organization Communication, Planner vs. Searcher approach, Local vs. External hero, Local vs. External solution

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1. Introduction & Research Question

1.1 Stories of Africa as the lost continent

In 2012, the children aid organization Invisible Children launched a campaign to put focus on stopping the use of children soldiers in Uganda by having Joseph Kony, the leader of the guerilla group The Lord's Resistance Army, arrested. This Kony campaign became one of the most viral campaigns ever and was highly successful in creating awareness of the problem of child abuse (Madianou, 2013). On the contrary, the campaign was perceived as *unsuccessful* due to its lack of achieving an outcome (Von Engelhardt & Jansz, 2014) and its representation of "The White Man's Burden" (Waldorf, 2012). The concept of the white man's burden comes from Kipling's (1899) poem *The White Man's Burden* which explains the US imperialism. Today, this concept is used to describe the idea of the Western world being the superior savior of a helpless Africa (Easterly, 2006). This concept was connected to the Kony campaign by several African critics (Mackey, 2012). The critique was directed at how the campaign told the story of the Africans – a story that gave power to America, and portrayed the Africans as the helpless poor who must be saved (Mackey, 2012). British journalist Dowden (2008) touches upon the problem of outsiders telling Africa's story. He states that the story always portrays Africa in a patronizing manner, and argues that Africa, through stories, has been defined by the West, but shouldn't (Dowden, 2008). This relates to the metaphoric definition of Africa as "the lost continent" or "the dark continent" (Jarosz, 1992). An example of such a story is Conrad's (1899) *Heart of Darkness*, which was criticized for depicting a preconceived, negative image of Africa (Achebe, 1978). The Kony campaign is notable as it illustrates how this narrative practice of the White Man's Burden still exists today and not only in fiction but also in the stories of aid organizations. One can defend this and argue that the Kony campaign is one unique case of a campaign failure. Nonetheless, in 2014 a similar campaign became viral when 276 school girls were kidnapped by the militant group Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria (Maxwell, 2015). An online campaign #Bringourgirlsback where citizens shared the hashtag online including Michelle Obama became viral (Shearlaw, 2015). Even though, the girls are still being held by Boko Haram and the campaign has hence received a great deal of criticism for its lacking outcome (Maxwell, 2015). Like the Kony campaign, there was also drawn links between #Bringbackourgirls and imperialism even though this campaign originated in the local area unlike, the Kony campaign. When the campaign circulated to the North, celebrity engagement and an attempt to push Northern governments for involvement would portray the Nigerians as helpless

victims who should be saved by the West while critics would hold the Nigerian government responsible for the girl's return (Maxwell, 2015). These cases indicate a narrative practice of (Western) campaigns to reflect a "white man" hero who saves the helpless poor.

1.2 "The white man" as the hero in fundraising stories

The white man's burden is the topic of a significant debate on foreign aid. Central in the debate are the economists Jeffrey Sachs and William Easterly, who do not agree on how extreme poverty should be solved. Sachs (2005) has devised a plan on how to overcome extreme poverty in 25 years. The plan reflects a need for the poor to be helped by Western countries to do so making the Western man the hero. Easterly (2006) calls it the White Man's Burden arguing that this is a patronizing idea of the white man. An opposing idea to this is his Searchers approach that suggests that the poor save themselves as they can understand and adapt to local conditions making them the hero in their own story (Easterly, 2006). An essential criticism of Easterly (2014) is the Planner approach's tendency to portray a twisted image of Africa in fundraising campaigns. He finds that Planners will portray themselves as the hero who saves the suffering poor. This does indeed signify an imperialistic belief of the white man to be the hero who should civilize and save the poor as found in the Kony campaign, #Bringourgirlsback and other stories – a potential tendency that is worth to investigate. Easterly (2006) proves how a Planner approach does not function and rejects arguments for this approach with the use of statistics. Nonetheless, his economic approach does not focus on how this "white man" hero i.e. the Planner approach is constructed in stories about Africa. Since it is suggested that the White Man's Burden, relating to a Planner approach, is constructed in stories, I find that this should be proved with a constructivist approach.

As Easterly's theory of the Planners vs. Searchers approach is relatively new, it appears to be an unexplored topic in relation to its existence in the communication of foreign aid organizations. Easterly (2014) does touch upon Planner fundraising campaign's patronizing portray of the poor in an article for Slate Magazine, but with his economic background he has not imperially investigated this. The White Man's Burden has been identified in campaign stories of foreign aid organizations in relation to the Kony campaign but not empirically. This is an important gap to fill as these constructions of the White Man's Burden and the image of Africa as the lost continent live through these stories – and these constructions relate well to a Planner approach. To my knowledge, no research has previously studied how foreign aid organizations construct the heroes in their stories nor does any previous research investigate how a Planner vs. Searcher

approach is constructed in aid organization's storytelling. Furthermore, there is little research on storytelling in relation to non-governmental organizations (Merchant, Ford, & Sargeant, 2010). The insight of how heroes are constructed in foreign aid organizations' communication may point at imperialistic tendencies and hence point at critical aspects in these organizations' communicational practices. This is first of all critical because it, as we learned from the cases of the Kony campaign and #Bringourgirlsback, can show that foreign aid is inefficient and should be optimized by moving towards new ideologies on how to solve problems in the developing world. Furthermore, these practices could illustrate the relationship between the Western and the developing world indicating an unequal relationship in global society. Additionally, the findings could reveal narrative practices that construct the white man and the western world as superior which undoubtedly constructs a critical discourse in parts of society. Admittedly, this research may provide new insights that are societal and scientifically relevant within the field of storytelling and the development debate.

1.3 Research Question & Objective

This research has examined how aid organizations construct the hero in their campaigns. When the Kony campaign was criticized for representing the White Man's Burden, African critics claimed responsibility for helping themselves and being the hero in their own story (Mackey, 2012). This alternative approach represents a Searcher approach with a local hero. The narrative practise and construction of heroes was thus investigated as it provides answers on how the Planner vs. Searcher approach exists in foreign aid campaigns. The research put attention on a communications perspective meaning that only the narrative practice of the hero in campaigns were investigated. Consequently, the research does not seek to discuss whether aid organizations are Planners or Searchers, but merely which type of approach is constructed in their campaigns videos. An identification of this is an essential finding for the foreign aid debate as it proves empirically whether the aid organizations construct narrative practises with the white man as the hero who saves Africa. This addresses potential issues in foreign aid. Accordingly, I have investigated the following research question:

How do children's aid organizations construct the hero in their online campaign videos?

In contemplation of the Planners vs. Searchers approach, this master thesis has examined how the children aid organizations War Child and UNICEF construct the hero in their stories. The white

man's burden and Africa as the lost continent is constructed through narratives and linguistic communication. Therefore, a focus on storytelling in the organization's campaigns applied to the Planners vs. Searchers approaches has formed the basis of the analysis. Storytelling is a tool that non-profits use to illustrate problems that must be solved through help of donors, and hence a technique for persuasion (Merchant, Ford, & Sargeant 2010). These stories should include different characters which are reflected in the Planners vs. Searchers approach. The local character is the poor who must be saved reflecting the Planner approach. The external character is the foreign aid organization or other external players whose help is needed to overcome the problem i.e. saving the poor. This character reflects a Planner approach and a tendency of the white man's burden like in the Kony campaign. An analysis of this directs an understanding of how the organizations approach foreign aid and confirms or rejects the white man's burden's existence in and through these organizations.

1.4 Sub-questions

1. How do foreign aid organizations construct the characters in their stories? To map the different characters and their role in the stories as a basis for identifying the hero and solution
2. Which character do foreign aid organizations construct as the hero in their stories? To analyze whether the hero is local or external
3. How do foreign aid organizations construct the solution in their stories? To analyze whether the solution is local or external
4. How does this relate to the Planners vs. Searchers approach? To explore the findings in relation to theory

1.5 Theoretical and Methodological framework

My theoretical framework focuses on combining two theoretical fields and linking together storytelling theory with development theory. My research is based on a constructivist paradigm and focuses on analyzing narrative practices of aid organizations with the use of narrative theory and storytelling theory. To understand the communicated values of the aid organizations, I use development theory focusing on different positions on how to solve poverty which is known as the Planner vs. Searcher approach. This is economic theory and I therefore relate it to a communicative perspective as I investigate how these positions are constructed in the stories of aid organizations.

Narrative theory and storytelling theory suggests that a story consists of certain elements that together shape the meaning of the whole story: Characters as well as the problem and solution. The problem and solution are defined by Aristoteles' "three act model" which states that a story has a beginning, middle and end which has been developed to an initial situation, disruption and resolution (Lacey, 2000, p. 27). The characters are defined by narrative theorist Propp's "seven spheres of actions" which is the role of the characters - the villain, donor, helper, princess, dispatcher, hero and false hero. Propp distinguished between two types of heroes, the seeker hero who saves others and the victim hero who saves himself. Propp named characters "narrative functions" because the character's function creates the structure of the story and the structure is what generates the story's meaning (Lacey, 2000). Therefore, the Planner vs. Searcher approach was related to these elements to understand how the approaches exist in stories. The Planner approach which focuses on the West saving the poor by imposing Western solutions relates to an external seeker hero and an external solution. Here, the problem has been defined by the West. The Searcher approach which focuses on the poor saving themselves by finding their own solutions relates to a local victim hero and a local solution. Here the problem has been defined by the local himself by looking at what the problem essentially is to him. By linking these theories, I could investigate how the elements shape meaning in the stories and how this meaning would generate a Planner or a Searcher approach in the aid organizations' narrative practices. The obvious choice of method was to analyze the stories of aid organizations with the use of a narrative analysis which studies the structure of a story and the meaning it generates. 100 campaign videos on YouTube were analyzed for their definition of each element and the meaning created by the combination of the elements. The analysis focuses on categorizing the elements to determine whether the hero and solution were local or external. This finally pointed at a Planner or Searcher approach.

1.6 Outline

The next chapter of this thesis is the Theoretical Framework which consists of two sections. The first section touches upon previous research on storytelling and narrative theory. Some of these theories have been used as tools for my analysis. The second section sheds lights on the development debate and how different heroes can be constructed within aid. Firstly, the section goes through two positions on how to solve poverty i.e. the Planner vs. Searcher approach. Secondly, these economic approaches are related to storytelling and the difference between a Planner and a Searcher hero and solution is defined.

The third chapter is the Research Design which is divided into three parts. Firstly, I go through my methodological choices. Here, I provide some information on the chosen case studies UNICEF and Save the Children. Furthermore, a theoretical clarification of narrative analysis is given as a necessary understanding of how this method relates to my theoretical framework and hence why this method is ideal when investigating stories. The second section describes my data collection and sampling. The third part goes through my operationalization to show the reader how my analysis has led to my results and conclusions with the use of theoretical tools. The fourth part explains the limitations of my analysis.

The fourth chapter goes through the results of the analysis. Firstly, it shows the patterns of heroes and solutions that were identified. Secondly, it goes through the results of the UNICEF analysis and thirdly the results of Save the Children. In these two sections, it is explained which patterns were found in the stories of each organization, how these were defined and how frequent they were. Fourthly, the chapter provides a short comparative analysis to show the general tendency of the patterns i.e. how the hero and solution tends to be constructed in aid organizations' stories.

Finally, the thesis provides a conclusion of the result and discusses how the results reflect a Planner approach both at an overall level but also within all smaller details even within the few videos that point at a Searcher approach.

2. Theory and Previous Research

The following chapter goes through theory on which my methodology and analysis are based. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section introduces narrative theory and previous research on storytelling. The narrative theory is exemplified through an explanation of previous research on storytelling that functions as “tools” for effective storytelling. It thus explains narrative theory in a more practical sense. This section functions as an important basis for the second section of this chapter and for my methodological choices. The second section explains approaches to foreign aid and how this constructs certain heroes which I relate to narrative theory and storytelling. Firstly, I explain the Planner vs. Searchers approach which is two positions on the approach to solve poverty from an economic perspective and relate this to some additional theory on development and communications. Secondly, I relate the two approaches to storytelling and establish how they reflect two different types of heroes in foreign aid organizations and their stories.

2.1 Narrative theory and storytelling

Stories have a great impact on how we experience the world and our lives in it. Narratives create meaning in life because human identity is shaped by a narrative understanding (Hutto, 2007a). Psychological narrative theory explains that children develop through narratives in the culture and family that we use to shape meaning (Hutto, 2007a). Accordingly, humans have a narrative cognitive structure through which meaning is imparted (Hutto, 2007b). We for example understand and generate meaning of our lives through stories - our own life is our own story. We hereby shape our identity through narratives and build it on the perception of our own story (Hutto, 2007a). The narrative practice hypothesis explains how our social practice is constructed through stories (Hutto, 2007b). The perspective of narrative theory is helpful to understand why storytelling is a strong tool for influencing people and shaping discourses.

Narrative communication involves the use of storytelling, a story on a second party, in communication with a third party (Hinyard & Kreuter, 2007). Scholars find that narrative communication works as a tool for influencing people’s behavior. Kim, Bigman, Leader, Lerman and Cappella (2012) found that narrative communication could motivate people to quit smoking. They point at such research findings to rationalize the use of narrative communication in health campaigns (Kim et al, 2012). This points at a powerful effect of stories that can be explained by our narrative practice. For this reason storytelling is closely related to change because stories shape our sense-making (Brown, Gabriel & Gherardi, 2009). McKee and Fryer (2003) argue that “a story

expresses how and why life changes” (p. 2). A story has the power to inform and engage people in change. Consequently, storytelling is seen as an effective tool used by non-profits to create change (Merchant, Ford, & Sargeant, 2010).

In order to understand why and how stories are related to change, it is necessary to understand that the structure of stories influences our perception. Narrative structure explains a systematic sequence of events i.e. a plot which creates a logical idea of cause and effect (Pentland, 1999). With this structure we shape our understanding of the world and meaning in our existence (Pentland, 1999). Narrative theorists have identified different narrative structures that vary, but they all take the starting point in Aristoteles’s “three act” structure which forms a beginning, middle and end (Lacey, 2000, p. 27). The model has been developed to an initial situation, disruption and resolution (Lacey, 2000). This can be identified in theory of storytelling as a communicative tool. Hinyard and Kreuter (2006) define narrative communication as “[A]ny cohesive and coherent story with an identifiable beginning, middle, and end that provides information about scene, characters, and conflict; raises unanswered questions or unresolved conflict; and provides resolution.” (p. 2). Thus, the story in narrative communication involves different elements. Goodman (2006) proposes three elements that are effective in storytelling: A character, a problem, and a solution to the problem i.e. a happy ending to the story. It here seems that there is a strong connection between the idea of humans as narrative animals and storytelling as a practical tool for change.

The structure plays a role for persuasion as it appeals to people’s emotions and motivate them to help (Merchant et al., 2010). Research has identified a motivation to help in order to minimize negative emotions and restore balance (Isen & Levin, 1987; Woodside & Chebat, 2001). Thus, it has been argued that people help for selfish reasons to feel better about themselves (Cialdini et al., 1987). This is also called the “Negative State Relief Hypothesis” (Schaller & Cialdini, 1988, p. 163). A great deal of research has proven this hypothesis (Merchant et al., 2010). Research has shown that stories which create negative emotions are successful in triggering empathy and a desire to help (Vitaglione & Barnett, 2003). Bagozzi and Moore (1994) found that social marketing campaigns on child abuse would create negative emotions and hence generate empathy and a desire to help. Accordingly, the story should begin with an “Inciting Incident” meaning that the story should begin with a problem (McKee & Fryer, 2003, p. 2). According to Papadatos (2006) this reflects a problem that must be solved. Alexander (2011) argues that when an audience perceives a story as uninteresting it is often due to a lack of problem central to the story. Henceforth, every good story signals a need for change and motivates people to be engaged in this

change to reach the happy ending. Consequently, it is one of the main elements one should find in foreign aid organization's storytelling.

As storytelling involves stories of changing events, an ending which defines the change must be included in the story. Scholars argue that the story should provide a solution to the problem (Papadatos, 2006; Smith, 1996; Goodman, 2006). Papadatos (2006) identifies themes of reward in the story whereas Smith (1996) points out the importance of a solution in fundraising letters. Furthermore, Smith (1996) notes a necessity to stress that this solution can be reached with the help of the donor. When Goodman (2006) defines the elements of the story, he finds that the happy ending should be reached through the donor. Moreover, he suggests that donations can be achieved through stories with a solution that is appealing to the audience (Goodman, 2006). Thus, with the help of the donor, there will be a happy ending to the story.

Scholars find an importance in providing feedback to donors to create a happy ending (Merchant et al., 2010). Tolli and Schmidt (2008) hold that feedback is a crucial motivational factor as it explains the positive outcome of the donor's help. Hereby, the negative feeling which the problem generated has been released. Bennett (2006) suggests that charitable organizations can create loyalty from donors by creating a brand community for the donor to be a part of. Here, the organization can make the donor feel valued which highlights the significance of feedback (Bennett, 2006). Subsequently, the donor plays a crucial role in the story in order to reach a solution. These aspects can be related back to the meaning narrative structure creates and it explains how meaning is generated by structure. In the case of feedback, it also explains how meaning is lost with no completed structure. Alexander (2011) argues that a credible character who is going through a change generates meaning for the story. The change illustrates a plot which relates to the problem and solution, and without such a plot or structure the story loses meaning (Alexander, 2011). This emphasizes the meaning of the character for the structure as the character influences the structure. Narrative theorist Propp (cited in Lacey, 2000, p. 51-52) labelled characters as "narrative functions" because the function of the characters creates the structure of the story. Damiano and Lombardo (2009) note that characters can be driven by certain values. This should generate a meaning that relates to these values. Furthermore, it has been found that media audiences relate themselves to media characters which functions as a tool for engagement and persuasion (Cohen, 2009). This illustrates how stories form identity. In the context of fundraising, it is argued that donations can be gained by "telling the stories of individuals" (Merchant, Ford & Sargeant, 2010, p. 756). Furthermore, Goodman (2006) "encourages nonprofits to create characters out of the plight of those

being served by the nonprofit” (Merchant, Ford, & Sargeant, 2010, pp. 756-757). This points at a local character, the one who must be saved by the non-profit organization or donor.

It is here relevant to look at the role of the donor and the interactivity of the story. Interactive storytelling is a digital storytelling technique defined by the user’s ability to influence the plot (Alexander, 2011). It is mostly associated with digital gaming (Alexander, 2011). However, it can be useful to draw parallels between foreign aid organization’s storytelling and interactive storytelling, as it defines how the donor can become a character who helps create change as a part of the story. This relates to the importance of feedback to the donor as it shows how the donor becomes a part of the story by being crucial for a happy ending. Additionally, it refers to how people identify with characters in the story and how people’s identity is shaped through stories. This shows how much power stories can have in influencing donors. It is relevant to consider for the approaches on how to solve poverty as a strong emphasis on the donor highlights Western help. Therefore, this will be investigated in relation to the structure and which meaning it creates.

One can assume that the story will include a local character, the one who faces the problems and must be saved. Furthermore, I assume that the story will consist of at least one external character who contributes in reaching the solution, as the local character cannot overcome the problem without one of these other characters. That is either the foreign aid organizations, the donor or both. One of these three characters will be portrayed as the “hero”. How meaning here is created is exactly what is significant to study. This can reveal how stories of aid organizations create certain meaning and values. It is relevant to study this to draw parallels between the aid organization’s own values or meaning and the meaning in their stories and how it influences other’s meaning-making. To further explain this, I will in the following clarify the Planners vs. Searchers approach which is two positions in development that could be reflected in the meaning of the stories.

2.2 Approaches to foreign aid and constructions of heroes

Planners and Searchers have different approaches to strategies on how to end extreme poverty. These approaches have been developed by Sachs (2005) and Easterly (2006) respectively. With his book *The End of Poverty: How we can make it happen in our lifetime*, Sachs (2005) proposes a Planners approach i.e. a plan on how to end poverty in 25 years. Easterly (2006) reacts with his book *The white man’s burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little*. He challenges the idea of a strategy on overcoming extreme poverty with a concrete plan.

Instead, he proposes a Searchers approach that dissociates from the process of planning and rather searches for the right steps to take as the process flows. These approaches reflect an essential debate on foreign aid and how to overcome poverty. I expect that an organization is either a Planner or a Searcher, and that their approaches influence how they construct the hero in their storytelling. Therefore, I shall go more into depth with the two different approaches before relating them to storytelling.

2.2.1 Positions on how to approach foreign aid: Planners vs. Searchers

An essential debate on foreign aid is on how poverty should be solved. The debate on the Planner vs. Searcher approach does not merely touch upon how to solve poverty. It also criticizes the West for shaping a patronizing discourse on the relationship between the West and the poor making it interesting to investigate from the field of communications. One position which has been criticized for shaping twisted images of the West as the hero who must save the suffering poor is Sachs' Planner approach. Sachs (2005) explains the reasons why extreme poverty still exists and how it can be solved with the help of wealthy countries. This is centered on the assumption of the "poverty trap" (Kraay & Raddatz, 2007, p. 315; Sachs, 2005, p. 56). This concept is developed by Sachs (2005) and expresses the idea that the poor can only manage to stay alive with their income, and not more than that (p. 56). Hence, the poor are stuck in poverty and rely on international help to get out of it (Kraay & Raddatz, 2007, p. 315; Sachs, 2005, p. 56). This idea has influenced an increase of aid focusing on achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) for poor countries (Kraay & Raddatz, 2007). This concept has had a high focus in research to find empirical evidence thereof and on how to overcome it (Kraay & Raddatz, 2007).

The Planner approach advocates a need for external help for the poor to overcome the poverty which they are stuck in. Sachs (2005) argues that the poor can overcome the poverty trap with a "global network of corporation" (p. 226). According to him, the poor are ready to help themselves, but they will first need the rich countries to help them "reach the ladder" before they can do so (pp. 242-243). This idea of a necessity for the wealthy countries to help is also later referred to as "the big push" (Easterly, 2006, p. 33). Easterly (2006) criticizes this idea indicating that it is "the White Man's Burden" (p. 23). Here he signifies a Western tendency to be superior arguing that "we", the whites or Westerners, have to help the poor (p. 23). This idea stresses that the poor rely on the West for help, and that they are helplessly and passively waiting for this (Easterly, 2006). This approach does seem to reflect imperialism and can according to Easterly (2014) be

identified in fundraising campaigns and according to Dowden (2009) in the West's stories about Africa.

This approach's emphasis on Western plans like MDG's to solve poverty has received a great deal of criticism for being inefficient. Easterly (2006) finds that the MDG's are biased towards Africa due to an estimation that it is more difficult for Africa to achieve them than it is for other countries (Easterly, 2009). One of the reasons for this is that the design of the MDG's did not function for Africa and that it is unfair to compare Africa with other countries as these countries start at another level (Easterly, 2006). Hereby, the estimation lacks to focus on Africa's successes and turn them into failures (Easterly, 2006). One success example of foreign aid is the Marshall plan where the US imposed solutions to aid Western Europe after the second World War. But according to Easterly (2006) this example does not illustrate that foreign aid can work in any developing countries as they are not similar to Western Europe. With the Marshall Plan, America was implementing solutions in countries with an advanced economy (Easterly, 2006). Naturally, this is not the case of foreign aid in developing countries where the political, economic and local circumstances are different (Easterly, 2006). Instead, it is much easier to find solutions for yourself than for others (Easterly, 2006).

While the MDG's were not just inefficient to implement in Africa, they also illustrate how the West creates the agenda in the developing world based on their imposed ideas. Joachim (2003) investigates how NGO's influence the global agenda in relation to women's rights. She finds that NGO's frame 3 stages which are "the definition of problems, the development of solutions or policies, and politicization" (p. 268). Thus, she empirically proves how NGOs construct the problem and solution on the global agenda (Joachim, 2003). According to Easterly (2006), the problem should be defined by the locals themselves. Rather than letting the West impose problems and solutions, Easterly's Searcher approach suggests that the poor save themselves from the problem that they essentially (Easterly, 2006). This opposed position argues against the necessity of international and Western domination. Instead it emphasizes on the poor's ability to help themselves finding that the opposite idea is ineffective, patronizing and reflects imperialism. Also this position has been under a great deal of research with actors in the aid debate having provided empirical evidence suggesting that foreign aid organizations do not succeed in creating growth (Dalgaard, Hansen, & Tarp, 2004). Moyo (2009) criticized the West for having a patronizing image of Africa originating from imperialism. She finds that foreign aid does not lead to growth and that official aid even results in corruption and a decrease of growth with rich government's aim to

control the poor. Instead she, like Easterly, suggests that the poor get out of poverty on their own without financial assistance but rather through private enterprise (Moyo, 2009).

Where the Planner approach is criticized for creating ready-made solutions that cannot be properly implemented, the Searcher approach suggests not to follow any plan but rather adapting to the context. Easterly (2006) differentiates between Planners and Searchers in the way that Planners are the Western countries that have everything planned, but lack to carry out the plans successfully: “Planners announce good intentions but don’t motivate anyone to carry them out; searchers find things that work and get some reward” (Easterly, 2006, p 5). Searchers give responsibility to the locals who understand the conditions and search for the right strategy by testing and learning from experience. He argues that billions of dollars are spent on foreign aid, but that little is achieved with this money due a Planners approach. As an example, these Planners have not accomplished to get twelve-cent malaria vaccines to children, because they do not have information on the local conditions to do so. Instead, he believes that a Searcher will search for a way to get this delivered (Easterly, 2006). According to Easterly, the poor can help themselves, and he provides statistical data which shows that poor countries have previously grown out of extreme poverty on their own. Thus, they were not stuck in a poverty trap which according to Easterly does not exist, and the poor can therefore overcome poverty on their own (Easterly, 2006).

However, this view has also been questioned along with questioning the Planner approach. Banerjee and Duflo (2011) suggest their approach to foreign aid which is somewhat in between a Planner and a Searcher approach. Banerjee and Duflo (2011) explain their approach in relation to Sachs and Easterly with the example of mosquito nets that prevent malaria. Mosquito nets seem to be too expensive for the poor. Where Sachs (2005) want to give the bed nets for free, Easterly (2006) and Moyo (2009) argue that the poor will not value them if given for free, or they will refuse to pay for other things when given some things for free. Furthermore, an example from Moyo is used to explain how a supplier of mosquito nets cannot compete with free nets, and so he will not be offering nets after the free distribution (Banerjee & Duflo, 2011). Banerjee and Duflo (2011) do not take a stand point here, but instead they point at research investigating behavioral patterns to understand if and why they are different and how aid can adopt the distribution of nets to this:

When we learn about whether poor people are willing to pay money for bed nets, and whether they use them if they get them for free, we learn about much more than the best way to distribute bed nets: We start to

understand how poor people make decisions (Banerjee & Duflo, 2011, p. 8).

Hence, by understanding the poor's decision making and adapting to this, aid can become efficient. By doing so, Banerjee and Duflo (2011) find that aid cannot expect for the poor to always act according to what is best on a long-term basis. For example, they experience that a Moroccan father prioritize a TV over food to stay entertained in a small, boring village which makes life more tolerable. Another example is that some poor will avoid spending money on health care as they believe in faith (Banerjee and Duflo, 2011). Hence, a reason for why aid can be inefficient, could be connected to the lack of considering differences in cultural norms. This also points at the Planner approach having to adapt to this as the poor then would not be able to follow this long-term plan. Nonetheless, Banerjee and Duflo (2011) still find the poor to be dependent Western help stating that the poor must borrow money from the West to get out of poverty which relates well to the poverty trap. But Banerjee and Duflo (2011) also focus more on the strategic perspective of foreign aid and do not center it around politics as much as Easterly does. They state that foreign aid can generate positive results, but suggest how it can be made more efficient (Banerjee & Duflo, 2011). In other words, they avoid relating foreign aid to power relations and do not accuse it for preventing growth for the West's own interest. Instead they focus on the inefficient management.

It is indeed possible to defend Planners' good intentions seen from a managerial context. Ciborra (2002) explains that management of info systems are driven by a scientific approach which forms well-planned strategies (Ciborra, 2002). These illustrate an ideal situation, but Ciborra (2002) argues that real-life situations are not always ideal and these plans can therefore not be applied to every circumstance. Here parallels can be drawn to Easterly's (2006) criticism of Planners struggling with adapting to local conditions. Ciborra (2002) points at "human existence in everyday life" as an alternative management of information systems (p. 1). By this he emphasizes human cognition to develop the most suitable strategies according to the circumstances (Ciborra, 2002). Ciborra (2002) also used the word "bricolage" to clarify this idea of forming strategies with the available resources (pp. 29-39). This seems equivalent to the Searcher approach. All of this points at a tendency to "over-plan" strategies and new suggestions to an alternative approach that focuses more on the specific context like the Searcher's approach.

Nonetheless, the Planner approach is not only criticized for inefficient management but also for their tendency of constructing philosophies like the White Man's Burden in their

communication as in the Kony campaign. Wallace (2009) finds that the idea of foreign aid as imperialism is explained by NGOs facing the dilemma to satisfy donors and adapt to a global agenda in order to gain financial resources. Hence, they become much like a corporation (Wallace, 2009). This indicates a necessity to get the crucial funding for a Western NGO to be able to exist and emphasizes on the Western world's importance for solving poverty. This may explain some of the underlying processes for the storytelling discourse that NGOs create. It is certainly essential to look at how this discourse on foreign aid is framed by the West and NGOs.

While a communicated emphasis on the donor illustrates a need of the donor in the management of foreign aid, links can also be drawn between the values of aid organizations and their communication. Burman (1996) argues that Northern NGOs define the issues in their fundraising to reflect Northern norms. As an example, a Western "model" of the ideal childhood is applied to the rest of the world through the priorities of organizations like UNICEF (Burman, 1994). This communicational aspect illustrates how imposing Western ideas can be reflected in Planners' communication.

Looking specifically at the link between the Planner approach and storytelling provides more concrete examples on how a Planner approach is represented in storytelling. It is argued that the Planner approach has a tendency to portray a condescending image of Africa which relates to Africa as the lost continent. Easterly (2006) does not only criticize the Planner approach for being wrong, he also accuses it of having this patronizing discourse. Where Banerjee and Duflo (2011) avoids pointing at power relations, Easterly (2006) does the opposite. He relates his economic approach to constructive perspectives. An example of this is his criticism of the Planner approach's use of celebrity endorsement (Easterly, 2006; Easterly, 2014). In the introduction to his book, he mentions Bono as an example of a celebrity activist who is used for fund-raising campaigns that expresses Western superiority and illustrates the patronizing image of Africa which Easterly criticizes the Planner approach for (Easterly, 2006). Easterly (2014) illustrates how this has been done through "celebrity famine" in an article where the headline almost speaks for itself; "Do They Know It's Christmas? Condescension Sells Well but Doesn't End Famine". The article explains how a celebrity campaign portrays a twisted image of Africa as unable to help themselves with a Christmas CD cover showing starving children although famine is not common in Africa (Easterly, 2014). This relates to Dowden (2008) who touches upon the problem of outsiders telling Africa's story. He states that the story always portrays Africa in a patronizing matter, and argues that Africa, through stories, has been defined by the West, but shouldn't (Dowden, 2008). This

relates very well to narrative theory and explains how these stories shape our understanding of the world like the metaphoric definition of Africa as “the lost continent” or “the dark continent” (Jarosz, 1992) and Conrad’s (1899) *Heart of Darkness*. The idea of a discourse of imperialism that lives through stories about Africa is essential in connection to the claims that foreign aid is imperialistic. This is also a strong example of how the Planner approach can be identified in stories.

This strong criticism of the West generating a twisted image is exactly what makes the aid debate interesting in the lights of narrative theory. The discourse relates the Planner vs. Searcher approach to storytelling as it suggests that aid organizations construct certain discourses on who should solve which problems and how. This can be used to create specific storytelling approaches on how to construct the hero.

2.2.2 A Planner vs. a Searcher hero in storytelling

I have defined the important characters in the story to be the local character, the donor and the foreign aid organization based on storytelling theory. One of these will act as the hero depending on which approach foreign aid organizations use in the story. Narrative theory on characters is a useful tool for analysis to identify characters as heroes. As earlier mentioned, Propp (cited in Lacey, 2000) suggested seven spheres of actions i.e. the characters that take place in the story. The seven spheres of action are the villain, donor, helper, princess, dispatcher, hero and false hero. It is here important to note that Propp distinguishes between two heroes. One is the “victim hero” who himself is a victim of the problem whereas the other is a “seeker hero” who saves others that are victims of the problem (Lacey, 2000, pp. 51-52). These two different heroes can be associated with the Planners vs. Searchers approach.

Easterly (2006) uses the example of Harry Potter to explain that the Planners approach has been popular, because everyone would like to be “the chosen one” who saves the poor (p. 15). This relates to narrative theory on how people identify with characters. Hence, Planners give themselves the role as the hero on whom the poor are dependent. This is also how Sachs (2005) tends to portray himself in his stories of how he managed foreign aid problems – he is the hero who saved local characters in the developing countries Bolivia, Poland, Russia, China and India as well as in Africa. For example he tells the story of his trip to Sauri, Kenya where he meets the problems with hunger, AIDS and malaria in rural villages and creates solutions thereto:

The village meeting got underway on a Monday afternoon, with the villagers arriving on foot from several kilometers away. I introduced my colleagues and told the community of the Millennium Project's assignment from the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to understand the situation of communities like Sauri, and to work with villagers to identify ways to help such communities to achieve the worldwide Millennium Development Goals of reducing extreme poverty, hunger, disease, and lack of access to safe water and sanitation (Sachs, 2005, p. 228).

Based on this, he designs "the Big Five development interventions" to help Sauri reach the MDG's (Sachs, 2005, p. 232). One of these steps is "Investments in education" which focuses on providing meals for all school children to increase attendance as well as providing training and information that can solve other problem e.g. farming techniques that can prevent hunger (Sachs, 2005, p. 233).

Here, the local is a helpless, suffering character who cannot survive without the help of the hero from the West:

Sauri's villages, and impoverished villages like them all over the world, can be saved and set on a path of development at a cost that is tiny for the world but too high for the villages themselves and for the Kenyan government on its own (Sachs, 2005, p. 232).

The role of the UN is to be a hero who saves this suffering character. This hero reflects the myth of the White Man's Burden and Propp's seeker hero who helps others fighting their problem. This relates exactly to Easterly's example of Harry Potter - the superior chosen one who is send on a request by the dispatcher who would be the aid organization that directs the hero.

In contrast to the Planner/Seeker hero is the Searcher hero who reflects Propp's victim hero. Easterly (2006) points out that "A Planner believes outsiders know enough to impose solutions. A Searcher believes only insiders have enough knowledge to find solutions, and that most solutions must be homegrown" (pp. 5-6). Easterly finds that the poor must save themselves. Therefore, the hero in his approach is the local character himself. This raises the question about the role the foreign aid organization and the donors have. Easterly (2006) argues that the West should give more power to local Searchers to win their own fight. The West should only help with "modest resources to make a difference in people's lives of poor people" (p. 26). Hereby, the characters and structure of this story should be much like Cinderella. The role of the foreign aid organizations and

donors should be like the role of the fairy godmother whom provides Cinderella with a dress, a caret etc. - things that she worked hard to get on her own, but failed to get for external reasons - and that that she needs in order to help herself for the rest of the story. Relating this to narrative theory, this is a victim hero Searcher hero will look at what the problem essentially is to him and adapt his own solution here. He takes his own faith in his hands to fight his own problem. Here the organization may appear as the helper and/or donor who gives the hero a small push to help (Lacey, 2000).

Hence, two kinds of heroes can be determined: The Western hero who saves the suffering, helpless character vs. the local hero who fights against his own problem and only needs a little help from an external character, a donor or helper, in order to save himself. These heroes are the first step to identify a Planner or a Searcher approach.

2.2.3 Paradigms in development: A Planner solution

In order to understand how the solution of a Planner approach functions, it is useful to look at aid from different paradigms. That is different aid dimensions which suggest approaches to aid. The Danish Institute of Human Rights (2007) proposes three different aid dimensions: Charity, Needs and Rights-based. The charity approach focuses on the problem as a manifestation. The solution is an increasing charity as a moral obligation of the rich towards the poor. This is an old traditional approach which has been argued to be quite outdated (Black, 2010). It definitely seems to portray a white man's burden making the poor completely dependent on help. From this, an approach focusing more on needs was developed.

The needs-based approach moves beyond this by focusing on identifying the immediate cause of the problem and recognizing needs. The solution is to train individuals in meeting their needs (Boesen & Martin, 2007). An example to illustrate these two approaches is the well-known saying "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day, teach a man to fish and you will feed him for a life-time" (Black, 2010). The needs-based approach can be associated with Sachs (2005), as he focuses on training the poor according to Western plans. It has earlier been suggested not to teach the man how to fish either, but to sell him the fish by giving him a loan (Black, 2010). This relates well to what Banerjee and Duflo (2011) might would do, and maybe Easterly (2006) and Moyo (2009) as well. But as Moyo (2009) and Easterly (2006) emphasize, what if a corrupt government somehow stands in the way for the fish to be caught by locals? This question has led to a human rights-based approach in aid.

A rights-based approach focuses on identifying the structural causes and assisting the poor in realizing their rights towards the government (Boesen & Martin, 2007). In fact, this approach can also be connected to Sachs (2005) as UNDP links this approach to the MDG' in a UNDP primer "Human Rights and the Millennium Development Goals – Making the link" (2007). Here, it is explained that a human rights-based approach contributes to achieving the MDG's in a sustainable manner and that it adds universal values to development work (UNDP, 2007). Hence, these approaches can all be connected to a Planner approach. Naturally, no detailed approach can be connected to a Searcher's approach as the essential of this is not to follow a certain plan. Having clarified this, I can either relate a solution to one of these approaches and relate this to a Planner approach, or relate a searching solution to a Searcher approach.

2.2.4 Summary

This aim of this chapter is to clarify how elements shape the structure of a story and how this generates the meaning. More specifically, these elements are the problem, solution and the characters relating to the three act model and Propp's seven spheres of action. These elements are expected to be found in the stories of aid organizations as they relate well to the development debate. The Planner and Searcher approach have different definitions of the problem, solution and the hero and varies between whether this is locally or externally defined. Therefore, it is relevant to investigate how these elements are defined in order to categorize them as local or external. This will point at either a Planner or a Searcher approach. Hence, it will tell us which approach is constructed in the stories. In the following chapter, I will go through my research design and describe exactly how this will be examined.

3. Research Design

In the theoretical framework I used narrative theory to define how meaning of the world and life is created through stories. Naturally, I investigated how this meaning is created with the use of narrative analysis – the method of narrative theory. As explained, the influence of the structure and the character on the story is what generates meaning. Therefore, the elements and their impact on the structure were analyzed to identify how this creates a certain hero. In the following chapter I firstly go through the case studies of which I analyzed the stories. Secondly, I explain the methods used for my narrative analysis of these stories. Thirdly, I define the theory of narrative analysis as a necessary basis for my data collection and data analysis which I will lastly explain.

3.1 Methodological choices

3.1.1 Case study analysis

As I could not investigate all foreign aid organizations, I chose two case studies. These were the units of my analysis (Gomm, Hammersley & Foster, 2000). An implication of case studies is that they cannot be generalized, but should be studied because they are interesting in themselves or to test a theory. Case studies enabled me to conduct a detailed analysis and to test my theory i.e. to test if a Planner vs. Searcher approach exist in foreign aid organization's stories (Gilbert, 2008).

The focus was on children's rights organizations, as I found children to be an interesting tool in storytelling for appealing to people's emotions. Two aid organizations were used for the analysis. I am aware that focusing on two case studies and generalizing them to all children's rights organizations creates limitations to the objectivity (Gomm, Hammersley & Foster, 2000). Nevertheless, I chose this based on a constructivism approach. This approach enabled me to study the cases in depth and compare them with each other giving me more detailed information to investigate the social world (Gomm, Hammersley & Foster, 2000). Accordingly, I could identify which approach is constructed in foreign aid organizations.

The chosen organizations were UNICEF and Save the Children. UNICEF is short for The United Nations Children's Fund. Their work focuses on improving children's lives with the following priorities: Child survival and development, Basic education and gender equality, HIV/AIDS and children, Child protection (from violence, exploitation and abuse), Policy advocacy and partnerships (UNICEF n.d.-a). As their full name reveals, UNICEF belongs to the UN which is the largest organization of its kind. Therefore, UNICEF works under the same aim as UN and

closely together (UNICEF n.d.-a). Here, the work of the UN focusing on achieving the MDG's plays a role. Each step in UNICEF's work is "a step toward the Millennium Development Goal" (UNICEF n.d.-b). For this, UNICEF also works with other kinds of partners e.g. the European Union, governmental institutions and local policy makers (UNICEF n.d.-c). UNICEF states that the MDG's are especially for children, and that they (UNICEF) therefore play an important role for the MDG's:

UNICEF is the only inter-governmental agency devoted exclusively to children and is mandated by the world's governments to promote and protect children's rights and their wellbeing. Along with other UN agencies and global partners, UNICEF has taken the Goals as part of its mandate (UNICEF n.d.-b).

Save the Children's work is quite similar to UNICEF's work. They focus on changing children's lives, fighting for their rights and helping them achieve their potential (Save the Children n.d.-a). Save the Children works on the following areas: Humanitarian work, Prevention of child deaths (EVERY ONE campaign), Health, Education, Child Protection, Child Rights Governance, Advocacy (Save the Children B). Save the Children also works to achieve the MDG's (Save the Children n.d.-c). What differs between the organizations is that Save the Children is "[T]he world's leading independent organization for children" (Save the Children International n.d.-a). Hence, Save the Children is an independent non-governmental organization whereas UNICEF is dependent on UN and public-sector partners (UNICEF n.d.-c).

I found the comparison of these two organizations to be interesting. Both organizations are well-known world-wide with departments and projects all over the globe as well as headquarters in the Western world. Additionally, both organizations focus on achieving the MDG's. The case studies herewith directed assumptions of a link between aid organizations focusing on the MDG's and a Planner approach. Furthermore, as Easterly's criticizes Sachs in connection with his work for UN, it was found relevant to compare a UN department with an NGO that works more independently with the UN.

3.1.2 Methods

The aim of my research was to identify whether aid organizations construct a hero from a Planners or a Searchers approach in their campaign videos online from the perspective of narrative theory. Thus, my analysis was based on a narrative analysis of how the hero is constructed in stories of the

chosen case studies. My concepts were an external hero vs. a local hero i.e. a Planner hero vs. a Searchers hero. I studied these concepts by conducting a qualitative analysis of the aid organization's campaign videos on YouTube. I used a narrative analysis to analyze the data of both methods which is described in the following section.

3.1.3 Theory of narrative analysis

Rapid changes of narrative analysis characterize it as a dynamic theory of method. Narrative theory existed before a narrative turn to social sciences in the 1980's. Here, Propp (1968) and Labov and Waletzky (1997) had a significant impact (Hyvärinen, 2008). Their frameworks put focus on narratives as texts. This view of narratives as independent, finished texts has since been replaced with an understanding of narratives as processes which rather focuses on a narrative practice (Hyvärinen, 2008). Narrative analysis includes several approaches of data collection and analysis. These approaches are common in their aim which is:

To explore the different ways in which both the production and analysis of qualitative data can be understood as processes whereby different groups of people engage in 'story telling' and in doing so produce narrative accounts of their lives (Gilbert, 2008, p. 423).

The word "account" is here used as a replacement of "stories" or "narratives" (Gilbert, 2008). Henceforth, narrative analysis studies how narratives are constructed and how this constructs identity. It hence moves away from looking at "what" is constructed, but studies "how" it is constructed (Gilbert, 2008). Therefore, this method was appropriate for me to investigate how stories about Africa and aid organizations are constructed online, and how this may shape an identity that relates to the Planners vs. Searchers approach.

Under the framework of symbolic interaction, Gilbert (2008) categorizes three groups of people who are involved in the social production and consumption of stories. Firstly, the producers of the stories are those who tell the story which in my research are the aid organizations. This story represents a version of reality which is helpful to identify the values of the producer (Gilbert, 2008). Secondly, the coaxers are those who have an active role in producing the story (Gilbert, 2008). Thirdly, the consumers i.e. the receivers of the story play a role in the process according to their comprehension of it. Producers and coaxers can also be categorized as consumers. The comprehension should be common among consumers if the story should reflect real life (Gilbert, 2008). However, my research focused mainly on the producers and not on the

consumers. Hence, I studied which version of reality the producers represent in their stories, but not how their version of reality is perceived in society. Thereby, I examined how stories are constructed and express a certain identity, but not how this identity is constructed in society, which is a limitation in my research. It is important to note that narrative analysis establishes credibility by recognizing that it is the production of a certain discourse and not a reflection of the truth (Gilbert, 2008). My aim was to analyze which narrative the aid organizations construct in their stories i.e. to analyze their version of reality. This method was useful to reveal which approach the aid organizations reflect in connection to my sensitizing categories by studying how their stories represent their version of reality i.e. their view on how to approach foreign aid.

A structuralist approach to narrative analysis comprehends a narrative as “systems, relations and forms – the structures – that make meaning possible in any cultural activity or artefact” (Lacey, 2000, p. 64). Deriving from this approach is Propp whose studies of Russian folk tales have made quite an impact on narrative theory. Propp argued that the content of narratives is too complex to categorize and focused rather on the structure. He identified functions, or forms which can be identified in old and new stories (Lacey, 2000) I was inspired by Aristoteles’s “three act” structure that was developed to an initial situation, disruption and resolution (Lacey, 2000) because this relates well to the problem and solution in storytelling. However, I presumed that campaign stories of aid organization would have a problem or disruption as a starting point since problems related to poverty in Africa is a condition and not a sudden occurrence. Therefore, I did not focus on a sequence of events that is already created nor did I try to identify patterns of this in the videos. Instead, I focused on how the problem and solution is defined. This relates to theory stating that aid organizations define problems according to Western values and the definition of the solution as external or local would point at a Planner or a Searcher approach. Furthermore, I investigated how these elements are structured and how this shapes meaning based on further theory of Popp i.e. his seven spheres of actions. According to him, the function of the characters is crucial for the plot and creates the structure of the story. I especially focused on how the type of hero is created i.e. if it is a “victim hero” or a “seeker hero” (Lacey, 2000). Critics have argued that this theory cannot be applied to all stories (Lacey, 2000). I expected this to some extent is the case of the stories of aid organizations as there for example would not be a villain for the same reason that there would be no initial situation. However, I still found this theory to be useful to categorize the characters in the stories so that the hero could be identified.

3.2 Data collection & sampling

3.2.1 Data collection

I focused on videos as they should involve a large degree of storytelling. These were found on the organization's YouTube profiles. I chose this platform as it enabled me to find all of the campaign videos from the organizations. Both organizations have different departments with YouTube profiles. I chose the UK-versions of the YouTube profiles. I initially intended to use the international profiles. However, Save the Children uses the British's department's profile as the international profile. Therefore, I chose to also focus on UNICEF's British profile to make a better comparison of the organizations' videos since it is within the same cultural context. Furthermore, UNICEF UK had over 200 videos more than UNICEF US whereas there was a small difference of approximately 40 videos less of Save the Children UK than the US department. For that reason, I chose the platform with most videos to gain more data. It is important to note that these different departments do post some of the same videos on their profiles. I expect that the findings in the videos of the British departments can be generalized to the whole of the organizations as national departments should reflect the values of the organization at an international level.

3.2.2 Sampling videos

I used a selective sampling method to ensure that the videos would contain storytelling. Hence, I focused on videos with a large degree of storytelling; videos which have a plot and thus contains a concrete story that generates meaning through a certain structure. This eliminated all videos that consisted of interviews, statements or similar. As the research primarily is based on an African context I naturally focused on stories from Africa. I focused on videos that contain images and spoken or written text. Furthermore, I focused only on videos with "real" pictures and discarded those with animated images. These videos consisted of two types of stories. One type is focused on impact reporting and the other is reporting on a current problematic situation which much be solved. Some of these stories follow celebrities who visit the location of the report. I chose to include stories portraying celebrities as a character because it is intriguing to investigate which role they have, having established that the Planner approach use a great deal of celebrity endorsement.

Videos from each year over the past five years (years 2010-2015) were selected to make a comparison possible as there were few appropriate videos from Save the Children before 2011. They have e.g. only posted 3 videos in total in 2009 when they started the profile. I aimed at selecting the same amount of videos per year. However, this was not possible due to a limited

amount of those specific kinds of videos that I focused on. As an example, there are few videos in 2015 because both organizations focused on the issue of Syrian children who were fleeing the war. The number of items has hence been chosen due to this limited amount of videos. First, I found 59 videos that met my requirements from Save the Children over the past five years and 63 from UNICEF in total. However, many of these videos were interlinked e.g. following the same celebrity and some turned out not to include the elements investigated. Therefore, I eliminated videos by removing those that had repeating elements e.g. videos with the same celebrity as well as videos that lacked certain elements such as a problem, solution and identified characters. In the end I had 50 videos per organization which were analyzed. For UNICEF, the amount of videos per year varied between 7-11 videos. For Save the Children, the gap was larger with 4-13 videos per year.

3.3 Operationalization

3.3.1 Data analysis

I investigated whether a Searchers or a Planners hero is constructed in the stories by studying the structure and the character's meaning for the structure. Hence, I adopted a structuralism approach to the analysis with Popp's seven spheres of action as a tool for my analysis. The analysis was initially based on a categorical-form combination of narrative analysis (Gilbert, 2008).

A form approach studies the structure rather than the content e.g. by studying how the plot is created, how events are sequenced and how the language is used (Gilbert, 2008). It is important to look at the sequential order of the elements as this can create the whole meaning of the narrative (Hyvärinen, 2008). Hence, the sequential order is important because it may shape meaning in who and what is important to reach the happy ending. My theory supports how the elements play a crucial role in storytelling which was complimented with this method. Hereby, I chose to base the first categories on Popp's seven spheres of action. Nonetheless, I also focused on the content to define elements especially the problem and solution, so the method became slightly mixed in regards to content vs. form.

A categorical approach focuses on the story as a whole rather than parts of the story which enabled me to compare stories. Furthermore, with a categorical approach I could compare all references to my concepts (Gilbert, 2008, p. 433). It is argued that the coding of data in a narrative structure analysis should be based on the whole text rather than isolated parts or details, as this creates the structure (Lichtman, 2012). Hence, I focused on the whole text when studying the

element's importance for the plot to categorize them. Each utterance is significant in constructing the structure (Gläser & Laudel, 2013). Consequently, the coding focused on both the visual and textual codes that together form the whole story.

I used Atlas.ti software for qualitative analysis for my coding. At first, my coding process was inspired by Boeije's three levels of coding for qualitative analysis (Boeije, 2010). The first level is the open coding where codes are identified and put into categories, the second level is the axial coding where categories are organized and merged, and the third level is the selective coding where categories are put into main categories (Boeije, 2010). The first step of my coding focused on identifying all codes that indicate the three-act model, the roles of the characters and who is defining the solution. In the second step of my coding, I categorized identified codes according to Propp's seven spheres of actions, the three act model and during the analysis I included the three aid approaches. In the last step, I related the categories to my concepts i.e. a Planner or a Searcher hero. This method was adapted after the open coding as I found that the typical categorization in Boeije's three steps of coding was not the most suitable to discover what I aimed for. Instead, I identified certain types of patterns of structures during the open coding based on how the elements were categorized i.e. which role the different characters played and how the solution was defined. These categories were defined according to several visual or textual cues found in parts of the story that all together shaped meaning for the story as a whole. Hence, I looked at how parts of the story formed the meaning in the whole story and categorized the elements according to this.

My categorization focused on categorizing each element according to my theoretical tools: I categorized each character according to Propp's seven spheres of action, I identified the problem and solution and I categorized the solution according to one of the three aid approaches. For example, I would first note down all of the characters and assign their role according to Propp's seven spheres of actions. This was done based on separate codes but also on the characters' relation to each other. For example, a story could say "tiny vulnerable Ayisha won't eat tonight or tomorrow. She is slowly dying" (Save the Children, 2013g) or "Save the Children knows what it takes to save lives. It takes us, you and as little as 2 pounds a month" (Save the Children, 2013c). Based on codes like this, among many others, I could categorize Save the Children as the hero, the local as the suffering and the donor as the donor. Following, I would categorize the elements according to the three-act model and three aid approaches. Hence, I would identify the problem and solution for example "deadly diseases" and "lifesaving vaccines" among other related codes. An

example of a typical code for a charity-based solution is “Save the Children provides lifesaving treatment” (Save the Children, 2011d) whereas a typical code for a needs-based approach could be “Mary Luke is different because she *has* been trained by Save the Children” (Save the Children, 2011a) and a code for a human rights-based approach was “Save the Children and the Ethiopian Government have...” (Save the Children, 2011g).

Based on this categorization, I would define the core categories i.e. the hero and solution as local or external. After this, combinations of the hero and solution as local or external and certain structures portraying these combinations and secondary characters’ roles were identified as patterns. Hereby, certain patterns of structures were identified i.e. the combination of characters and solutions. After identifying every structure pattern, each story was categorized according to one of these patterns. The frequency of the patterns were calculated to understand how often a local vs. external hero and solution, and hence how often a Planner vs. Searcher approach, occurs in the videos.

3.3.2 Variables

My variables were a Planner hero vs. a Searcher hero. To categorize the hero as a Planner or a Searcher, I identified whether the plot illustrated an internal or external plan. To do so, I first identified which role the characters have according to Popp’s seven spheres of action, which aid approach the solution has and how this defines the solution as internal or external. This provided answers on which role the characters have for the plot i.e. which meaning they generate for the structure. Looking at the structure enabled me to study how the problem is approached by the characters i.e. how the solution is operationalized. This indicated who pushes the solution. Hence, I firstly identified if the hero is external or local and if this is a Seeker or Victim hero. When categorizing the hero I looked at the main character i.e. the first-person narrator or the person followed throughout the story. Yet, the hero was mainly categorized as the character who pushes the solution and saves the princess or himself. Hence, identifying the secondary character’s roles was done along with identifying the hero’s role as these were dependent on each other. For example, some stories followed a first-person narrator throughout the whole story which indicates a main character and thus a hero. If this person was local, a victim of the problem and working on overcoming it himself, this was a victim hero. If the organization would occur as a dispatcher and/or the donor was included, this would indicate an external solution. If these were not present, and no other cues would point at external impact on the hero’s solution, this would indicate a local

solution. On the other hand, if this story would include a princess and the hero was saving them, this would indicate a seeker hero. Here, the organization would always be implied as the one sending the hero and hence be the dispatcher, which would point at an external solution. Henceforth, the element's relation to each other plays a crucial role for the meaning. Therefore, I would look at these at the same time and at the whole story to categorize them, and the coding process of Boieje (2010) was hence not useful as this break down the text in parts and look at those separately.

The character's role already indicated whether the solution was internal or external. Still, in some stories this was more or less obvious. To ensure that this was done correctly, I added a categorization of the solution's aid approach throughout the analysis, as this could help check whether the solution was external or internal. Any of the three aid approach identified would point at an external solution. As a result, I identified the solution according to the aid approach and to who was essential for reaching the solution i.e. the hero and/or dispatcher. Here, I would also focus on elements like external programs and partners or the MDG's as this indicated an externally pushed solution. This all constructs the plan as either external, a Planner approach, or local, a Searcher approach. Again, parts of the story but also the story as a whole would generate the meaning.

A solution resulting from a ready-made plan imposed from the outside reflects a Planners approach. This approach also reflected Popp's seeker hero who helps others fighting their problem. Hence, this is a Planners hero. Furthermore, the occurrence of an external dispatcher is an indication for external strategies which are qualified by solutions created by external forces. A dispatcher sends the hero on his quest and in a Planner approach this reflects the organization (Lacey, 2000). Here, the local character could be a victim hero sent on a quest by a dispatcher, but it could also be a secondary suffering character that is saved by an external seeker hero.

Reversely, a Searcher hero would look at what the problem essentially is to him and adapt his own solution hereto. Thereby, a Searcher hero takes his own faith in his hands. This hero reflects Popp's victim hero who fights his own problem. Locally made solutions are categorized by passivity from externals in shaping the solution, or freedom for the hero to search for his own strategy - this means that no external dispatcher, maybe even no donor, would be crucial for the story. Instead the organization would appear as the helper who gives the hero a small push to help but who, unlike the dispatcher, does not dictate what the hero should do. But mostly, the organization would not appear in the story at all (Lacey, 2000).

An important aspect in the coding was the invisible or the implied aspects that help define the elements through text and images. The organizations and their plans did not always occur directly in the story with a certain role but could have a more implied role proving that the unsaid also carries important meaning. Here, intertextuality also played a significant role as some aspects' meanings were built on a previous understanding of these aspects e.g. the organization's values and missions. As an example, UNICEF believes that every child should go to school. A story could focus on a problem with a child not having the money to go to school, and the solution would be a local program that would help the child getting an education. Maybe it was not explicitly expressed that UNICEF was behind this solution, but since this is their value pushed down on the hero, UNICEF's impact on the solution would be highly implied. Hence, it is implied that UNICEF is the dispatcher because they send the hero on his quest and because the problem and solution is defined according to their value of providing education for children. In fact, the problem and solution would often be implied by the organization which would show through the unsaid and intertextuality. This indicates a Planner approach. Had it been a Searcher approach, the story would have focused on a problem and solution defined according to the values of the local character i.e. the child's own wish. Consequently, the implied and intertextual aspects were highly significant for the meaning. It is important to note that I only used intertextuality to understand certain aspects like these values that are communicated through storytelling. I would only use intertextuality in regards to the communication of the organization. Hence, I did not use intertextuality to investigate how a certain solution had been operationalized in the real life event. I only analyzed how this was *communicated* in the stories, not executed in real life. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between the solution that is constructed in the stories, and the solution that has actually been carried out. I do not seek to study how a Planner vs. Searcher hero exists within aid organizations, but merely how it exists in their stories.

3.4.1 Limitations

A limitation to qualitative analysis will always be subjectivity. Naturally, this was also a limitation to my narrative analysis. This problem especially shows in my analysis, because I did not break down parts of the text, but had to look at the part's connection to one other and the meaning they construct in the text as a whole. Therefore, I relied on my own subjective estimations. To ensure more objectivity in the analysis I used theoretical tools i.e. Propp's seven spheres of action and the aid approaches. For example, some stories had a strong emphasis on the donor as crucial for the

solution which could point at the donor having a hero status. This would be confusing, because it would point at several heroes since the donor is never alone in the work – other characters, mainly the organization, are crucial for the execution of the solution. With Propp's seven spheres of action, the donor was always categorized as the donor, and this was a highly effective tool for distinguishing between and categorizing the characters. Since Propp's seven spheres of actions are quite essential in narrative theory, and have been applied to numerous different kinds of modern stories, these ensure more objectivity.

Even with the use of Propp's seven spheres of action, it was still difficult to differentiate between the structures. This is mainly because some structures would have mixes of first-person narrative and third-person narrative as well as multiple characters. Therefore, this was based on my subjective understanding. It would come down to who was working on pushing the solution forward to categorize the hero – whether this was external or local. By applying aid approaches on the solution, I could safely argue whether the solution was local or external, especially when elements like the MDG's or external programs were included. With these tools, I had clear directions on how to categorize the elements and could thus ensure reliability and validity of my analysis.

I was interested in getting to understand the underlying dimensions of the aid organization's use of storytelling. This would enable me to understand whether the hero constructed in the stories reflects the aid organization's values. Unfortunately, this was not possible. Thus, I was limited to only focus on what is constructed in the stories of the organizations, and not how this is linked to the organization's identity and work.

I also aimed to have more than 100 videos in total and the same number of videos per year. However, there was not a larger amount of data available and the amount of videos per year varied. I used almost every video from each organization's YouTube profile in the chosen time period. The two organizations posted very few videos before 2010 and after 2015. Hence, I have used most videos on the profiles (that focused on Africa) and the sample is therefore highly representable.

4. Results

The following chapter goes through the results of my analysis. The analysis identified 7 different structures in the stories in regards to the role of the characters and the aid approach which together form a certain approach that indicates whether the solution is external or local. For UNICEF, 4 approaches were identified and for Save the Children, 3 approaches were identified. Firstly, I go through the patterns identified. Secondly, I go through the results from the analysis of UNICEF's videos and thirdly Save the Children.

4.1 Structure patterns

The structures were investigated according to which role the different characters have and who plays the role of the hero. 7 different structure patterns were identified in the 100 videos of the two organizations. UNICEF had videos with 6 patterns Save the Children had videos with 4 patterns.

Aid organization hero

This pattern portrays the organization as the seeker hero, the locals as the princess and staff members or partners as helpers. The aid approach is charity- or needs based with the exception that Save the Children has one video with a rights-based approach. Hence, the solution is external. For example, "Orphans of Ebola in Liberia" (UNICEF UK, 2015d) portrays Watta, whose age is not mentioned. The video has text-over which functions as a third person narrator that or UNICEF as an invisible first-person narrator. Furthermore, Watta is telling parts of the story as a first-person narrator. Watta is crying while she explains that her parents died of Ebola and how UNICEF helped her and her siblings. The text-over states that Watta and her siblings were excluded from society and reports on the work they did for her e.g. taking them to a care center and giving them an emergency cash grant. The focus is on the problem Watta faced and the work UNICEF has done to help her. Hence, Watta is helpless and suffering while UNICEF is saving her. The solution focuses on providing Watta with different things and is hence charity-based. With UNICEF as the hero and a charity-based aid approach, the solution is external.

Table 1

Structure pattern - Aid organization hero

Characters	Sphere of action
Organization	Seeker hero
Locals, suffering, helpless	Princess
Donor	Donor
Staff, local/external	Helper
Partner	Helper
Celebrity	Helper
Plan	Approach
Solution	External
Aid approach	Charity/Needs

Celebrity hero

This pattern portrays a celebrity seeker hero who is travelling to a location where to problem occurs. Here, the locals are the princess and the organization is the dispatcher. The aid approach is charity-based for UNICEF or needs-based for Save the Children, and the solution is therefore external. For example, “Poppy Delevigne Visits the DRC” (Save the Children, 2015c) follows model Poppy Delevigne on her trip to the DRC with Save the Children. Delevigne is the first-person narrator and the focus is always on her experiences i.e. *her* meeting with locals and not locals’ meeting with her. Hence, she is the main character and is therefore the hero. The appeal to the donor is more indirect in this specific video, but it is usually very direct in this pattern. Thereby, the celebrity is trying to save the locals through this appeal which also serves as an indication for the celebrity being the hero. The locals are suffering and helpless. For example Delevigne meets a little unidentified girl who is held back in a hospital as a sort of arrest because her grandfather cannot afford the hospital bill. This makes Delevigne cry and later she expresses a need for helping in the DRC. These suffering locals are the basis for the appeal which states that the locals can be saved with the help of the donor and the organization. Therefore, the locals are the princess. Throughout the trip, Delevigne is wearing a Save the Children t-shirt. Save the children is obviously the one sending her on her trip which makes them the dispatcher.

Table 2

Structure pattern - Celebrity hero

Characters	Sphere of action
Celebrity	Seeker hero
Organization	Dispatcher
Local, suffering, helpless	Princess
Donor	Donor
Plan	Approach
Solution	External
Aid approach	Charity/Needs

External seeker hero

This pattern portrays an external seeker hero who is an employee of the organization with the organization as the dispatcher. Also here, the locals are the princess. The aid approach is charity- and needs-based. Hence, the solution is external. An example of such a video is “Maternal Healthcare in Ethiopia” (Save the Children, 2013i). The video shows a Save the Children worker Vicky Hearn working on infant and maternal mortality in Ethiopia. She is first-person narrator working on Save the Children’s solution which categorizes her as the hero. A voice-over of Hearn explains the problems of a lack of health care and what she and Save the Children does to prevent this. The video has images of locals who are being “saved”. Thereby, the locals are the princess and Save the Children is the dispatcher who is behind the work of Hearn. At the end, Hearn appeals directly to the donor emphasizing their role.

Table 3

Structure pattern – External seeker hero

Characters	Sphere of action
Staff, external	Seeker hero
Aid organization	Dispatcher
Local, suffering	Princess
Donor	Donor
Plan	Approach
Solution	External
Aid approach	Charity

Local seeker hero

This patterns portrays a local seeker hero who is an employee of the organization. Also here, the locals are the princess and the organization the dispatcher. The pattern has a charity-based approach in UNICEF’s videos while Save the Children’s videos have both a charity- and needs-based aid approach. Hence, external solutions are indicated though external dispatchers and through the aid approach, but this is also expressed through other elements which vary between the organizations. An example is “Baby Eldana's fight against pneumonia in Ethiopia” (UNICEF UK, 2013e). The video has a text-over a third-person narrator. During the movie’s happy ending, Dr. Altaye Negus reports to the camera on his work which is related to the solution. The text-over explains how 7 month year old Eldana was saved from malnutrition by Dr. Negus at a local UNICEF hospital in Ethiopia. The mother is worried and helplessly waiting. The focus is on the health officer’s work and Eldana surviving “thanks to the hospital” (UNICEF UK, 2013e) categorizing the locals as the princess and the worker as the hero who saves them.

Table 4

Structure pattern – Local seeker hero

Characters	Sphere of action
Local, fighting	Seeker hero
Aid organization	Dispatcher
Donor	Donor
Plan	Approach
Solution	External
Aid approach	Charity/Needs

Table notes: Donor only exists in Save the Children's videos

Local fighting victim hero, external solution

This pattern portrays a local, fighting victim hero with the organization as the dispatcher. This was an identified individual, a local community or a local government. Like the main category includes different types of local heroes, it also includes different solutions. Therefore, the main category was divided into 2. Most videos in this structure portray an external needs-based solution which focuses on teaching locals how to manage their problem. A few UNICEF videos with the structure portrays an individual with an external/local solution i.e. the organization trains them and gives them broad guidelines and freedom to execute the plan their own way. The aid approach was needs-based with the exception of one video with a rights-based approach. An example of a video with this structure is “Community garden feeds children in Burkina Faso - Unicef UK” (UNICEF UK, 2012j) which shows locals' success with a community garden that has given them healthier food to prevent hunger and provide income to pay for children's school fees. Here the locals are working hard themselves for the solution, but the solution is not their own but UNICEF's. It is clear that the approach is needs-based indicating an external solution, but this is not mentioned explicitly. The influence of UNICEF is quite implicit e.g. through the value of education and UNICEF logos. Therefore, UNICEF's role as the dispatcher is more indirect in this video than in others.

Table 5

Structure pattern - Local fighting victim hero, external solution

Characters	Sphere of action
Local, fighting	Victim hero
Aid organization	Dispatcher
Plan	Approach
Solution	External/Mixed
Aid approach	Needs

Local fighting victim hero, own solution

This pattern portrayed local victim heroes with local solutions and therefore no external characters are included. Only to UNICEF videos had this structure. Most interesting is “South Sudan marks one year since the start of the conflict” (UNICEF UK, 2014j) that follows 18-year old Raymond. He joins a local initiative in a refugee camp to get young refugees together and discuss how to achieve peace in their country. Therefore, the hero and the solution is local. There are some reserves here which will be further explained under the results of UNICEF.

Table 6

Structure pattern - Local fighting victim hero, own solution

Characters	Sphere of action
Local, fighting	Victim hero
Local	Dispatcher
Plan	Approach
Solution	Local
Aid approach	Local

Local suffering victim hero

The last pattern portrays a local, suffering victim hero. UNICEF only had one of these videos Inside “Somalia: Violence Against Women and Girls” (UNICEF UK, 2014c). This shows images of Somali women and girls while Somali women tell about their experiences of violence like rape against their girls in their refugee. The story only focuses on these reports and no solution is provided. Hence, they are helpless and suffering first-person narrators. This makes them a suffering

hero. Save the Children had 4 videos with this pattern. Here the solution which was quite complex to define. I shall turn back to this under the results of Save the Children.

Table 7

Structure pattern - Local suffering victim hero

Characters	Sphere of action
Local, suffering, helpless	Victim hero
Aid organization	Helper
Donor	Donor
Plan	Approach
Solution	Local
Aid approach	Local/None

Table notes: Aid organization and donor only occur in Save the Children's videos

The structure's patterns also formed another pattern according to the combination of a local or external hero and solution forming an approach to solve the problem:

1. External hero - external solution (Both organizations)
2. Local hero - external solution (Both organizations)
3. Local hero – mixed solution (UNICEF)
4. Local hero – local solution (Both organizations)

I shall in the following go more into depth with the patterns and approaches in relation to the organizations.

4.2 UNICEF

In the 50 videos of UNICEF, 6 different patterns were identified. An aid organization hero was identified in 54 % videos and a celebrity hero in 8 %. Together, these main categories make a pattern of an external hero and external solution. This pattern occurred in 62 % of the videos and is hence the most frequent. A local seeker hero occurred in 8 % of the videos and a local fighting victim hero with an external solution in 16 %. These showed local heroes with external solutions and UNICEF as a dispatcher. This pattern was identified in 24 % of the videos. A local fighting victim hero with a mixed solution occurred in 8 % videos. Therefore, the pattern of a local hero and mixed solution occurred in 8 % of the videos. A local fighting hero with a local solution occurred in

4 % of the videos and this pattern hence occurred in 4 % videos as well. A suffering victim hero with no solution or other characters only occurred in 1 video and will hence not be explained further.

An external hero occurred in 62 % videos and a local in 38 % videos. An external solution occurred in 86 % videos, a mixed solution in four videos and a local solution in 4 % videos. Therefore, the majority of videos portray external heroes and external solutions. Especially external solutions dominate. These numbers are also shown in the tables below. There was not identified any significant difference of main categories over time. The different approaches were spread over time with the exception that main category with an aid organization hero was the only identified in videos from year 2011. I shall in the following go through the different types of patterns and main categories.

Table 8

Frequency of structure patterns: UNICEF

Main category of structure	Number of videos	Percentage
Aid organization hero	27	54 %
Local fighting victim hero, external solution	8	16 %
Celebrity hero	4	8 %
Local seeker hero	4	8 %
Local fighting victim hero, mixed solution	4	8 %
Local fighting victim hero, local solution	2	4 %
Local suffering victim hero	1	2 %

Table 9

Frequency of main categories and patterns: UNICEF

Hero	Number of videos	Percentage
External	31	62 %
Local	19	38 %
Solution	Number of videos	Percentage
External	43	86 %
Mixed	4	8 %
Local	2	4 %
None	1	2 %
Combination of hero and solution	Number of videos	Percentage
External hero, external solution	31	62 %
Local hero, external solution	12	24 %
Local hero, mixed solution	4	8 %
Local hero, local solution	2	4 %
Not applicable	1	2 %

4.1.1 External hero, external solution

Characters

The most frequent category under this pattern is the aid organization as the hero. The story typically starts by reporting the problem illustrated through examples of identified local victim. Hereafter, the solution is represented through the work of UNICEF. An example of this sequence is “UNICEF Helps Keep Somali Children in School” (UNICEF UK, 2011e). A voice-over firstly explains how the helpless children, Devan and her brother, attend school in a refugee camp, but that schools are over-crowded. Hereafter, the voice-over states that “UNICEF and several national and international partners working across the region warn that if urgent action is not taken that number [number of children not attending school] will dramatically increase”. Following this, comes a scene of an external UNICEF Somalia Emergency Education Officer who explains:

We [UNICEF] hope that through our partners we will be able to support schools to reopen. But we will have to install additional learning spaces in schools where they have to observe additional children, and we will

have to probably recruit and train teachers very quickly to fill the gaps by those who have left (UNICEF UK, 2011e).

After this, is a clip of a local girl who explains why she wants to be educated with a secondary voice-over translating her statements. The main voice-over also explains that “science and social studies is their [the local children] only future”. The video ends with the voice-over explaining why school is important like stating that “school gives children a sense of normalcy” and that “UNICEF and partners recognize schools as a way of disseminating key survival messages”. Furthermore, UNICEF logos show on schoolbooks. In other videos, the UNICEF logo will show on tents, t-shirts of staff and other elements in the images. Additionally, the UNICEF logo will always show at the end of the story, in 5 videos the logo also shows at the beginning of story.



Figure1: A close-up shot of Devan's school book

This sequence illustrates how the meaning is shaped through the whole story. Hence, the story as a whole categorizes the elements, but also through specific parts of the story like the linguistic choices or images. Firstly, the example shows that an aid organization hero is defined by a mix of first and third person narrative as UNICEF is directly mentioned as “UNICEF” or “We” but does not appear as a real person in the story. Only the staff member, who functions as the helper of UNICEF, is shown. UNICEF is represented through a voice-over, a staff member and/or UNICEF logos. The voice-over will always state that “UNICEF (and partners) are working on/in...” followed by clips and voice-over explanations of UNICEF’s work and the outcome as well as through clips of UNICEF staff explaining the work done by them and UNICEF to solve the problem. This indicates that UNICEF tells the story and is one indication for UNICEF being the hero. Furthermore, this shapes a solution which focuses on the work of UNICEF and what the organization does to save the suffering as illustrated in the example. This focus on UNICEF’s work

for a solution is another strong indication for UNICEF being a seeker hero. For that reason, I have categorized UNICEF as the hero in the first level of categories.

Many of the stories come from UNICEF television which serves as news reporting that can be used by journalists and broadcasters. It is not always stated if the video comes from UNICEF television, and I was therefore unable to count the frequency of this. But because videos are linked with UNICEF television, many videos are reporting on the problem and solution rather than telling a story or appealing to donors. 4 stories from this main category have a title which indicates that it is a local's story i.e. "Aden's story". Here, the story will follow an identified local character. Nevertheless, UNICEF is the one who tells the story on their behalf rather than letting the local telling his own story. Thus, "Aden's story" is not really Aden's story but UNICEF's version of his story. This is another indication for UNICEF being the hero.

In this main category, the locals have been hit by a problem and are too helpless to solve it themselves. This is e.g. shown in the definition of the problem where it is explained that the locals are in desperate need of aid. In the case of Devan and her brother (UNICEF UK, 2011e), they are in desperate need of education, but this specific story also represents unidentified groups of malnourished children who are too sick to attend school. Health problems are universal problems that would put anyone in urgent need of help, here the locals, which make them suffering and helpless. The problem of education is more defined by UNICEF e.g. by stating that it is "their only future". When explaining that children do not have access to this "only future", the children become helpless. Additionally, the local victims sometimes report directly to the camera on their hardships explaining how hard a situation is and that they do not know what to do, which also makes them very helpless. Therefore, they are the ones who must be saved, and I have hence categorized them as the princess. Images contribute to this framing by showing images of "suffering locals" i.e. of sick children or of children in overcrowded schools.



Figure 2: A shot of children in an overcrowded school

As mentioned earlier, this main category does not include much focus on appealing or involving the donor. Their role as donor is merely implied. The donor is only appealed to in the beginning or at the end assisted with the UNICEF logo that always shows at the end of the story. Here, it will either contain the logo and a webpage only as more indirect appeal, or this will be accompanied with a text saying “Denying a child’s rights is wrong. Put it right” as more direct appeal.



Figure 2: UNICEF logo and appeal



Figure 3: UNICEF logo

At last, different types of characters appear as the helper. Local and external staff is always included either through images showing them working or by them reporting directly to the camera on the situation using “we” representing UNICEF as an organization. Herewith, they function as the helper. In 2 videos, a celebrity occurs as the helper. Work partners of UNICEF also occur in this main category. These are also crucial for helping UNICEF saving the locals categorizing them as their helper. These partners are foremost external and/or international organizations.

The main category with a celebrity hero follows a celebrity character. An example is “James Nesbitt visits Guinea for Soccer Aid” (UNICEF UK, 2011a). The story starts with Nesbitt presenting himself and mentions the UNICEF program Soccer Aid. After this, he introduces the problem which he is looking at on this trip - malaria. After this, the problem is explained through examples of identified victims for example 13-year old Malfadea. A doctor with a UNICEF strap around his neck explains the situation of Malfadea to Nesbitt, and how malaria and malnutrition is a combining factor that has hit her. After showcasing the problem through victims, the solution is explained - a malaria net. Nessbitt explains that the victims got malaria because they did not have a malaria net. Furthermore, he states that this is a very simple solution. Following this, Nesbitt is sitting with sick Malfadea and her mother. He is more in the front and central in the frame sitting in the lights while the mother and especially Malfadea are behind him in the shadow. He is talking directly to the camera appealing to the donor asking them to “help save a life”.

This structure is always in first person narrative and is the first indication for this person being the hero. The celebrity is visiting countries in Africa and meets suffering, helpless locals who must be saved through his/her appeal to the donor. Hence, the celebrity is indirectly saving the suffering. Furthermore, the celebrity often stands central to the camera with locals around him/her which implies a hero status.

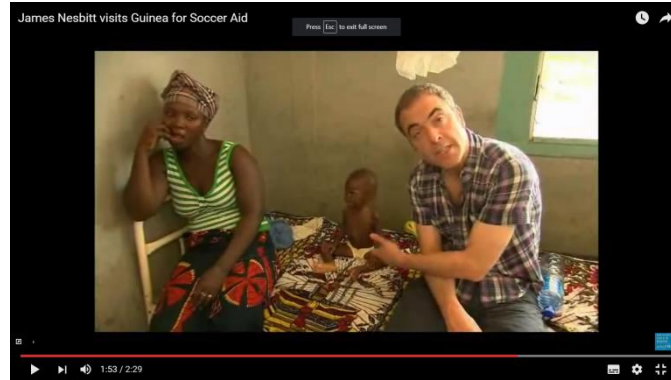


Figure 4: James Nesbitt with Malfedea and her mother



Figure 5: Celebrity Cat Deeley saying “This is wrong, we need your help to put it right” (UNICEF 2011b)

Additionally, as the example of Malfadea illustrates, the locals are represented through a certain identified victim who has been hit by the problem. Images of these victims show very sick looking children. For example, James Nesbitt introduces Malfedia who has malaria and looks very sick. Nesbitt states that “Malfedia is sitting here sick because she didn’t have a malaria net” and asks the donor to donate money for one. The images of this sick child and Nesbitt emphasizing on the problem having originated from a lack of a net that donors can provide indicates that this local child is helpless without support from an external. Thus, the locals have been categorized as the princess.

Here, UNICEF is the dispatcher who has sent the celebrity on their quest – to get support from the donor as the crucial need for the solution to be implemented. In the videos, the celebrity will appeal directly to the donor by talking into the camera saying “This is wrong (We need your help to put it right)” like Nesbitt does. Thus, the donor and donation is constructed as crucial for UNICEF to do their work to save lives. For example, it is often explained that deadly diseases are completely preventable with vaccines or mosquito nets and that the problem has occurred due to a lack of these vaccines or nets. This emphasizes the simplicity for UNICEF to save

children's lives – all they need is the donation. In some cases, it will also be explicitly stated that the donor can help save lives for example when Nesbitt asks the donor to call and “help save a child's life”.

As mentioned before, 2 stories with aid organization heroes include a celebrity. Here, the story follows different characters and not only the celebrity which gives them a secondary role as a helper. Therefore, I distinguish this from structures that follow a celebrity as a first narrative. Structures with aid organization heroes and celebrities also differentiate from main categories with celebrity heroes because they have no or very little emphasis on the donor for the solution.

Problem and solution

An external hero stresses the importance of external players for reaching the solution which indicates that the solution is external. UNICEF, celebrities and UNICEF staff are the ones working on the solution while the locals are helpless. This indicates that there would be no solution without these external players. Local staff does illustrate a fighting, local, secondary character, but this character is representing UNICEF with a logo on the t-shirt and UNICEF as the dispatcher. This fighting local does not follow his own plan with support from UNICEF as he is only a secondary character. Hence, this local is not central in the solution. Additionally, there is also a lot of external staff working for UNICEF representing imposed solutions.



Figure 6: External UNICEF worker with logo on t-shirt and external program “Football For Hope” on banner



Figure 7: Local UNICEF worker with UNICEF strap around his neck

The videos focus on explaining what UNICEF and/or certain external or international programs do to push a solution forward. They explain UNICEF’s work with the voice-over stating that “UNICEF and partners provide...” or “UNICEF has set up...”. This is often followed by sentences like “...to help those who [problem]” or “to save the lives of those who [problem]”. Hereby, UNICEF is always essential for the solution and there is very often focus on external or international elements. These elements are programs like Football For Hope and especially Soccer Aid. Furthermore, it is “an international network” and international partners like Starwood Hotels and Resort.

As previously mentioned, in these main categories the local characters are portrayed as helpless, suffering people who must be saved by externals. The exception is those locals who work for UNICEF and function as helpers. This is done through both images and text. Images portray very sick looking children or sad-looking children and parents. Furthermore, words like “suffering” and “worried” are used to describe the local characters by an external. When locals report to the camera, they will mostly explain a lack of solution by stating that they do not know what to do about their problem. Based on this, there is a focus on what UNICEF, with help of the donors, does to change this problem. The locals are barely included in the solution nor are they included in telling the story. For example, a shot shows Nesbitt sitting with a mother who lost a child to malaria because she did not have a mosquito net. The mother is sitting in the shadow looking sad. She does not say anything – Nesbitt is telling her story.



Figure 8: Nesbitt sitting with a mother who lost a child to malaria

Another interesting example is “Charlie’s story” (UNICEF UK, 2011c) where they visit 13-year old Charlie and learn about his work at home. Here, the problem is that Charlie does not go to school but only works at home taking care of his sister and the house’s cows. The solution is to “put it right for children like Charlie” indicating to give him an education. Paradoxically, Charlie does explain in the video that he dreams of becoming a cow herd which he already is. Therefore, this solution is defined according to UNICEF’s values, and not according to Charlie whose wishes are not even considered.

On the other hand, when a solution is mentioned, happy images of this are shown. For example “Education in Africa: Unicef Sent 22 Million Children's Textbooks to Zimbabwe” (UNICEF UK, 2013c) shows happy, unidentified children in school. “UNICEF Helps Keep Somali Children in School” (UNICEF UK, 2011e) with Devan shows images of her happy in school later in the story when the solution is defined whereas the images focus more on the overcrowded schools in the beginning of the story when the problem is defined.



Figure 9: Happy children in school

“Education in Africa: Unicef Sent 22 Million Children's Textbooks to Zimbabwe” (UNICEF UK, 2013c) is different from the other videos as this focuses more in a happy ending and on thanking the donor. It is an interesting video because it shows very happy children who have been given books by the donor. Children report to the camera, supposedly on a positive outcome, but in fact these clips are not translated and the receiver does therefore not know what they are saying, but must assume that they are saying positive things. This story ends with a group of children smiling and saying “Thank you for the books” to the camera all together which clearly indicates that they have been directed to say this. This again indicates how UNICEF tells their story and also that UNICEF defines the problem and solution and get the locals to follow this.



Figure 10: Local children saying “Thank you for the books” (UNICEF 2013c)

Only 6 videos in the structure with an aid organization hero had happy endings (UNICEF UK, 2012d; 2012e; 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; 2013d). This is only in videos that report on the success of a project. Two of these (UNICEF UK, 2013b; 2013c) focus on the help from the donor to reach the happy ending and these videos function more as a story. “Angola Field Trip: Unicef and Starwood Hotels and Resorts” (UNICEF UK, 2013b) Focuses on the work of their partner Starwood Hotels and Resort for the happy ending. All other videos focus on a current, urgent issue. In the case of the celebrity hero, it highlights how the happy ending can be reached through the donor. In the case of the structure with an aid organization hero, it functions as a report of the problem rather than telling a story and focuses on UNICEF’s work as a solution.

Another indication for an external solution is the problem which always focuses on hunger and refugee camps, deadly diseases or lack of education, training and sports/play. Hunger and deadly diseases are universal problems and they are therefore not defined by UNICEF. Yet, the problem focuses on a more or less emergent lack of food and health care. Naturally, this makes it

very difficult for the people hit by the problem to come up with their own solution. Education, training and sport are the values and knowledge of UNICEF. Such a problem is therefore defined by the organization. This indicates Western values and plans. It points at an external's problem while neglecting to look at what the problem essentially is to the local. With these problems, the solution also becomes external. The aid solution is always an aid approach which focuses on external domination. In the case of hunger and deadly diseases, the solution is always focused on emergency aid. Thereby, the aid approach is charity-based. Furthermore, in the case of education, training and sport, the aid approach is needs-based. It focuses on teaching locals according to the Western's perception of things e.g. teaching and training teachers. These patterns neglect to include local decision-making in the process of the solution. This all implies Western domination in the planning and execution of a solution.

4.1.2 Local hero, external solution

Characters

The main categories with local seeker heroes portray external solutions. It is similar to the main categories above, but follows a local UNICEF worker who is helping saving the local victims and is sent by UNICEF.

Four videos (UNICEF UK, 2012f; 2013e; 2014a; 2014g) follow a local UNICEF worker more than in the videos of the aid organization hero. It also focuses more on his specific work. For example "UNICEF in Somalia" (UNICEF UK, 2013f) follows a local UNICEF emergency specialist who to some extent has a seeker hero status. Still, the focus is also on UNICEF's work as a whole and other local helpers are included. Therefore, it was difficult to categorize this as a seeker hero or a helper of UNICEF. As the story is more about UNICEF's work in general as pushing the solution, this specific character is not alone central to the solution. They rather represent UNICEF. I categorized them as the hero and UNICEF as the dispatcher as they are the ones who tell the story, who are the main characters or who does work that push the solution forward (together with UNICEF). Besides that, the main category was as the above mentioned main categories portraying the local victims accordingly. "Behind the scenes at an Ebola treatment unit in Liberia" (UNICEF UK, 2014g) did not include any local victims, but only showed how an Ebola center is being built.



Figure 11: A UNICEF emergency specialist

The main category with a local fighting victim hero and external solution is quite similar to the one with a local seeker hero, but with a victim hero. An example of such a story is “Let us learn: The chance to go to school in Madagascar “ where we meet 11 year old Lantorina in Madagascar (UNICEF UK, 2015b). She explains that she wants to study and not get married. Her mother explains how she went out of school and got married: “And you can see what my situation is now. It is so sad because I think if I had gotten a diploma, my life would be a different one now”. Furthermore, the sister explains that she went out of school because the parents could not afford it, and she now regrets to have said yes to marry her husband. Hereby, the problem is indirectly defined which is quite common in this structure. Here, it focuses on where life brings you if you do not study and only becomes a housewife. After this, the solution is again introduced, education. The sister explains that she tells Lantorina to study well. Lantorina explains that people do not understand why she should go to school, but she asks them why girls should not study. Furthermore, she states that it is important to study as it enables you to teach later. The story ends with text-over saying that “UNICEF has supported over 5000 girls in Madagascar to stay in school or return to classes”.

This exemplifies how the local is the main character and hence the hero. As Lantorina could not stay in school without UNICEF, it also tells that UNICEF is the dispatcher. UNICEF is mostly implied through images like a UNICEF logo on t-shirts or through the UNICEF logo before and after the story. Therefore, it is implied that UNICEF is behind the solution, but this becomes explicit in the text-over at the end of the story. As the example also shows, the donor, local helpers and external partners of UNICEF do not play a crucial role. It focuses more on the locals around the hero. The donor plays a much smaller role in this main category and is not appealed to nor thanked. UNICEF staff as helpers only occur in 2 videos (UNICEF UK, 2015e; 2015g).

Problem and solution

Because the main category with a seeker hero is a UNICEF worker, it is quite explicit that the plan comes from UNICEF. The external plan is more implicit in the other main category. In the case of Lantorina, it is mentioned through UNICEF's values of education and by text-over explaining what UNICEF does. It can also be implied through logos of UNICEF or other external programs like The World Health Organization as in "Delivering hope for a future free from HIV: Two mothers from South Africa" (UNICEF UK, 2014e) where it is stated that they recommend HIV-positive women to breastfeed their babies.

An external solution is also indicated by determining the aid approaches as there are charity-based or need-based. This indicates that the solution has been implemented by UNICEF and hence represents an external plan. "UNICEF supports inspiring filmmakers in Rwanda during world cup series" (UNICEF UK, 2011d) with a right-based approach has a solution which involves a partnership between UNICEF and the Rwandan Ministry of Youth. Still, the solution is a part of Soccer Aid, an external program, and is therefore an external plan.

This structure with a local fighting victim hero and external solution is different from the others as it often has a happy ending. Therefore, it is also more positive, but also because the focus is on other types of problems that do not show sick-looking children. Instead it focuses mainly on education, but also one video involves Ebola vaccination, one HIV and one involves bad nutrition.

4.1.4 Local hero, mixed solution

This main category is like the main category of a fighting victim hero with an external solution, but differs as the solution is not fully planned. Therefore, I will not go through the characters again – it is merely a local main character, and UNICEF as the implied dispatcher (together with a partner) through the same kinds of codes. However, the the problem and solution are quite different elements, which is relevant to go through.

The main category was identified in stories where the solution is based on the project "Building Young Futures" and in one other kind of story. The project is a partnership between UNICEF and the English bank Barclays to help young get employment.

An example of this is "Building Young Futures – Desire's story" (UNICEF UK, 2013g). Desire first presents himself. He is 17 years old and lives in Chongwe, Zambia. Following,

he expresses his problem – that his parents died and he received no help. After this, he shares his goal to set up a business growing chicken and how the program has helped him find and plan this plan. He says that the program has taught him to save up money instead of using it on useless things. This sequence is very similar to the story of Karen in “Building Young Futures: Karen's Story” (UNICEF UK, 2013f) and Peter in Wheels For Change: Peter's Story (UNICEF UK, 2014b). Karen has a baby and explains how this makes it difficult to work. Images show that she could bring the baby to the training of the program. Karen explains that she now wants to save up money to go to nursery school. Peter also had to help himself when his uncle died. He learned to set up a business and got loans through the program. Now, he has his own carpentry and has even hired someone to help him.



Figure 12: Karen in the right side and other young women with babies at the Building Young Future’s training



Figure 13: Peter working with wood and his worker observing him

These stories show that the program focuses on giving locals entrepreneurial skills by teaching them how to save up money and get funding. After the program, the locals start up their own business by themselves and are alone in making the decisions. Therefore, the plan is a mix of

local and external. UNICEF is still essential for the solution as they take the initiative and plan the beginning of it. However, later the local has freedom to follow his own plan within the guidelines from the UNICEF training. The approach is therefore needs-based and relates much to “teaching a man how to fish”. This still emphasizes on UNICEF and being crucial for reaching a solution. Hence, the solution is external like the similar structure, but it is still important to note that the difference as it gives more power to the local to search his own solution.

“Unicef Supports Aspiring Young Filmmakers In Rwanda During World Cup Series” (UNICEF UK, 2011d) is a bit different as this focuses on the program Soccer Aid and a partnership with the Rwandan Ministry of Youth. The project lets young people make their own short films. As the government is included here, the aid approach is rights-based which also points at an external solution. This is the second out of two stories with a rights-based approach.

4.1.3 Local hero, local solution

Two videos showed a fighting local victim hero who makes his own plan. The local function as a first-person narrator which is why I defined the him/her as the hero. The first of these videos is “#EVERYchild - innovation can come from anyone, anywhere” (UNICEF UK, 2014i). This is a fictional story made by UNICEF. It represents a young unnamed girl who makes her own outdoor screen to show a football game to the local children who do not have access to a TV. The other video is “South Sudan marks one year since the start of the conflict” (UNICEF UK, 2014j). It follows 18-year old Raymond in a UNICEF refugee camp who engages in a youth forum called IDP Youth Forum. This is set up by another local boy in the refugee camp. The aim is to change their country by discussing how to create peace. Hence, it is a local initiative and carried out by locals. However, they are hosted in an UN camp which may imply that UNICEF has some influence on this project in the background. Nonetheless, this is not communicated in the story and so the story frames the solution as completely local.

As the descriptions illustrate, the heroes look at what the problem essentially is to them and come up with a solution to this. As an example, Raymond explains that he wants the war to end: “We need peace to be everywhere in South Sudan because everyone who is now in South Sudan, we are one”. To work for this, he becomes a part of a youth forum: “What we discuss is how to reconcile. There are a lot of issues that we have discussed about the roots causes. How people can come together you know...”. The problem and solution is quite obvious here, because Raymond gets to tell his own story himself and explicitly mentions his problem and his solution – or so is it

framed. The video of the young girl functions as a campaign story and things are shown more through images and implicit verbal text. It must be noted that UNICEF has produced these videos, not the locals. Therefore, we do not know the extent to which this represents reality. It must be reminded that this is only showing us what is communicated by UNICEF and not what is done behind the camera.

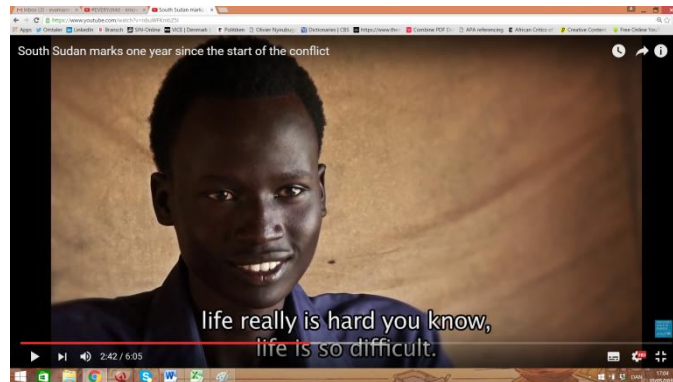


Figure 14: A shot of Raymond telling his story directly to the camera

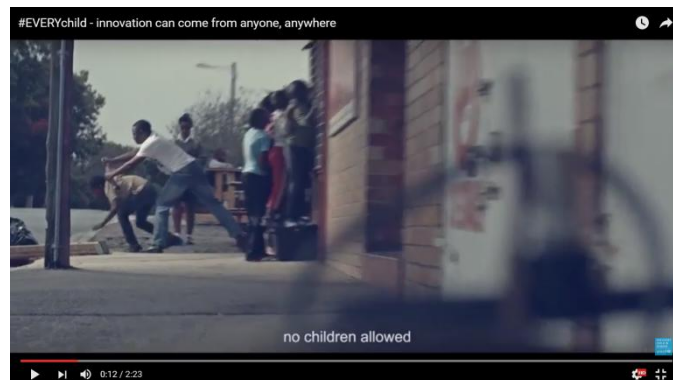


Figure 15: A boy is kicked away while the bartender says “No children allowed” (football is on TV in the bar)

The video about Raymond is more interesting as this follows a real story and is not created. Hence, parallels can be drawn between the story and the reality. An interesting part of this is the intertextuality as online articles shows how IDP Youth forum criticizes some procedures in aid that does not work well and asks for this to be changed. This highlights a local plan. Furthermore, in both stories the dispatcher is another local who is motivating the hero to engage in a solution which points at a local plan.

4.3 Save the Children

In the 50 videos of Save the Children's, 5 main categories of structures were identified. An aid organization hero occurred in 48 % of the videos, a celebrity hero in 26 % and an external seeker hero in 4 %. Hence, the pattern of external heroes and external solutions occurred in 78 % of the videos and is the most frequent pattern. Furthermore, a local seeker hero showed 12 % of the videos and a local suffering victim hero showed in 8 %. Hence, the pattern of a local hero with an external plan occurred 12 % times and a local hero with local solution occurred in 8 %. The local solution differentiated from UNICEF as it was framed as a none-solution. An external hero occurred in 82 % of the videos and a local in only 18 %. An external solution occurred in 92 % of the videos and a local/no solution in 8 %. Therefore, the majority of videos portray external heroes and especially external solutions. The numbers are also shown in the tables below. Also here, the different main categories were spread over time and no significant difference was identified. I shall in the following go through the different types of approaches and structures.

Table 10

Frequency of structure patterns: Save the Children

Main category of structure	Number of videos	Percentage
Aid organization hero	24	48 %
Local fighting victim hero, external solution	13	26 %
Celebrity hero	6	12 %
Local seeker hero	4	8 %
Local fighting victim hero, mixed solution	3	6 %

Table 11

Frequency of main categories and patterns: Save the Children

Hero	Number of videos	Percentage
External	31	62 %
Local	19	38 %
Solution	Number of videos	Percentage
External	46	92 %
Local	4	8 %
Combination of hero and solution	Number of videos	Percentage
External hero, external solution	40	80 %
Local hero, external solution	6	12 %
Local hero, mixed solution	4	8 %

4.3.1 External hero, external solution

Characters

Like the pattern of UNICEF, the sequence of this main category starts by reporting the problem illustrated through examples of identified local victim. Hereafter, the solution is represented through the work of Save the Children. Here, the donor is appealed to and the help from the donor is emphasized in relation to Save the Children's work on the solution - this appeal is what differentiates Save the Children's videos from UNICEF's. An example of this is "ITV and Save the Children's Born to Shine – Bishara gets better" (Save the Children, 2011g). The video starts with introducing 18-months old Bishara as "The latest victim of drought ravaged Kenya" (Save the Children, 2011g). Images of an extremely sick looking baby shows while it is explained that Bishara "...suffers from severe malnutrition and her weight has sunk to just over 10 pounds" (Save the Children, 2011g). Furthermore, it is explained that she is in a "critical condition", she is "desperately ill", that "children in her situation has a small chance of surviving" and that "her life is hanging in a balance" (Save the Children, 2011g). After this, the solution with an emphasis on the donor to help reach this is introduced: "You can help. With your money, Save the Children can make sure that Bishara and thousands of children like her get the food, meds and water they so desperately need" (Save the Children, 2011g). Following is a text-over saying "Please donate today" and after this a text-over saying "Every child born to shine" which is the campaign name and

slogan of Save the Children (Save the Children, 2011g). The story ends with showing Save the Children's logo.

Save the Children is defined as the hero for different reasons. Firstly, the story is told by a voice-over indicating third person narrator, but also first person narrator as the voice-over directly says "Save the Children" and/or "We" to a much larger extend than UNICEF. Also here, they naturally have an invisible role as the hero as they tell the story but do not play a visible character. Furthermore, the focus is on Save the Children's work as a solution to the problem. As the example indicates, it focuses on Save the Children getting Bishara the provision that she needs through donations. This kind of sentence can also be framed as "Save the Children works on [solution]" and afterwards "With your help we..." as it for example is in "Drought brings sickness to children in Kenya as seen in ITV's TV show, Born to Shine" (Save the Children, 2011h). No matter how the sentences are framed, the focus is always on what Save the Children does to save the suffering giving them a seeker hero status.

Naturally, this gives the locals a princess status. The locals are helpless and cannot overcome the problem themselves. As the example illustrates, this is shown through the definition of the problem through linguistic choices and images. Dramatic linguistic choices shape this like the phrases from the example saying that a child's life is "hanging in a balance" and that they are described to be "severely malnourished" or "desperately ill". Furthermore, the locals are always suffering and to a much larger extent than in UNICEF's videos with images of very sick looking children. The locals also report to the camera here but the structure is less like reporting as in the case of UNICEF, and involves more storytelling that dramatically explains the condition of the local.



Figure 15: An image of Bishara and a worker giving her water

There is a strong emphasis on the need of the donor for the solution. As the example shows, the donor is appealed to directly explaining that the donor's helped is needed and asking them directly to donate by saying "Please give as much as you can" or something similar. It can also be stated that they "need" the donor. Additionally, the videos will end with text-overs mentioned in the example. Sometimes instead of saying "Every child born to shine", the text-over will say "No child born to die".

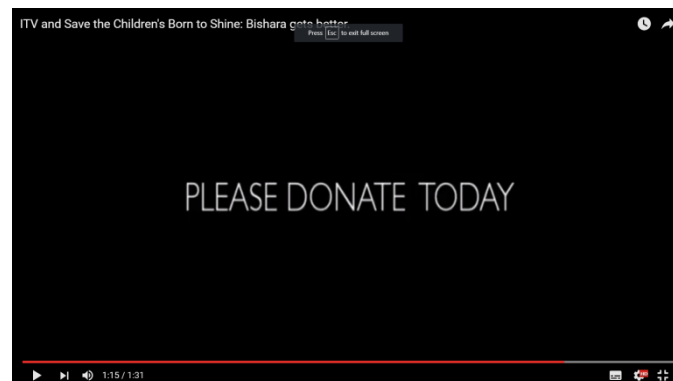


Figure 16: Text-over appeal (always in the end)

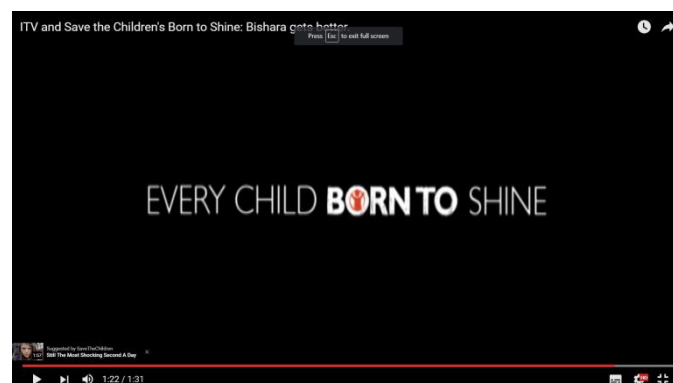


Figure 17: Text-over slogan (always in the end)

Also here, staff occurs as the helper with a Save the Children t-shirt and showing images of the solution. Also international or external programs and the MDG's can be mentioned in the voice-over and through logos, for example "EU children of peace" (Save the Children, 2014d) includes NRC and ECHO as external helpers.



Figure 18: A local Save the Children worker with logo on t-shirt



Figure 19: An example of Save the Children and partner logos

Some videos with an aid organization hero differed slightly as 7 were TV adverts (Save the Children, 2013c; 2013d; 2013e; 2013f; 2014a; 2014b). These stories have a much stronger emphasis on the local as suffering and on the important role of Save the Children and the donor. A voice-over will introduce extremely helpless children and images of very sick children will show. For example, it is explained that children are “weak” and “exhausted” (Save the Children, 2014a). Furthermore, it says that “Hungry children are waiting for someone to save them” and that “To survive, these children need you [the donor]” (Save the Children, 2014a). In another video it is said that “Save the Children knows what it takes to save lives. It takes Save the Children and you [the donor]”. In a third video “3 simple steps to stop hunger and save lives” are introduced (Save the Children, 2013f). In a fourth video it is stated that “In Save the Children we are doing all we can to save lives, but reality is that children like these need your help to survive” (Save the Children, 2013e). These examples illustrate very well how Save the Children and the donor are absolutely crucial for the solution and that the locals stand no chance on their own. In the end of the

videos, text-over will show appeals to the donor and induced action like a phone number. The text will e.g. say “Start saving lives, give £2 a month” giving a great deal of power to the donor.



Figure 20: An image of “Little Osmand waiting to be fed” (Save the Children 2014a)



Figure 21: Karama TV advert appeal to the donor

A celebrity character occurs in 26 % of the videos, so Save the Children uses a high degree of celebrity endorsement. Here the sequence of scenes is always very similar – the celebrity will meet local suffering characters and afterwards he/she will report on this experience. The celebrity will always be highly affected by this and often crying. The celebrity will appeal directly to the donor with a voice-over and say “Please donate today” as in the previous structure. There is one exception to this common sequence, as video 17 is a bit different. Here, celebrity Jay Rayner is telling the story while sitting under a tree and clips with no audio from his trip are shown.

An example of such a main category is “Joely Richardson – Family Planning in Ethiopia” (Save the Children, 2012f). A voice-over with Richardson’s voice tells the story and clips of her on her trip are shown. The story starts with stating the problem of teenage pregnancy due to no access to sex education. These girls “don’t get to finish their education, their life choice

diminishes and their health suffers” (Save the Children, 2012f). Richardson then meets 16-year old Asira with a 1-year old daughter. Richardson asks her “tell me what makes you so unhappy” and Asira explains how her boyfriend left her (Save the Children, 2012f). The voice-over contributes with information and telling the story. After this, Richardson explains how marriage under 18 is illegal, but still common due to cultural practices. She then meets Tamaria who was married when she only 12. She shares her hardship with Richardson. Afterwards, Richardson is reporting on the meeting to the camera and crying. Following this, she meets a local doctor who describes how having children when being too young can give them health issues. Afterwards, the solution of a sex education program is introduced and Richardson explains that it “gives me real hope for the future” (Save the Children, 2012f). The story ends with text-over asking the donor to sign and showing the “No child born to die” slogan.

This example illustrates well how the celebrity is the hero. First of all, the title always includes the celebrity’s name indicating that he/she is the main character. Furthermore, it is first person narrator and following the celebrity on their quest and the celebrity is a part of telling the local’s story in the voice-over. It is obvious that the person has been sent by Save the Children who is the dispatcher.

Also here, the locals are helpless and suffering which categorizes them as the princess. This is mainly shown in clips where the celebrity meets the problems like when Richardson meets Asira and Tamira. Here, the girls are reporting on their hardships and this has a deep effect on Richardson. In every story, the celebrity will meet the problem and be highly affected by it except for “Face to Face with Hunger: Jay Rayner in Rwanda” where the scenes differ slightly (Save the Children, 2011m). The kinds of shots differ from the ones of UNICEF, as it is more a conversation between the two characters and the local get to talk more instead of the celebrity completely dominating the shots where meeting the locals. Also, the camera focuses on the local when he/she talks and on the celebrity when he/she talks making it more equal. The images of the locals always show them as sad looking for suffering. Like in the main category with an aid organization hero, the linguistics will also describe the locals to be suffering and helpless. For example, in “Actress Dervla Kirwan visits a Save the Children hospital in Liberia” (Save the Children, 2011i) Kirwan explains that the identified victim Jacob is “Gravely ill”, “desperately fighting malaria” and that his “life is hanging in a balance”.



Figure 22: Richardson meeting Asira



Figure 23: An image of the locals in video 13

Again, the aim of the hero's quest seems to be to get the crucial donation from the donor for Save the Children to do their work to save the suffering. The videos do appeal to the donor, but much more discretely with the same text-over of "Please donate today" and "Every child born to shine" as in the example.

The main category with an external seeker hero occurred in 6 % of the videos. This is very similar to the other main categories, but it follows an external Save the Children worker. In these videos there is no direct appeal to the donor. Save the Children is the dispatcher which is naturally shown through the fact that the worker works for Save the Children, but also through the worker's Save the Children t-shirts. "Inside Story: Habou's Story - Part 1" (Save the Children, 2012b) is just like an aid organization hero, but with a Jonathan Hyams who works for Save the Children, Niger as the first person narrative. "Legacies: Colin Crowley's work in East Africa" (Save the Children, 2012h) shows a Save the Children worker Colin Crowley on his job delivering food to local communities after the East African food crisis. "Maternal Healthcare in Ethiopia" with Vicky Hearn was previously described. The characters are portrayed and categorized just like in the two previous structures, and I shall therefore not go more into depth with this.



Figure 24: A Save the Children worker

Problem and solution

Again, external heroes and local princesses put emphasis on the need of external help for the solution which automatically indicates external solutions. The videos focus on the work Save the Children does with the money from the donor. The solution focuses on Save the Children's work on overcoming a problem with the phrases "Save the Children saves lives" or something similar. The donor is often told that their help is needed and that they can save lives. This emphasis on the donor and Save the Children makes them crucial for the solution and also indicates an external solution. Only 3 videos have happy endings (Save the Children, 2012c; 2012d; 2012e). Here, the donor is thanked which also emphasizes on how crucial the donor is.



Figure 25: An example on how external help is emphasized for the solution

Furthermore, the locals are highly portrayed as suffering and helpless. Also here, the locals are not included in the solution, but are just suffering and helpless. They hereby become

objects of Save the Children's work. In the videos, images of very sick children contribute to making the locals highly suffering especially in the TV advert videos. Linguistic choices like "Their lives are hanging in a balance" describe them as very helpless. This also directs an external solution, because the locals are too helpless to overcome the problem themselves.



Figure 26: An image of suffering, helpless Amina who was saved by Save the Children

Save the Children tells the story of the locals rather than letting them tell it themselves which illustrates Western domination. This is shown in the example of "Amina's story" (Save the Children, 2012c) where third person narrative indicates that Save the Children tells Amina's story of how she was malnourished and save by them. Naturally, baby Amina cannot tell her story herself as she's simply too young. But instead Amina's mother Minara, who is also included in the story, could tell the story of her daughter. However, it is only told that Minara was also malnourished and could not do anything to help her daughter through third person narrative. Nonetheless, in the case of a celebrity hero, the celebrity dominates slightly less than in UNICEF's videos because the hero has a more equal dialogue with the locals.



Figure 27: Text-over explaining how helpless Minara is



Figure 28: Image of Minara showing how helpless she is

The problem is mostly infant and maternal death or malnutrition and the need of food and/or health care. These are quite universal problems, and Save the Children does hence not define the problem as UNICEF does with education. Due to these types of problems, the solution is based on a charity- or needs-based approach. Either a charity-based approach is indicated by the spoken text “Save the Children provides...” or a needs-based approach is indicated through solutions focusing on training or educating locals. Only 1 video with an aid organization hero and one with a celebrity hero had a rights-based approach due to a partnership with the government of the country (Save the Children, 2010d; 2012f). “EVERY ONE Nigeria” (Save the Children, 2012d) focuses on demanding the Nigerian government to get involved in the problem of infant mortality for Nigeria to reach MDG’s. The charity approach is in fact very frequent with a strong appeal to the donor and emphasis on provision as a solution. This also means that only 3 videos have a happy ending (Save the Children, 2012c; 2012d; 2012e). This indicates dependence of external help and also implies Western domination in the planning and execution of a solution. It also illustrates that there would be no solution without Save the Children and this is a very strong indication for external plans. Furthermore, external partners indicate an external solution as well like ECHO who were mentioned before.



Figure 29: Jack Topping visiting a school supported by Save the Children indicating a needs-based approach

4.3.2 Local hero, external solution

The local hero with an external solution pattern is characterized by a local seeker hero meaning that a Save the Children worker represents Save the Children in saving the local suffering. An example of this is “Niger – Dr. Morou’s difficult job” (Save the Children, 2010a) where a Save the Children doctor explains how he leaves the house at 6.30 every morning and ends at 20 on a typical day. The video follows Dr. Morou on a day at his work. Another example is “Catherine is a midwife” (Save the Children, 2012a). Text-over explains that Catherine won Save the Children’s midwife award 2011, and they have hence given her a camera to film her life. It is explained that she sometimes has to work in the dark, that her work saves lives and that they “need more midwives like Catherine” (Save the Children, 2012a).

The examples illustrate that the character gets a hero status first of all because he/she is the main character and tells the story of this worker. Furthermore, they are crucial for the solution to happen as they are highly celebrated in the stories as a sort of tribute to that person. This for example shows in the titles and text-overs stating that they need more midwives like Catherine. These stories focus on the importance of the worker and his/her achievements. They illustrate the difficulties in job and appreciate the employer for the hard work. Furthermore, they explain that more of these kinds of people are needed to solve the problem especially midwives are told to be needed which makes their role more important. This is different from UNICEF where it seemed to focus more on what the worker did for the organization. Consequently, these locals have a very strong hero status.



Figure 30: Text-over explaining the value of Catherine and the need of workers like her



Figure 31: An image of Catherine working without lights

Naturally, UNICEF is the dispatcher as they employ the hero. This is also shown through Save the Children logos on the worker's t-shirts etc. Save the Children still mark their "ownership" on these workers as the workers wear Save the Children t-shirts or when a third person narrative will state this it is "their" i.e. Save the Children's worker. This indicates that Save the Children take honor of the work done by the worker and gives them a very clear role as the dispatcher. In other videos, the worker will represent Save the Children and explain their work by saying "we" which also implies a kind of ownership of the worker. These are very similar to stories with an aid organization hero. They hereby become seeker heroes that represent Save the Children.



Figure 32: This image illustrates Dr. Morou as a hero saving the locals sent by Save the Children

The locals are categorized as the princes as they must be saved. However, they play a much smaller role in these stories because the focus is on the heroes. There are no identified victims and they are hence not portrayed as suffering and helpless as in the previous pattern because they are not portrayed at all. Henceforth, the princess role is more implied. The donor's role is also implied as there are no appeals to the donor in most of these stories.

Problem and solution

The worker's hero role and Save the Children's dispatcher role indicates that the solution comes from here. Furthermore, elements will indicate a planned solution. In "Pastoralist education in Somaliland" (Save the Children, 2013a) the solution focuses on giving education to pastoralist children, here it is described how they follow a certain curriculum. The value of education indicates an external solution, a curriculum implies a plan and it is stated that Save the Children are implementing education i.e. they are implementing the solution. Additionally, logos of Save the Children and the European Commission show on the school building.



Figure 33: School building in Somaliland

The problem always has to do with maternal and infant mortality and the need of midwives except for the with Dr. Morou that has to do with health care broadly (Save the Children, 2010a) and the video that has to do with education (Save the Children, 2013a). Here, the solution is to provide health care and train midwives or to provide education. Hereby, the aid approach is charity- and/or needs-based. There is a high focus on what Save the Children provides or how they train people to solve the problem which is another indication for an external solution.



Figure 34: Catherine teaching the next generation of midwives

4.3.3 Local hero, local/no solution

The third pattern identified portrays local victim heroes. These have been categorized as the hero because they are first person narrators and hence main characters. All these videos have the title “[Name]’s story” like “Djamilla’s Story” (Save the Children, 2010b; 2011e; 2014h; 2014i). They actually do tell the story themselves except for “South Africa: Mtsoaki’s story” (Save the Children, 2011e) where the narrative is supplemented with text-over. One of the stories includes an appeal to the donor, but otherwise no other characters take place except for the victim hero. The main category is complex in regards to the problem and the solution which will be explained and discussed further in order to clarify this approach.

Problem and solution

The local victim heroes have their own solution, but in the story this is framed more like a problem. This structure only occurred in four videos and may not show a common tendency. Nevertheless, it is still interesting that the only videos with victim heroes lacked a solution according to how the story is framed. Hereby, the locals are portrayed as suffering. Nonetheless, this makes it difficult to

differentiate between a local solution and no solution, and it is therefore also difficult to determine whether they are helpless or fighting.

The videos portray children who are facing problem in which they are stuck. It here shows how they fight within that problem. Their fight can be seen as a solution, but it is more framed like a problem for which reason I first did not identify a solution.

“Niger: Djamila's story” (Save the Children, 2010b) shows 10-years old Djamilla from Niger whose family has dealt with drought and has gone to the city to beg for food, and has returned to home after. This resulted in her having to leave school for a while. Begging for food is the family's solution, but it is framed more like a problem as the child describes that she did not like to do it because she missed her friends: “We had to beg for food. It was hard. It was hard” (Save the Children, 2011b). Probably nobody has the first priority to beg, but this does not necessarily make this a problem as much as it is the solution of Djamila's family – but the wrong solution of Save the Children. There are also some children that do not like to go to school, but this is naturally never framed as a problem, it is not even mentioned, because this is the value of the organization and a solution, not a problem. Usually, Djamila will help her family pounding millet. She says that she likes this because this provides porridge which is good food. This situation is of course more ideal than begging for food, but also this “solution” could be defined as a problem by Save the Children because it is associated with child labor. This all makes her seem much more helpless and suffering than she might be.



Figure 35: Djamilla saying that she did not like to beg



Figure 36: Djamilla in school which “makes her happy” (Save the Children, 2010b)

“South Africa: Mtsoaki's story” (Save the Children, 2011e) shows 12-year old Mtsoaki from South Africa who is becoming an orphanage as the mother has HIV. She is working hard to help in the house and take care of the siblings. Sometimes she cannot go to school because of this. This indicates her fighting with her own solution. At the same time, the story indicates that she has an unsure future and does not present any long-term solution which makes her helpless. Additionally, the music is dramatic, the girl is crying and numbers on children in the same situation are presented which frames the situation as a problem. Interestingly, Save the Children does not propose a solution to this problem just like in the video of Djamilla. Here, the problem focuses on Mtsoaki’s education being affected by the situation. Hereby, Mtsoaki’s own solution is defined as a problem of Save the Children due to their values. This makes Mtsoaki helpless. Mtsoaki is indeed sad and worried in the story, for good reasons – her mother is suffering from HIV. Therefore, she is also suffering.



Figure 37: Mtsoaki is sad and worried making her helpless and suffering

“My name is Dieme” (Save the Children, 2014h) shows 8-year old Diem who has fled from political conflict and must cross from Uganda back to DRC every day to go to school. He thinks this is better than to not go to school which makes him a fighter with his own solution. Still, his solution is framed more like a problem e.g. by text-over saying children are “risking their lives for an education” giving it a negative tone (Save the Children, 2014h). Furthermore, images show Dieme on his long way to school which contributes to defining it as a problem.

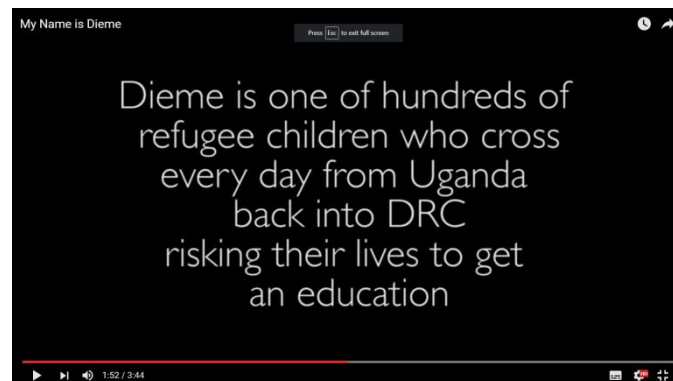


Figure 38: Text-over explaining Dieme's hard situation

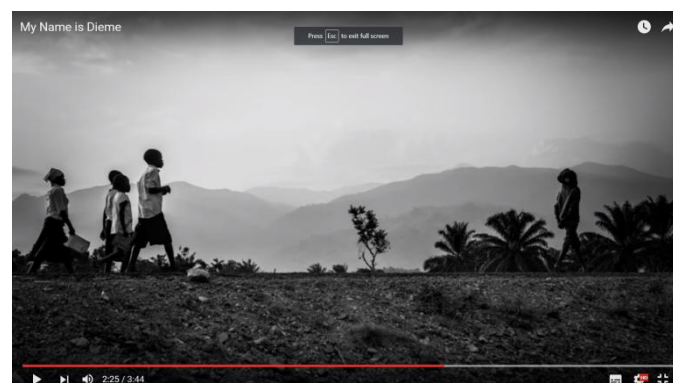


Figure 39: Image of Dieme's long and dangerous journey to school



Figure 40: Image of Dieme crossing the border to Congo



Figure 40: Images of Dieme’s long and dangerous journey to school

Dieme explains that education is important because it makes you intelligent and rich. It is interesting, because education might not be the most ideal solution to Diem’s problem. Considering that education is a value of Save the Children and according to Dieme himself, his only future, Dieme has no choice than to risk his life. Save the Children do also not propose a solution to this. An alternative could be not to go to school at all and get some work instead, but this solution would probably be an even bigger problem according to Save the Children. It is curious why Dieme thinks that education is so important that he would rather die than not going to school. But what is essential, is that Dieme does look at what the problem essentially is to himself and finds his own solution to this – a solution which is not acknowledged.

“Malala Day – Neema’s story” (Save the Children, 2014i) shows 9 year-old Neema who is in the same refugee camp as Dieme. Her problem is that she cannot attend school because she needs to stay at home and look after “the children” (most likely her younger siblings). Neema is very sad about this because she would like to get her diploma and become a nurse: “I won’t even learn how to read and write. How to read and write will allow you to get a job and your life will be good” (Save the Children, 2014i). Neema also gets hurt when she others going to school. Being very sad about this problem makes Neema suffering and helpless in the story. In real life, Neema is probably much more fighting considering how hard she works for a 9-year old. She does work on the family’s own solution but this is not good enough, neither for her nor for Save the Children.



Figure 42: Neema looking into a classroom explaining that she gets sad seeing this

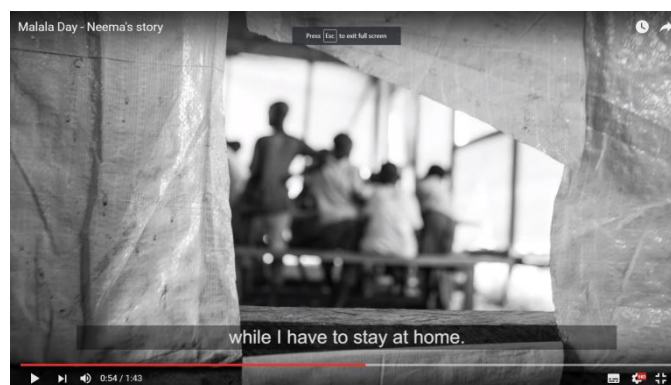


Figure 43: Neema looking into the classroom from her point of view

In the other kinds of stories, Save the Children focuses on their work and how this work solves a problem. This focus does not exist in this structure. All the heroes (or their families) do look at what the problem essentially is to them and find solutions thereto. Hence, the stories do represent local solutions, but these are framed as problems. Thus, their solutions seem to not be accepted. This shows that problems are defined differently between the locals and Save the Children. The children might seem to agree that their situation is a problem which might just be a frame. But it is important to note the locals indeed come up with their own solutions that do not match Save the Children's criteria and are framed as problems in the stories.

The lack of external characters can be related to the lack of a well-executed solution. The pattern is unique as it does not praise external characters as in the other patterns. It indirectly tells a story of how hopeless a situation is when there is no external to come save the locals who are alone with their own solutions.

4.4 Comparative analysis

The most frequent approach for both organizations was the aid organization hero. The main difference between Save the Children and UNICEF is that Save the Children had 26 % celebrity heroes and UNICEF only 8 %. UNICEF had 16 % local fighting victim heroes with external solutions and 8 % with mixed solutions. Save the Children had none of these main categories. Save the Children had 9 more external heroes than UNICEF, but the organizations did not differentiate much in the frequency of solutions. UNICEF had 4 % videos with local solutions and Save the Children 12 %. Hence, UNICEF did have more local heroes, but these were with external (impact on the) solutions and still represent external plans. Thus, there was not much difference of the results between the organizations which makes it possible to compare the findings at an overall level. This is relevant because the frequency of heroes, solutions and combinations thereof indicate Western domination.

Table 12

Frequency of main categories and patterns: Combined

Hero	Number of videos	Percentage
External	71	71 %
Local	29	29 %
Solution	Number of videos	Percentage
External	89	89 %
Mixed	4	4 %
Local	6	6 %
None	1	1 %
Combination of hero and solution	Number of videos	Percentage
External hero, external solution	72	72 %
Local hero, external solution	18	18 %
Local hero, mixed solution	4	4 %
Local hero, local solution	6	6 %

The most frequent main category was the external hero with an external solution identified in 72 % videos. This category itself illustrates Western domination for the solution and as it is the most frequent, the Western domination is illustrated throughout the whole sample. This is

supported by the hero and especially by the solution. An external hero was identified in 71 % of the videos. An external solution was identified in 89 %, and external influence on the solution in 93 %.

4.5 Summary

The analysis identified 7 different structures: An aid organization hero, a celebrity hero, an external seeker hero, a local seeker hero, a local fighting victim hero with an external solution, a local fighting victim hero with his own solution and a local suffering victim hero with a complex solution. The most frequent structure for both organizations was the aid organization hero which occurred in 27 UNICEF videos and 24 Save the Children videos. These patterns formed 4 main categories i.e. approaches of the combination of hero and solution:

1. External hero - external solution (Both organizations)
2. Local hero - external solution (Both organizations)
3. Local hero – mixed solution (UNICEF)
4. Local hero – local/no solution (Save the Children)

The most frequent approach is an external hero with an external solution. The hero is either the aid organization or a celebrity or worker for the organization with the organization as a dispatcher. Here, the locals are the princess and portrayed as helpless and suffering and are hence the princess. This was especially shown through images of sick-looking locals and through the linguistic choices used to describe the locals. An external hero was identified by the character that is telling the story and/or is the main character. This means that focus is on the hero's work to save the princess i.e. the locals. Thus, the hero and dispatcher, which are externals, are the ones pushing the solution forward. This especially indicates an external solution. Furthermore, the problem always focuses on health issues (including malnutrition as a result of hunger) that are universal problems or education that are problems defined by the organization. This would lead to solutions of provision and education which indicates a charity- and needs-based aid approach. This also points at an external solution.

The local heroes with external solutions varied more in the definitions of characters, problem and solution. Here, the hero would either be a seeker hero who is a worker of the organization or a local victim hero who follows an external solution. The seeker hero represents the organization and the organization's dominance is obvious through logos and in the external solution. Here, the hero is cherished and as the organization is the dispatcher, the organization is indirectly cherished as well. This makes the structure very similar to the structures with external

characters. The external solution is more implied in the stories with victim heroes and was mainly proven by determining aid approaches. Also here, the problem focuses on health issues and/or education indicating a charity- and especially needs-based aid approach. Yet, here there is also focus on the training and education of staff workers by the organization. This also points at an external solution, but with more focus on the needs-based approach than the charity giving more power to the locals to help themselves. Related to this approach, a mixed solution was identified in 4 stories from UNICEF. Here, the locals would be trained by UNICEF, but would after have freedom to search their own solution. This was also related to a needs-based view, but it gives more power to the local.

5. Conclusions and Discussions

This research has investigated how foreign aid organizations construct the hero in storytelling in videos on YouTube. The study aimed to identify a Planner vs. Searcher approach in the stories of UNICEF and Save the Children by applying elements from narrative theory and storytelling theory to different approaches on how to solve poverty. The findings have shown a tendency for the aid organizations to construct external heroes and external solutions in their stories. For both organizations, the most frequent pattern was the external hero with an external solution identified in 62 % of UNICEF's videos and 48 % of Save the Children's videos. For UNICEF, external heroes were identified in 62 % videos, external solutions in 86 % and external impact on the solution in 94 %. For Save the Children, external heroes were identified 62 % and external solutions in 92 %. The results did not vary much between the organizations making it possible to compare the findings at an overall level. The most frequent pattern was the external hero with an external solution identified in 72 % of the videos. An external hero was identified in 71 % of the videos. An external solution was identified in 89 % of the videos, and external influence on the solution in 93 %. These findings illustrate how a Planner approach is constructed in most of the stories, and I hence conclude that the aid organizations construct a Planner hero.

The patterns and core categories point at a Planner approach in their frequency. The high frequency of external heroes and external solutions illustrates Western domination throughout the whole sample and points at a Planner approach while directing an understanding of how underrepresented the Searcher approach is in the videos. However, it is not only the overall frequency of core categories and patterns that point at a Planner approach. In fact, one can also find indications for a Planner approach if looking at the way in which each category and pattern is constructed i.e. the elements (problem, solution and characters) and combinations of elements.

The most dominant pattern was the external hero with an external solution. Obviously, this indicates a necessity for the West to reach the solution and points at a Planner approach. First of all, this shows by an external solution which indicates Sachs' plan. This is shown through and supported by the external hero. The hero is the one who pushes the solution forward. Hereby, he is crucial for the solution and is hence the one who saves the poor. A Western hero illustrates the white superiority, or the white man's burden, which Easterly associates with the Planner approach when he explains that the West wants to be "the chosen one" (Easterly, 2006). Additionally, this emphasis on a need for Western help can be related to Sachs' Poverty Trap and the Big Push (Easterly, 2006; Sachs, 2005). The hero and solution certainly highlight a Planner approach.

Naturally, the local hero with an external solution also relates to the Planner approach because it shows an external solution which is implied to be planned. The local seeker hero represents the organizations, and so the importance of the organizations and the external solution is still highlighted. The local victim hero, who is pushed by the organization's plan, also emphasizes on a need for external help. Again, this relates to the poverty trap and the big push, maybe even more than in the previous category, because it indeed focuses on "teaching a man to fish" according to the West's perception of how this should be done. Nonetheless, the four UNICEF videos that illustrate a mixed solution differ and relate more to Banerjee and Duflo (2011) who focus on the poor learning and borrowing money from the West. This still emphasizes on a need for external help although it gives more power to the local. Yet, it only occurred in four videos from UNICEF and is hence a rare occurrence.

On the contrary, a few videos do relate to a Searcher approach. It became clear that the videos with local heroes and local solutions illustrate the poor searching their own solutions. However, only two videos of this were shown in UNICEF's videos and only one of these were actually reporting on a real life event. Since these two videos only represent 4 % of UNICEF's videos, it is safe to say that a Planner approach dominates throughout the UNICEF sample. The approach also showed in the four videos of Save the Children i.e. 8 % of the videos. It may represent a larger percentage, but here the Searcher approach was so undermined through the organization's frames of the local solutions that this indicates a Planner approach even further. The local solutions were framed as none-existent portraying the local as completely helpless. A lack of external characters was related to the lack of solution emphasizing on the need for Western help. Hereby, the stories illustrate Sachs' poverty trap stating that the poor are too poor to help themselves (Sachs, 2005). Furthermore, it relates to the poor waiting passively and helplessly to be saved relying on Western help (Easterly, 2006). Henceforth, it may be that a Searcher approach was represented in these four videos by Save the Children, but this approach is highly undermined. Thereby, the videos still praise a Planner approach, and so only the two UNICEF videos i.e. 2 % of the videos represent a Searcher approach positively. Only one of these is reporting on a real life event meaning that only 1 % of the videos showed a positive real life story with a Searcher approach.

Moreover, the Planner approach is not merely shown in the patterns, but also through various categories/elements that have helped define the hero and solution as either local or external

putting them into core categories. With previous research relating to the Planner vs. Searcher approach these elements can be directly linked to a Planner approach and criticism thereof.

One element is the construction of the donor. Research on donor discourses found a strong emphasis on the donor and explained the challenge faced by aid organization to satisfy the donor for crucial funding. This tendency to emphasize on the donor was indeed found in the videos. Most essential is Wallace (2009) who explains the link between foreign aid and imperialism with NGOs facing the dilemma to satisfy donors to gain financial resources and hence become much like a corporation (Wallace, 2009). This may explain why the organizations have such a strong emphasis for the donor as crucial for the solution.

Another element is the construction of the problem and solution. Joachim (2003) found that NGOs construct the problem and solution on the global agenda. Burman (1996) found that Northern NGOs define the problem according to their own values with the example of UNICEF applying a model of the ideal childhood to the rest of the world. Also this tendency was identified in the stories through the organization's focus on education and sports/play. Here, it was indeed found that the organizations define a problem in the lack of education although this may not necessarily be how the locals would identify the problem. This for example showed in the case of UNICEF's video showing Charlie who is perfectly happy to be a cow herder, but where it is framed to be a problem that Charlie does not get an education ignoring that Charlie is doing what he wants to do. This also showed in Save the Children's videos of local victim heroes with local solutions. Here, the local's solutions are framed as a problem because they do not match the values or ideal solution of the organization.

Relating to this is the element of the poor as the princess. Dowden criticized foreign aid for telling the stories of the locals and hereby defining Africa in a patronizing matter (Dowden, 2008). This shows in those stories where the local's solutions are undermined but also in the way that the locals are portrayed as suffering and helpless. Again, this relates to Easterly (2006) criticizing Planners for assuming that the poor are waiting passively and helplessly to be saved. Easterly (2014) also argues that campaigns portray a twisted image of the poor i.e. in a campaign showing starving children although famine, according to Easterly, is no longer a common course of death in Africa. Famine was indeed portrayed a common problem in the stories, so if Easterly is correct when stating that problem is not common, it shows that the organizations indeed define the problem. More essentially is that numerous of the videos showed starving and/or dying and suffering locals exactly like Easterly criticizes the Planner approach of doing (Easterly, 2014).

Again, this goes back to the hero element and the West taking this role. Easterly (2014) criticized the Planner approach for their use of celebrities as these do not save any poor – another indication for a Planner approach mainly in Save the Children’s videos that showed a high degree of celebrity endorsement. Furthermore, Easterly (2006) criticized other elements found in the videos i.e. international organizations and projects as well as the MDG’s which points at a Planner approach as this has been related to Sachs (Easterly, 2006; Sachs, 2005). It all goes back to the external hero, the “chosen one”. Having identified these elements and their relation indeed shows that aid organizations do construct certain discourses on the hero in foreign aid. They do so through multiple elements in their stories which all can be related to a Planner approach.

Consequently, a Planner approach can be identified in multiple levels of the narratives. Firstly, this is seen in the patterns showing a high frequency of external heroes and solutions, and an underrepresentation of a Searcher’s approach and local’s ability to save themselves. These patterns praise the external heroes and external solutions while undermining the local’s abilities and local solutions. Secondly, it is shown through other elements that separately point at a Planner hero and/or Planner solution, but also function as indications for the first two points. Hereby, it can be concluded that foreign aid organizations construct a Planner hero and a Planner solution i.e. a Planner approach in their storytelling videos on YouTube.

The research is based on a constructivist paradigm and focuses on the development debate related to storytelling. Hence, it focuses on what is constructed in the stories of the aid organizations. It does not intend to suggest that the approach which is communicated by the aid organizations also reflects the aid organization’s identity and values. There may be a link between the communicated narrative practice and the discourse within the organizations. Nonetheless, it could also be likely that the communicated values reflect tools for storytelling found effective or necessary by the aid organizations to generate funding. Links between this and a Planner approach could be drawn, but that does not state whether UNICEF and Save the Children support this approach and believe themselves to be the hero and the poor to be helpless. This opens up new questions that can help us shed light on how foreign aid organizations approach development as a contribution to the development debate: Does this discourse of a Planner approach essentially reflect the identity and work of the organizations? If not, are the elements which construct this discourse a result of challenges faced by the organizations as the case of donor satisfaction? Or is it simply a communicational tool, and is this the most effective for fundraising? I suggest further research to answer these questions by investigating why the aid organizations construct this

discourse in their communication. Furthermore, I suggest further research to examine how locals like Raymond in the UNICEF refugee camp (UNICEF, 2014j) report on themselves when the video has not been produced by an aid organization but rather through citizen media initiatives. This may suggest a difference in the frames and indicate whether the local gets to tell his own story to a larger extent outside the foreign aid context. This should examine if there is a link between the narrative practice and the aid organization's own approach towards solving poverty, or if it rather is related to other aspects like challenges of donor satisfaction or for effective fundraising. Moreover, I suggest further research to investigate whether the storytelling tools that shape narrative practices in fact are the most efficient to generate funding. Where this research has investigated what aid organizations construct in their stories, new research would look into why they do so and investigate the underlying dimensions behind these narratives.

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Appendix

Table 13

Video's categories and patterns: UNICEF

Number	Year	Structure	Problem	Solution	Aid Approach	Comments
1	2010	B	Malaria	UNICEF/donor providing mosquito nets	Charity	
2	2010	B	Deadly diseases, lack of funding for program	Health Week program, funding from donor	Charity	External program
3	2010	A	Child work	-	Needs	Problem defined by UNICEF
4	2010	E3	-	Film project, Soccer Aid campaign	Human rights	British program + partner with Rwandan government
5	2010	A	Child soldiers	Saved by UNICEF, rehabilitation center	Needs	
6	2010	A	Hunger, lack of funding for program	Aid from UNICEF	Charity	External program
7	2010	A	-	Sports	Needs	"Right to play" value of UNICEF
8	2011	A	Political conflict, refugee	Aid from UNICEF	Charity	
9	2011	A	Drought, refugee, malnutrition	Refugee camp, medical care, training, education from UNICEF	Charity/Needs	Education value of UNICEF
10	2011	A	Refugee camp, malnutrition, overcrowded schools	Refugee camp, medical care, education from UNICEF	Charity/Needs	Education value of UNICEF

11	2011	A	Hunger, malnutrition	Refugee camp, medical care, education from UNICEF	Charity/Needs	
12	2011	A	Refugee camp, overcrowded schools, lack of education	Education optimization	Needs	Education value of UNICEF
13	2011	A	Refugee camp, overcrowded schools, lack of education	Care International's education program, UNICEF provision Olympic international inspiration project, UNICEF's child friendly schools initiative	Needs	External programs
14	2011	A	Overcrowded schools, lack of sports equipment	UNICEF provision and medical care	Needs	External programs
15	2011	A	Refuge, malnutrition	Community health worker supported by UNICEF	Charity	
16	2012	A	Malnutrition	Vaccines, Soccer Aid	Needs	
17	2012	B	Polio disease	Soccer Aid	Charity	External program
18	2012	B	Malnutrition		Charity	External program
19	2012	E3	Deadly diseases (before)	Improved health system (now)	Human rights	Partner with Rwandan government, happy ending
20	2012	A	Drought, hunger, refuge	UNICEF provision	Charity	Happy ending
21	2012	C	Refugee camp, lack of aid	UNICEF provision	Charity	
22	2012	A	Drought, refuge, lack of	Refugee camp, health care,	Charity/Needs	Education value of UNICEF

			health care	education by UNICEF	ds	
23	2012	A	Lack of physical education and sport	British counsel and UK sport program providing equipment	Needs	External programs Happy ending
24	2012	E1	Women not getting education	Sport scholarship	Needs	Happy ending
25	2012	E1	Bad nutrition (before)	Gardening training (now), EU and UNICEF program	Needs	External program, Happy ending
26	2013	A	Hunger, malnutrition	UNICEF health center	Charity	Happy ending
27	2013	A	Diseases, lack of education	Schools for Africa project by Starwood Hotels	Charity/ Needs	External program, education value of UNICEF
28	2013	A	Declining education sector (before)	Books to all schools from UNICEF/donor (now)	Needs	Education value of UNICEF Happy ending, thanking donor
29	2013	A	No access to health care	Mother and child health care	Charity	Happy ending
30	2013	C	Pneumonia	Treatment at UNICEF-supported hospital	Charity	Happy ending
31	2013	E2	Uneducated, unemployed	Building young futures project	Needs	External program
32	2013	E2	Uneducated, unemployed	Building young futures project	Needs	External program
33	2014	C	Civil war, refuge	Refugee center, provision and education by UNICEF	Charity/ Needs	
34	2014	E2	Uneducated, bad jobs	Building young futures project	Needs	External program Happy ending

35	2014	D	Violence against women and girls in refugee camps	-	-	
36	2014	E1	Hard life	Education through UNICEF	Needs	Happy ending
37	2014	E1	HIV	The world health organization	Needs	External program
38	2014	A	Malaria	UNICEF treating children	Charity	Happy ending
39	2014	C	Ebola	Ebola center from UNICEF/donor	Charity	Thanking donor
40	2014	F	Children cannot watch football	Inventing own outdoor screen	Local	Local plan, fictional
41	2014	A	Ebola outrage, schools closing	Radio school	Needs	
42	2014	F	Political conflict	IDP Youth Forum	Local	Local plan
43	2015	E1	Child labor	Local protection committees, training	Needs	Value of UNICEF
44	2015	E1	Women not getting education	UNICEF supporting women to go to school	Needs	Education value of UNICEF
45	2015	A	Flood, hunger, malnutrition	UNICEF provision	Charity	
46	2015	A	Ebola orphans, excluded from society	UNICEF center	Charity	
47	2015	E1	Child soldiers, traumatization	Capoeira at UNICEF center	Charity	Happy ending
48	2015	A	Political conflict, separation from family	Refugee camp of UNICEF	Charity	
49	2015	E1	Ebola, afraid to go to hospital	Treatment, promoting hospital	Charity/Needs	Happy ending

50	2015	A	Political conflict	Football for hope center supported by UNICEF	Charity/Needs
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Table 14

Video's categories and patterns: Save the Children

Number	Year	Structure	Problem	Solution	Aid Approach	Other elements
1	2010	C	Manutrition	Medical care from STC	Charity	
2	2010	D	Hunger	Begging	Local/None	
3	2010	A	Political conflict, Separation from family	Reunited by STC	Charity	
4	2010	A	Maternal & infant mortality	STC program Pressure government MDG's PRRINN MNCH	Human rights	
5	2011	B	Maternal & infant mortality	STC training midwives	Needs	
6	2011	B	Maternal & infant mortality	STC training help workers	Needs	
7	2011	B	Deadly diseases	STC providing treatment	Charity	
8	2011	A	Deadly diseases	STC providing vaccines	Charity	
9	2011	D	HIV, becoming orphan	Going out of school	Local/None	
10	2011	C	Maternal death	More health workers STC initiative	Needs	
11	2011	A	Malnutrition	STC providing food and medicine	Charity	
12	2011	A	Malnutrition	STC providing food and medicine	Charity	

13	2011	B	Malaria	STC providing medical care and clinics	Charity	
14	2011	B	Maternal & infant mortality	STC providing medical care	Charity	
15	2011	B	HIV, becoming orphan	STC providing practical support	Charity or needs	
16	2011	B	Malnutrition, poverty	STC training and providing food	Charity/Needs	
17	2011	B	Malnutrition, poverty	STC asking UK government for funding	Charity	
18	2012	C	Lack of midwives	More midwives STC initiative	Needs	
19	2012	G	Malnutrition	STC providing medical care	Charity	
20	2012	A	Malnutrition	STC providing medical care	Charity	Happy ending
21	2012	A	Malnutrition	STC providing peanut paste	Charity	Happy ending
22	2012	A	Malnutrition	STC providing peanut paste	Charity	Happy ending
23	2012	B*	Teen pregnancy and marriage	Sex education program by STC and Ethiopian government	Human rights	Happy ending
24	2012	A	Malnutrition	STC providing health care	Charity	
25	2012	G	Hunger	STC providing food STC	Charity	
26	2013	C	No school	implementing education	Needs	Happy ending
27	2013	A	Maternal & infant mortality	STC providing medical care, training health workers	Charity/Needs	
28	2013	A	Deadly diseases, lack of clean water	STC/donor providing medicine and	Charity	Strong emphasis on STC and donor

29	2013	A	Lack of clean water	water STC/donor providing clean water	Charity	Strong emphasis on STC and donor
30	2013	A	Deadly diseases, lack of clean water	STC/donor providing medicine and water	Charity	Strong emphasis on STC and donor
31	2013	A	Malnutrition	STC providing food, tools to produce food	Charity/ Needs	
32	2013	A	Deadly diseases, lack of clean water	STC/donor providing medicine and water	Charity/ Needs	Strong emphasis on STC and donor
33	2013	A	No access to maternal health care	STC building clinics	Charity or needs	
34	2013	B	Maternal death	Ambulance service, training staff, clinics by STC	Charity/ Needs	
35	2013	B				
36	2013	A	Deadly diseases	STC training health workers	Needs	
37	2013	A	Refugee camps	STC providing help	Charity	
38	2013	B	Maternal death and infant mortality	STC building clinics	Charity	
39	2014	A	Malnutrition	STC providing food and medical care	Charity	
40	2014	A	Malnutrition	STC providing food and medical care	Charity	
41	2014	A	Political conflict, Separation from family	Reunited by STC	Charity	Happy ending
42	2014	A	Political conflict,	STC providing education,	Needs	External partners: NRC,

			education	training teachers		ECHO
43	2014	C	Refugee camp, access to maternal care	Delivery unit by STC	Charity	
44	2014	C	Maternal and infant mortality	STC training midwives	Needs	
45	2014	A	Not defined	STC providing clinic	Charity	Stronger emphasis on donor
46	2014	D	Political conflict, education	Refugee camp STC, NRC, ECHO + Risking life for education	Local/None	External partners
47	2015	D	Political conflict, lack of education	Refugee camp STC, NRC, ECHO + Working – no school	Charity	External partners
48	2015	B	Political conflict, malnutrition	STC and ECHO providing treatment	Charity	External partners
49	2015	B	Health care	Global goals	Human rights	Global goals
50	2015	B	Poverty	STC support	Charity	