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# Dependent Empowerment: Gender and Race in Images of African Development

by

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**Abstract**

This thesis examines the way gender and race intersect to produce a narrative of Africa as a place in need of development. Combining a theory of intersectionality as the interaction between race, gender, and class with the power relationships represented in and constituted by visual imagery, this thesis discusses the ways videos produced by the Because I Am A Girl Campaign and CARE USA represent women and girl children in Africa. It finds that while these organisations outwardly support the empowerment of women and girl children in Africa, each (unintentionally) reproduces gendered and race-based stereotypes that contribute to a narrative of Africa as a place in need of and dependent upon external development projects.

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## Chapter One

## Gender, Race and Media: An Introduction to Visual Imagery and Development in Africa

This thesis examines ways in which gender and race intersect in images of development in Africa, such that specific narratives of power are (re)inscribed through the process of visual representation. For the purposes of this study, I will focus on two particular configurations of power: gender and race. The empowerment of women as an objective of development and a marker of success takes on a kind of moral imperative and legitimacy that appeals to those in the Global North. Representations of African women's empowerment offer an opportunity for individuals and communities in the global North to feel they are doing good by providing opportunities for "others" in the global South (Duffield 2001, Mahrouse 2011). The types of images used by development agencies represent a specific event, such as famine or natural disaster, which is often removed from its context and applied to an entire region or population (Campbell 2003). My aim, then, is to analyse not only the message the image and accompanying text intends to deliver to the viewer, but also to explore what is not said and the ways in which this silence shapes the power relationship between the subject of the image and the viewer. My research questions and secondary areas of focus are as follows:

1) How do images of African women draw on discourses and symbols that are reasonably familiar to audiences, and what are these discourses and symbols? Do they demonstrate any continuity with colonial discourses or

do they represent departures from a narrative that produces or contributes to popular perceptions of Africa as in need of external aid?

2) How does the interaction between race and gender in images of development in Africa contribute to popular perceptions of Africa as a place and space in need of development?

In order to evaluate the role of visual representations of development and Africa in challenging or reinforcing unequal power relations, I will undertake a critical discourse analysis of the following video imagery, selected from those produced by CARE (www.care.org) and Plan International's Because I Am a Girl campaign (http://becauseiamagirl.ca): *Girl News: Girls' pig co-op in Rwanda* (Plan International 2011b), *Girl News: Child marriage in Kenya* (Plan International 2011c), *Spring 2011 TV Spot* (Plan International 2011d), *Introducing: Because I Am a Girl* (Plan International 2011e), *Strength in Numbers* (CARE 2009a), *Mamata Tinou* (CARE 2011), and *Unlocking the Power of Women: CARE* (CARE 2008). These videos are available on both the websites of the respective organizations, as well as on YouTube. These NGOs and the videos they produced were selected for their focus on Africa and their promotion of a gender-based approach to development that focuses primarily on women.

The remainder of this chapter focuses on representations of Africa in existing media and literature. It also addresses ongoing debates, silences and gaps on gender and race in development studies. Following a note on terminology, I will outline contemporary representations and conceptions of Africa. I will then

address the largely separate bodies of work considering the media and development, gender and development, and race and development.

### *Structure and Outline of the Thesis*

This study is divided into four chapters. Following this introduction, chapter two will consist of a literature review that will lay the theoretical framework for the project and outline the methodology used in the research. This review will address theorizing around intersectionality, as well as delving more deeply into theorizing around race, gender and development both individually and as each relates to the other. This chapter then details the methodology employed in choosing to focus on video, as well as selecting and analysing these images, including an explanation of the selection process, and clearly defines the limitations to the study. Chapter three presents the findings, and includes analysis of each video as well as addressing similarities and differences between the selections. Finally, the fourth chapter will present some concluding thoughts and pose questions for further research.

### *A Note on Terminology*

A brief note on terminology is perhaps appropriate here. The Global South and the Global North are terms referring to geographic regions as roughly distinguishable on a map. However, there are a number of terms associated with each as part of the language of development. Countries in the Global South are alternatively referred to as developing, underdeveloped, less developed, the majority world or Third World. Likewise, the Global North is often equated with the West, the developed world, the most developed, or the First World. While

these terms each carry specific connotations and thus are not completely interchangeable, for the purposes of this study I will be using North and South to delineate two parties in a power relationship. While it is a generalization to suggest that all countries in the North are developed and their populations exclusively white, and all countries in the South are not, there exists between these two regions a relationship in which most of the funding power resides in one place, and is granted to the other in such a way as to render the relationship unequal. This power imbalance might be said to whitewash the populations of the North insofar as it shapes the experiences of the people living there in ways that differ from those in Africa. I would argue that here whiteness is not solely determined by race but also by class and geography and perceptions of power. While there are absolutely disempowered and marginalized populations in the North, their marginalization and disempowerment are produced in ways that differ from configurations of power between North and South and as a result of interactions between North and South.

This power imbalance also affects the way Africa is imagined in the North and the way that this imagination in turn shapes narratives and performances of Africa. The Africa I refer to throughout this thesis is not the Africa that consists of 54 different countries with specific histories and peoples. 'Africa' in this thesis refers to Africa as performed by development imagery, and indeed as the performance of a specific imagination of Africa, where sub Saharan Africa represents what all of Africa 'is' in a way that grounds the continent as static and unchanging rather than a dynamic and diverse region. Thus 'Africa' in the global

imaginary is performed through these images in a way that shifts from the diversity of reality to generalizations that can be reduced to recognizable visual cues.

### *Framing: Colonial History, the Ethiopian Famine (1983-84), Codes of Conduct, and the Millennium Development Goals*

Northern engagement with Africa has a long history and has taken many shapes and forms, from early colonial occupations to the current and ongoing program of development. The colonial form of the North's interactions with Africa relied on a system of racial hierarchy and routine othering that was in part supported by the use of images (Mason 2012, Schwartz 1996). These formed the basis of the European exploitation of the continent's resources and people. The 'white man's burden' and the associated civilizing mission meant that Europeans considered themselves vastly superior to Africans and thought it their responsibility to do their best to civilize the latter (Mason 2012, Said 1993). This continued until the colonies gained independence, whether through armed struggle or political negotiation. While independence ended one form of interference, it did not mean that Africa and the people who live there automatically achieved equal political status to Europe and Europeans (see also Andreasson 2005). Instead, African countries and their populations remained less powerful and were perceived as politically and economically lacking. The impetus to 'fix' Africa remained, but took on a new language and set of practices.

Human rights and the language of development offered a new framing for ongoing Northern engagement with Africa, whereby economic and political

'backwardness' can and should be rectified in order to better the quality of life of Africans and promote their rights as humans, rather than for the benefit of others. As a result, non-governmental development organisations began using the language of rights to justify their work and to appeal to the general public for support. Part of this appeal was made through the circulation of images of suffering in Africa, showing the public the problem of suffering and offering them a solution. The Ethiopian famine (1984-1985) is significant in discussions of development imagery because it marks a period of intense focus on photographs and other images of suffering in Africa used to mobilize support for development efforts and disaster relief. These images sparked a number of events, including the Band Aid/Live Aid fundraising efforts (Clark 2009, 137).

These events shaped the way the North viewed Ethiopia (Clark 2009), and conflated Ethiopia and Africa and equated the two with famine (Lidchi 1993 in Clark 2009, 150). The images used to bring the famine to the public eye and imagination relied on those of women and children, primarily passive and suffering, and failed to specify Ethiopia as the location (van der Gaag and Nash 1987 in Clark 2009, 151). The use of such images prompted a number of reviews and criticisms, including a report by van der Gaag and Nash (1987). In 1989, a code of conduct was developed aimed at offering a set of guidelines for European NGOs working in international development (CONCORD 2012). According to Development Education Exchange in Europe (DEEEP), the code was intended to guide NGOs to avoid oversimplifying or sensationalising the developing world (DEEEP 2013). The code was reviewed and updated in 2005, and the new code

was adopted in 2006 (CONCORD 2012). The updates code is intended for use by media organisations as well as NGOs (DEEEP 2013). Both the original code and the updated one meant as guidelines for public communications, and both are voluntary with no way of ensuring compliance.

Where the *Code of Conduct for Images and Messages Relating to the Third World* offers guidelines about presenting images of development, the Millennium Development Goals represent an international and institutionalized effort towards achieving the aims of development. The MDGs codify and offer a normative structure of what development ought to look like and what its aims ought to be. These goals include the eradication of extreme poverty, universal primary education, the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment, reducing child mortality, improved maternal health, combatting HIV/AIDS, environmental sustainability, and forming a global partnership for development (United Nations Millennium Development Goals 2000). Of the eight goals, the second through fifth focus on women and children, highlighting the central position afforded to these two groups in development programming. None of these goals focus explicitly on race, even though development itself is racialized by virtue of its focus on the global South. This focus on gender and on children by the UN sets a foundation for the pursuit of gender and child-based programming by development NGOs. The MDGs provide a great deal of authority to this programming, setting the agenda for international development.

This institutional authority is significant because it lays out the boundaries for discussion regarding development. The goals are clearly identified: organisations

choosing to focus on other areas are less likely to receive institutional funding or to be able to appeal to a wide donor base. While the MDGs do not lay out an explicit plan for how these goals are to be achieved, the goals themselves have been embraced by a number of Northern-based NGOs focused on international development. This follows the eighth goal, that of development global partnerships for development. The challenge in development lies in creating true partnerships, wherein both the NGOs and the people they serve are able to be equal partners. Given the history of Northern engagement with African and the global South more generally, such a partnership would be difficult even with the best of intentions, as the goals exist for the purpose of remedying a perceived lack in the global South.

These goals affect not only the activities NGOs undertake, but by extension the type of images those NGOs produce. This thesis is concerned with the types of images produced by development NGOs and how they continue or depart from existing narratives of Africa. The Northern imagination of Africa and the former's engagement with the latter began on an extremely uneven footing, and while the language describing the two has changed and the shape of the relationship is somewhat altered, there remains a common thread of 'fixing' or altering Africa. The next section will highlight the types of images used by NGOs, and the way race and gender are promoted or ignored.

***Images of Development in Africa***

Every day we are exposed to a flood of images, including everything from advertisements at bus stops to television shows to news photography and

advertising banners on websites. Among these images are those put forth by development agencies, primarily non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as a means of informing the public and to move those individuals to take action in support of the development project. Such efforts focus on a range of activities, from fundraising for disaster relief, to calling attention to conflict zones, to fundraising in support of ongoing programmes, to child sponsorship.[1] These are the now-familiar images of the mother and child, the baby with the bloated belly and flies in his or her eyes, the war-affected child carrying a weapon, and, more recently, the smiling girl child sitting behind a desk, and the woman carrying water for her family. These images appeal to a desire to help others, to do something good (see Mahrouse 2008, 2011), and present the viewer with a way in which to achieve this desire in a way that purports to be politically neutral and often in solidarity with those who are to benefit from the development project (Manzo 2008, 634; see also White 2002, 411). Such images are also implicated in the reproduction of raced and gendered inequalities as part of the development project (Kothari 2006, 13).

These images fit a theme of African womanhood that essentializes not only an entire continent, but the woman of varying experiences who inhabit it (Salami 2012). However, this theme has not gone unchallenged. Stereotypical representations of Africa have come under fire from a number of sources (see for

[1] For example, the Sunday Times coverage of Sudanese famine in 1998 (http://www.imaging-famine.org/sudan/magazine/gallery.htm), UNIFEM's focus area on Peace and Security (http://www.unwomen.org/focus-areas/?show=Peace%20&%20Security), or World Vision's child sponsorship programmes (http://www.worldvision.ca/Programs-and-Projects/Pages/ProgramsandProjects.aspx).

example Djanie 2012, Jabbar 2012, Seay 2012, Wainaina 2012) and media literacy efforts persist (see for example the Imaging Famine blog http://www.imaging-famine.org/blog/ and Center for Media Literacy http://www.medialit.org) in attempts to balance media coverage of Africa and offer alternative perspectives to the prevailing focus on poverty and disaster.

Development agencies and NGOs working in the Global South rely on specific discourses in order to design, implement and justify their programs. These discourses serve to legitimize the development project to both existing sponsors and to the general public as potential sponsors in the developed world. Such discourses rely on a characterization of both individuals and groups of people in the underdeveloped world, particularly Africa, as lacking something that only the developed world, often equated with the Global North, can provide (Manzo 2008, 636, Kothari 2006, 13, Power 2006, 25). Indeed, development as a project relies on the presentation of development as something that not only can be offered by the North, but ought to be offered as a way of helping others, especially women and children. Invoking morality as a reason to engage in development discourses and practices is a way of avoiding or obscuring, perhaps unintentionally, the uneven power relationship between the North and South.

This imbalance is expressed through a number of different configurations of power, many of which rely on the construction of the Global North as being both in possession and the location of progress while the Global South, and African in particular, is “backwards” and in need of assistance (Wilson 2011, 317, Kothari 2006, 13). This relationship is reminiscent of the colonial relationship,

which was based in large part on racial constructions of Africa as "other" and inferior (Kothari 2006, 10, 11). In spite of this similarity in power arrangements and racialising discourse, race is often absent from studies and discourses of development. This absence is treated as natural and thus politically neutral. While there are critical analyses of the relationship between development discourse and studies and race, racial projects and the formation of race (see for example Duffield 2006, 2007, Kothari 2006, Power 2006, White 2002), these analyses remain largely outside the dominant discourses of development employed by both government agencies and NGOs. Instead, the language of human rights and moral obligation make it difficult to engage with the unequal power relations inherent in discussions of development.

For the purposes of this thesis, I focus on specifically on Africa rather than development in the global South more generally. Regions that make up the global South have different and complex histories with and relationships to the North, which makes it difficult to undertake a nuanced analysis of images of development that account for all of the complexity and diversity of the entire South. By focusing on Africa, though it too is a large and diverse continent, I avoid excessive generalizations by locating the images analyzed within specific histories of colonialism and ongoing relationships of power. Future research might narrow the scope further by focusing on imagery of specific countries or regions in Africa.

The relationship between the North and Africa in an unequal one, with the balance of power residing in the North. Africa, as noted above, is frequently

constructed or imagined as "backward," where the discourse of development encourages progress towards a standard established by the North. Gender plays an important role in establishing the standard of accepted behavior for developed countries. As a result, one standard or measurement to which African countries and communities are expected to aspire is in the treatment of women and the engagement of women as active and productive members of their communities. Measures to address gender inequality have thus become central to many development programmes. One example is the UN Millennium Development Goals (2000). As discussed above, these goals provide institutional legitimacy to programmes focusing on gender and demonstrate a certain level of acceptance of gender equality as a means of measuring development. Another example is girleffect.org, affiliated with the Nike Foundation and seemingly building on the MDGs, which produced a video that connects educating girls and encouraging leadership roles for girls with a better economy, greater regional stability, lower rates of HIV, and a better world.

This raises two issues. The first speaks to the larger issue of the unequal relationship of development, in that the North is able to decide and define development for Africa. The second is that of the role and symbolic meaning of gender, and specifically of women, in both the North and Africa. Gender inequality is treated as a serious issue and has been taken up by a number of development NGOs' specific development programmes without an adequate exploration of why the protection and advancement of women should be more important than addressing other forms of inequality (Goudge 2003, 54). Rather

than focusing on gender to the exclusion of race, NGOs might be better to focus on the ways in which gender interacts with race to produce specific narratives of what Africa is and the kind of norms it should aspire to. This sort of intersectional approach would shed light on existing configurations of power that, consistently ignored, result in incomplete and possibly inapplicable programming (White 2006, 66), as well as inadvertent perpetuation of combined racial and gender stereotyping. Intersectional theorizing and methodologies will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

As noted above, development relies on support from donors and the public in the North and derives some of its legitimacy from this support. Fund and awareness raising campaigns rely heavily on imagery for efficacy. Media are thus very important in generating support for development projects, as well as in shaping or constructing the relationship between the North and South (Wilson 2011, 319). This media can take the form of photographs or photojournalism, video, television advertising, and more recently, video made available via the Internet and social media. It is important to engage with the context surrounding the people and events represented in an image because that context offers a more complete understanding of the events represented, and fosters an opportunity to make a more engaged and informed decision regarding any action motivated by the image (Wilson 2011, 319, Keane in Campbell 2003, 71, Campbell 2003, 72). Unlike photography in which nearly all context is provided by text associated with the photograph, in video there is a certain amount of context inherent in the film. However, it is important to remember that film and video undergo an

editing process that affects the message conveyed by the finished product. This means that there is a process of selection involved in what is presented; what is left out may significantly alter the range of meanings associated with the final product.

***Media and Development NGOs***

The act of creating and distributing an image is itself implicated in relationships of power. Viewing an image or series of images creates a relationship between the viewer and the subject(s) of the image that is inherently imbalanced. The viewer holds all of the power: the power to define the subject, to attribute meaning to the image, or to dismiss it as insignificant, regardless of the reality of the subject (Wilson 2011, 329, Campbell 2003, 72). Furthermore, an image represents a specific event or a particular moment in time which is often removed from its immediate context and its message generalised to apply to an entire region (Keane 1998 in Campbell 2003, 71). An image of a child, for example, might be used in more than one fundraising campaign or appeal, even though the history of that child may not apply, or the child is no longer a child. Even in the case of a video, which is a series of images that offer a sequence of events, it is important to consider the context in which the image was created. The nature of an image used in an advertising campaign or a commercial is such that the context can be and often is stripped away, while text associated with the image assigns an alternative narrative to the subjects of the image. Indeed, in the creation of a film, video or short commercial there is an editing process which means that even where the subjects are given the opportunity to express

themselves in their own voice, someone else decides which expressions are most meaningful as well as when and where they ought to be heard.

The inequality inherent in this relationship is not lost on NGOs who employ imagery as a means of informing the public on issues of development that require public support. Indeed, efforts have been made to attempt to redress this imbalance through the creation of an agreement among European NGOs to use more positive imagery in place of the negative images of death, famine and disaster often particularly associated with the Ethiopian famine in the 1980s (Wilson 2011, 321, *Code of Conduct: Images and Messages Relating to the Third World,* 1989). The *Code of Conduct* stated that NGOs should avoid "images which generalise and mask the diversity of situations; idyllic images (which do not reflect reality, albeit unpleasant), or "adventure" or exotic images; images which fuel prejudice; images which foster a sense of Northern superiority; [and] apocalyptic or pathetic images" (*European Code of Conduct: Images and Messages Relating to the Third World* 1989).

Concerns regarding NGOs' adherence to this code resulted in a review process, culminating in the *Report on the Review of the Code of Conduct: Images and Messages relating to the Third World* (2005; see Manzo 2008 for alternative codes of conduct and policies of some individual NGOs). What is absent from these analyses is the potentially misleading or essentializing effects of the positive imagery that is to replace negative disaster-based imagery. Furthermore, neither addresses the racialising effects of such images or the ways in which such images may re-inscribe narratives of gender and racial inequality. Fischer and Kothari

(2011), for example, call for more attention to values in development studies, including work aimed at challenging stereotypical representation (Fischer and Kothari 2011, 769). Given that images act as an entry point for the public into the development project, it is important to consider what is conveyed by an image as well as the ways in which possible meanings are limited by a lack of contextualization. This makes images of Africa important sites where meaning can be made and unmade in such a way as to challenge existing narratives of development, or to reinforce and re-inscribe such narratives.

***Women and Development***

Women are often the focus of NGO advertising campaigns (see also Dogra 2011, 334). They are depicted performing different social and economic roles relating primarily to motherhood and subsistence or micro-economic activity. Their near constant presence is rendered natural, effectively depoliticizing their activities as well as their very presence in the image, and yet the ways in which they are portrayed have political meanings. Understanding what their presence says about the NGO and the treatment of women as part of the development project is important because redressing gender inequality through the empowerment of women is a frequent development objective. As women are so central to the projects and programmes implemented by development NGOs it is worth examining the efficacy of these programmes, including an evaluation of the extent to which the ways in which support is generated for these programmes challenges or reinforces the gender inequality, something that might be easily

overlooked. Furthermore, visual representation is implicated in the reproduction of power imbalances between the Global North and South.

Development programmes  present and target programmes towards women in a number of different ways: as rational agents making decisions based on surviving and eventually thriving in a neo-liberal economic system (Dogra 2011, 340, Wilson 2011, 317), as mothers, nurturers and home makers (Dogra 2011, 335), and as a homogenised group of victims (Mohanty 1991, 57). Under the first two umbrellas, women in the global South are constructed as "more efficient" neo-liberal subjects than their male counterparts, who are often constructed as absent from discussions of gender in development (Wilson 2011, 318).  This representation naturalizes discourses around what it means to be a "good" woman without critically examining the consequences of valorizing these attributes (Dogra 2011, 336, 340, Wilson 2011, 318).  It also constructs women as being in need of aid as mothers trying to take care of their families often, it is assumed, in the absence of men, and deserving of that aid because of their efficiency and their ability to contribute to their local economies (see also Dogra 2011).

Images depicting women in the socioeconomic roles described above focus predominately on women working, often in agricultural settings, where they are "constantly, diligently and happily engaged in small scale but productive labour for the market" (Wilson 2011, 318).  Such images confirm neo-liberal narratives of self-reliance, efficiency and self-betterment at the same time as they demonstrate women's seeming compliance to and acceptance of such narratives

(Wilson 2011, 318). Women are constructed as possessing the necessary characteristics to aspire to a developed way of life; they only need the opportunity to do so. Development NGOs are able to provide this opportunity through funding and support from their sponsors in the North, which creates an opportunity for these sponsors to do something good. These images tap into the sense of moral obligation mentioned above, as well as the desire to create a positive narrative and self- identification both at the national and individual levels.

The third type of representation or discourse around women in Africa, women as victims, is one that assumes that all women in Africa have the same experiences and thus the same needs and interests (Mohanty 1991, 56-58). Mohanty argues that Western (Northern) feminists tend to assume that all African women are powerless by virtue of being African women, and then go about proving that powerlessness without paying adequate attention to specific contexts and histories that given certain practices meaning (Mohanty 1991). She asserts that "sisterhood cannot be assumed on the basis of gender; it must be forged in concrete historical and political practise and analysis" (Mohanty 1991, 58). Here, then, intersectional analysis might be useful in determining what shapes common interests and needs on the basis of interactions between gender, race, class, age, geographic location, caste, or religion. Locating a group of women intersectionally still homogenizes them to a certain extent by assuming that all women of a certain race, age and location want or need the same thing, or that they all have similar experiences, but it is one way of challenging the idea that all

women experience all things similarly. Intersectionality will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

***Race and Development***

Unlike gender, race has received very little attention from development programmes or studies of development (Crewe and Fernando 2006, 40, Goudge 2003, 53-54, White 2002, 407). Where race is addressed, is often in the context of academic or discursive silences; that is, authors note that race has not been explicitly included in development planning or is ignored as a significant power relationship within development organizations and as a structuring force in the development project (see for example Mittleman 2009, Krishna 2001, White 2006). This work sets out the importance of considering race in analyses of development, and offers explanations for its absence. It lays out avenues for future research (Mittleman 2009) and sets a foundation for empirical research on the topic (see for example Wilson 2011). Examining the place of race in development is important because it allows for discussions of alternative modes and narratives of development. Acknowledging this particular configuration of power and the ways it is manifested both in discourse and in practice is a step towards making space for more meaningful dialogue between the North and South, in which the agency of the South is recognized in a way that enables actors to voice their own vision of the future. One way of examining the way narratives of race are played out is to look at the way the South is represented in the North as a means of building support for the development project.

Race was a crucial part of the colonization of Africa, a relationship that was based on hierarchies of categories. The project and process of colonization created identities for both the colonized and the colonizer (White 2002, 412, Said 1993, 19-31, 80-97, 111-162, 169-187), but was one that exploited a serious power imbalance and allowed the colonizer to not only construct identities for themselves and others, but to impose those identities in ways that had very real and serious consequences. In a similar vein, development aims at defining the North and South, and is very much caught up in the ways in which these identities are performed. The narratives relied on by development projects are highly normative; that is, these narratives present a specific idea of how the world, particularly the South, is, and how it should be (White 2002, 412). There is a tendency to focus on the historical role of race in the colonial relationship between the North and South, with little attempt to engage with the ongoing place and performance of race as part of the development project (Kothari 2006, 10). That is, in what is perhaps an effect of the desire for a colour blind society, there is a tendency to act as though race no longer matters even though it is still an active and ongoing relationship produced and performed in a number of ways, including development. It thus becomes important to pay attention to processes of racialization as a part of, or as a result of, development projects in order to recognize power imbalances and engage with the political processes inherent in development projects. This does not mean rejecting development as an extension of colonialism; rather, it means critically engaging with the narratives and concepts that underpin the development project in order to evaluate the goals of

that process and its potential as the transformative process its supporters claim it to be.

While there are similarities between colonial projects and development projects, the latter does not simply pick up where the former left off. Language and discourse have shifted, and with this shift has come a general sense that racism is something to be avoided. In addition to the discourses of humanitarianism and morality noted above, race and racism have been obscured by the language of culture, which has come to stand in for the language of race in many cases (Duffield 2006, 71, Kothari 2006, 11, Power 2006. 26). As a result, discourses of development often make use of the language of cultural difference rather than racial inequality, even though cultural difference is often racially coded. In using culture in place of race, issues of racism and racialism in development are able to go more or less unchallenged and unexamined (see also Kothari 2006, 20). Where race is highlighted in discussions surrounding development discourse and practice, it is often described as a problem within regions, such as Africa, rather than as an imbalance between regions, such as Africa and the Global North (White 2002, 407).

Racialising discourses frame the relationship between the North and Africa at the international level, such as in determinations of where and when development aid is deemed necessary and appropriate, but also at a local level between development workers and the populations they aim to assist (Crewe and Fernando 2006, 41). Colour blindness, or the assertion that colour does not matter in determining, for example, suitability for employment in a specific position,

hides the reality that, in the case of development, authority is often colour coded (Kothari 2006, 15, Power 2006, 28, Goudge 2003, 18, White 2002, 407; see also Crewe and Fernando 2006 for an in-depth examination of the role of race in development practice). Colour coding means that whiteness is associated with power and authority in ways that blackness or brownness are not. It is this relationship between representations of race at a variety of scales that enables development to continue as a legitimate, desirable and indeed necessary endeavour.

These racialising discourses affect gender equality and women's empowerment efforts. The focus on local level empowerment and gender relations elides similar relations on larger scales. This means the colour coding of authority also dictates who can decide what development is and what it should be, where whiteness is located in the North, blackness with Africa, and gender inequality and women's disempowerment is associated with blackness and Africa. Development efforts that engage with women's empowerment at the community level frequently fail to acknowledge the inequality that exists on a wider scale, not only between men and women, but between white women and black women. Ignoring the raced dimensions of development can mean missing the larger scales at which power operates, including interactions between different relations of power.

***Methodology***

Because images are created as part of a specific power configuration and construct and display difference, it is important to understand how and why this

works. Critical discourse analysis provides a solid foundation upon which to build a methodology that can account for the interactions between multiple identities, in this case race and gender, as expressed through visual representations of Africa.

Discourse here "refers to groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking" (Rose 2001, 136). These statements need not be limited to the written or verbal; images form a significant part of these structuring statements. Indeed, Campbell (2007) argues that "the visual field is both made possible by and productive of relations of power, and […] these power relations bear at least some resemblance to wider social and political structures…" (Campbell 2007, 361; see also Rosati 2007, 1000). Campbell goes on to note that "these geopolitical discourses structure our encounters with other human beings in space and time…" (Campbell 2007, 361). Discourse, then, is influential not only in the way we think, but also the way in which we interact with other people directly and through images, as the act of viewing creates a kind of relationship that is structured by and imbricated in a specific discourse.

Intertextuality "refers to the way that meanings of any one discursive image or text depend not only on that one text or image, but also on the meanings carried by other images and texts" (Rose 2001, 136). This is why it is important to consider different videos, photographic images, the texts that accompany them, and their place as part of a wider debate. Without that kind of positioning, there is a much narrower range of possible meanings, which has the potential to limit the

uses of an image, both hegemonic and subversive. Furthermore, failing to account for the relationship between one image and others before it makes it difficult to evaluate the uniqueness of an image, either in its message, use of symbols, or in its framing.

Discourse analysis, then, is the study of "the production and meaning of discourses" (Campbell 2009 in Clarke 2009, 13). Intertextuality is important in understanding how discourse is produced and the consequences of that discourse for the day to day experiences of the people affected by it. This thesis will undertake an intersectional analysis of the discourse of international development by taking an intertextual approach to the kinds of images created and projected within that discourse. Discourse analysis allows for a deeper exploration of the tension between well intentioned empowerment projects and the types of images that are deployed in support of such endeavors by interrogating both the projects and the images as parts of a wider development discourse.

The process of selecting appropriate NGOs, photographs and video imagery began with a series of keyword searches using Google Images. These searches included 'development,' 'international development,' 'iconic images of international development,' 'women and development,' 'gender and development,' and 'women's empowerment.' Based in part on the results of these key word searches, I then considered organizations and institutions that focused on international development and women in international development. I visited the websites of UNIFEM (http://www.unwomen.org/), UNDP (http://www.undp.org), USAID (www.usaid.org), CIDA (http://www.acdi-

cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/acdi-cida.nsf/eng/home), CARE International (http://www.care-international.org/), CARE Canada (www.care.ca), World Vision (www.worldvision.ca), UNFPA (www.unfpa.org), Because I Am A Girl (www.becauseiamagirl.ca), girleffect.org, the Nike Foundation (http://nikeinc.com/pages/the-nike-foundation), and goodnet.org.

Ultimately, I decided to focus on CARE USA and Plan International's Because I Am a Girl. Both of these organizations are non-governmental organizations that target a North American base, and upon surveying the literature surrounding gender and development I found that very little of it focused on the North American development industry. Furthermore, each organization is involved in ongoing advertising campaigns both on television and in advertising banners on a number of websites, which means that they are actively reaching out to viewers using imagery of development. Both CARE USA and the Because I Am a Girl campaign use that language that connects them to social justice activities, and the former specifically identifies as a social justice organization (CARE 2013). One might reasonably expect that organizations conscious of social justice themes and goals would produce and distribute images that reflect these goals not only in the messages that accompany them, but also in the symbols they convey and the people that are represented therein. For the purposes of this thesis, I wanted to know if this expectation of social justice as race and gender consciousness extended to the types of images used by these organizations, or if there remains a paradox or contradiction between the goals, visions, and missions

of these two NGOs and the way they act and advocate for the people who use their programmes.

After deciding which organizations to focus on, I then selected two videos from each organization that focused specifically on African women, and a further one (CARE) and two (Because I Am A Girl) that focused on development programming more generally. This was a way of analysing not only the way African women are represented in development imagery, but also the association of racial difference and racialization with development even when the images are not explicitly associated with Africa. The selected videos are then analysed in conjunction with primary and secondary literature focusing on race, gender and media in development to identify common themes and to locate the images used in the context of a wider discourse of development.

The four BIAAG videos were selected in part because of the similarities in their styles. The first two use a news cast style to address BIAAG's work in Africa and supporters in Canada, while the second two, both much shorter, use some of the same images in each video. The first two are also two of the few videos devoting focus to development in African countries. Each of the latter two makes use of a female narrator to connect to the audience and deliver the organisation's message using similar language, and discuss BIAAG and development more generally. The first two CARE videos were selected because of their focus on women's economic empowerment and how that translated to realigning gender relations at the community level. This is important for the purposes of this thesis because it offers a way of engaging with scalar relations

and the possibility of being empowered at one level, that of the community, and yet disempowered at the international level. The final video was selected because it combined live action images of people with animations and illustrations. Animation was used in other CARE videos as well, but as I was primarily interested in live action film and photographic images, I chose not to focus on videos that relied exclusively on animations. I did, however, think it an interesting choice to combine the two styles into one video as an overview of CARE's perspective on development, particularly given the similarities to the girleffect.org video.

One limitation of this process is that it produced a relatively small sample size. Read intertextually, and in conjunction with a wider and deeper history of North-African power relations, this relatively small sample size still offers a substantial look at the way women and girl children in African are represented to a foreign, in this case North American, audience. This thesis envisions these videos and secondary texts as a kind of dialogue that involves multiple participants, but where some participants speak more loudly and more often than others. The goal is to determine the assumptions that frame the conversation, and to challenge the possibilities and necessities that this framing promotes.

A second limitation is that focusing on NGOs that promote women's empowerment ensures that women will be foregrounded in the imagery used. This means that women may not be represented to the same degree in all development imagery. However, existing literature (see for example Dogra 2011, Manzo 2008, Goudge 2003) as well as the proliferation of groups and projects

aimed at women and girls children, such as UNIFEM and the Girl Effect, supports the argument that women are central to development as an overarching project, and thus are likely to be prominent even in a broader selection of images of development in Africa.

***Conclusion***

Representation of the developing world through visual media in the developed world constitutes an unequal power relationship between the subjects of that visual media and the audience in the North. This representation is at once raced and gendered in ways that contribute to a specific way of thinking about development and about Africa. Images of women as victims of war and violence, as mothers, as starving, and as poor, work to essentialize African women and to extrapolate the experiences of some women with specific histories and locations and apply them to an entire continent. The lack of consideration for the compounded effects of race and gender for the positioning and representation of African women undermines the notion of empowerment as part of the development process.

Posing a challenge to essentializing or homogenising representations of Africa and to account for the diversity of women's experiences, needs, and goals requires adopting an approach that unpacks the power relationships of visual imagery and incorporates an intersectional approach to constituting women as a category. The next chapter will examine theories of visual imagery in relation to a history of photography in constructing a Northern imagination of Africa. It then develops a working definition of intersectionality by examining the existing

theorizing and debate about how the term is used and the kind of visual suggested by the metaphor of the intersection. In doing so, it lays the groundwork for the analysis of images of development in Africa.

## Chapter Two

### Setting the Groundwork: Theories of Visual Imagery and Intersectionality

This chapter engages with existing theorizing about photography and the reproduction of racist and gender-based stereotypes, as well as work on the intersection of race, gender, and class. Where the previous chapter outlined the major themes, gaps and silences in the existing literature on development, race and gender, as well as research on media use by NGOs, the following chapter will build on this to locate and contextualize the research questions identified in chapter one as part of an ongoing discussion surrounding intersectionality, stereotypes, and external development in Africa.

In order to address the reproduction of stereotypes in images of development in Africa, I must examine two bodies of literature. First, I examine literature focusing on the historical and contemporary representation of Africa in the North in order to establish the history of reductive stereotyping of Africa as well as the types of symbols commonly employed. This section looks at the way images perform Africa in a way that is reductive and essentialist. This will in turn set the stage for the following chapter by setting out the context for both the videos analysed and the work of the organizations that produced them. The second set of literature reviewed in this chapter focuses on intersectionality particularly in the context of transnational feminism. This is important because it offers a way to address the interconnection of gender and race in representations of Africa, in such a way that race and gender stereotypes are examined not as

separate but concurrent phenomena, but as both mutually productive and reinforcing.

This chapter begins by addressing scholarship on photography and visual imagery. This section examines the use of representations, particularly photography, as a means of conveying truth, setting the stage for a discussion of the (Northern) gaze and the relative imbalance of power between the Northern gaze and the African one. This imbalance is exemplified in Northern imaginings of Africa, specifically in the way images are constructed by their producers and interpreted by their Northern audiences. This section concludes by emphasizing the importance of the social work performed by an image in producing and reproducing meaning and stereotypes. The second section in this chapter focuses on intersectional theorizing, with the aim of developing a working definition of the term for the purposes of this thesis. It begins by outlining the development of this body of literature, highlighting some of the prominent authors and themes. I will then proceed to engage with intersectionality and international development more broadly, and then narrow the focus to Africa. This second section concludes by emphasizing common themes of the body of intersectional literature, and offers some critiques and avenues for future research.

Representation through imagery is characterized by the expression of power relationships that may or may not be made verbally explicit. Such imagery naturalizes specific configurations of power as well as particular ways of looking and seeing. In unpacking the power relationships exhibited within an image and between the photographer or videographer, subjects and audience, one is able to

make sense of these relationships, what they mean, how they affect the reality of those involved, and how one might challenge the accepted or intended meanings. Likewise, intersectionality focuses on the ways race and gender, and implicitly class, interact as relations of power that affect the legal, socioeconomic, political, and material realities of those who are positioned in spaces of multiple marginalization. Photography and videography exhibit specific configurations of power as at once gendered, raced and classed. In this sense, images are a natural site of analysis for considerations of the interactions of race, gender and class because images are incredibly commonplace, and thus influential in forming and shaping both public opinion and support for specific types of developmental responses.

***Photography, Video, and the Power of the Visual Image***

In this section I address and engage with theories of representation through visual imagery, such as photography and videography, and the relationship between such representation and the way Africa is constructed in the imagination of the global North, and the way these images perform Africa in a way that elides the heterogeneity of the continent. This involves discussing the importance of the gaze and the imagination in constructing a sense of what Africa is and who inhabits the continent in an unbalanced configuration of power between the North and Africa, which in turn informs the kinds of external interventions approved and deemed necessary for the 'advancement' of the continent. I address this power imbalance as configured in both colonial and contemporary representations of Africa in order to demonstrate the persistence of racial and gender based

stereotypes of Africa, and how such stereotypes can be quite pervasive in the collective imagination of the North.

Representations are a way of making sense of the world (Hall 1997, 15). We use language to represent both material things and more abstract concepts so that we can refer to them and be understood. Thus, "representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our mind through language," (Hall 1997, 17) which need not be spoken or written: images can be a kind of language of their own (Hall 1997, 18). Each image, then, contains cultural or social cues that are familiar to the audience because of their exposure to similar types of imagery and culturally significant stereotypes. Stereotypes can be defined as "something preconceived or over simplified that is constantly repeated without change. Stereotypes involve icons, which are figures that represent events or issues" (*Imaging Famine*, 2010).

Pictures, especially photographs, have a long history of association with authenticity and truth (see also Sturken and Cartwright 2001, 16). The association between seeing something and knowing it to be true fails to account for the intentions of the photographer or the agency of the audience, regardless of the intentions of the producer of an image. Challenging the assumed objectivity and scientific accuracy of photography and videography has gained traction, particularly in the period following the Ethiopian famine and related aid efforts in the 1980s. Much academic work in this vein is conducted in cultural studies (see for example Rose 2001, Sturken and Cartwright 2001, Hall 1997) and critical geography (see for example Clark 2009, Campbell 2007, Struver 2007). Less

frequently, such considerations arise in political science, where power relations are explicitly considered as expressed through the relationship between a photographer or videographer, his or her subject(s) and the audience consuming such imagery.

One of the most important considerations when examining the relationship between an image and its audience is the idea of the gaze. The gaze is not just the act of looking, but the "relationship of viewing" (Sturken and Cartwright 2001, 76). Thus, viewing is a sign of power; that is, who has the power or the presumed right to look at whom (Sontag 2003, 42). Notions of privacy or right of consent are attached to the concept of the gaze, and specifically of the Western gaze, which is often associated with maleness (Struver 2007, 686). However, gaze can be understood in other ways. Lutz and Collins (2003) identify seven different types of gaze, the most important of which for this thesis are that of the photographer, the viewer, and the non-Western subject (354). The types of gaze represent different relationships, with the balance of power residing in the individual identified.

For example, the photographer's gaze is one where the relationship is weighted in favor of the photographer. This individual essentially constructs the shot, signifying to the viewer what is of importance. The viewer, or the audience, has the power to look at the subject while at the same time bringing his or her own experiences and assumptions to bear in interpreting and building a new experience of the image. The viewer can then make decisions based on this combination of experience and interpretation that may directly affect the subject of the image.

The gaze of the non-Western subject is frequently found in images where the subject is looking directly into the camera as if they are looking directly at the viewer. However, their gaze gives them little power in the relationship between viewer and subject as the actions of the subject likely have less effect on the viewer than the reverse. Each image is produced and interpreted through a combination of these relationships.

There is a built in assumption that if a person or event was worthy of being photographed, it must be important. This power is reinforced by the authenticity and truth that a photograph is often assumed to convey, as well as the colonial tradition of documenting a place and classifying its people through the use of photographic images. Indeed, photography was central to the historical imagining of Africa (Clark 2009, 41), together with literature and even opera (Said 1993) as part of the relationship between culture and empire. It was a way of bringing the empire to a domestic audience in an ordered and manageable way, and reinforcing the binary division between the "civilized" colonizer and "barbaric" others (Clark 2009, 42; see also Schwartz 1996, 31-32). Culture, Said argues, is deeply implicated in the colonial project, so much so that it must be considered if that culture is to be understood and the power relations it produces are to be challenged (Said 1993, 191). Focusing specifically on the photograph as an expression of culture and dominance, Clark (2009) asserts that "showing photographs as opposed to geographic locations marked on a map was a far more powerful means of expressing ownership that went beyond economic gain and military victory" (Clark 2009, 41-42). Furthermore, the photographic process,

and thus the process of imagining a place and its population, was controlled by the colonizers (Clark 2009, 41). This means that, to a great extent, images were framed so as to confirm existing beliefs and justify the existence of the empire.

There were exceptions to this practice of justification and reinforcement. For example, images associated with abolitionism as well as efforts to draw attention to the actions of the Belgians in the Congo were intended to bring attention to specific injustices and atrocities (Mason 2012). However, these images also served to reinforce the barbarism of Africa, and the helplessness of its population. There is a kind of patronizing attitude at play that, in spite of the good intentions of the photographers and their publishers, complicates the images that were produced in support of their cause (Mason 2012). Such images, despite their aims, still exemplify the kind of power imbalance displayed in pictures that reinforce the colonial project.

Photography has been, and I argue here that it still is, central to the way the North imagines Africa: it "attach[es] moral, cultural and sociopolitical attributes-these representations can be found in the mass media as well as in education and form sort of a 'mental atlas' of imagined geographies" (Struver 2007, 684). This imagination shapes not only the North's perceptions of Africa, but also the kinds of interactions and interventions that are deemed not only acceptable, but in many cases, necessary. While the photograph is no longer deployed in support of colonial practices, images are often used by NGOs in order "to project an imagination of need in order to raise funds and politically justify their existence" (Power 2003 in Clark 2009, 16). Such projections are shaped not

only by the choices made by photographers and videographers, but also by editorial decisions, which are themselves framed by existing structures and institutions. As with the colonial examples above, images produced and used by NGOs and their supporters in an effort to promote a positive image of and/or future for Africa may, in the end, play into familiar stories and themes about Africa and Africans.

Furthermore, Andreasson (2005) draws on the "reductive repetition motif" identified by Laroui and Said to explain the theme in Western scholarship of reducing the diversity of Africa to a single set of ideas, all of which highlight the inadequacy of the continent as a whole (Andreasson 2005, 972). These internal inadequacies, he argues, are used to justify the imposition of external solutions: first in the colonial sense and then under the aegis of development (Andreasson 2005, 972, 975-976). The rhetoric changes, but the results are similar. This means that, in cases of visual representation, images of specific people or events end up representing an entire continent in ways that reproduced the justification for external development by focusing on the absence of men, or the lack of education for girls, food shortages, and natural disasters.

The "reductive repetition motif" affects the thought processes of image producers as well as the audiences who consume such imagery. For example, when composing a shot, or in selecting a shot for publication or deciding which frames to include in a film, the individuals involved tend to rely on familiar themes or stereotypes because such themes are more likely to be accepted as real; that is, they confirm things that the intended audience largely already believes to

be true. Such efforts thus tend to be self-referential in that they confirm their own rightness. In the case of photojournalism, "photojournalists could have a culturally determined sense of an image's power prior to their encounter with their subject" (Campbell 2007, 374). For example, one Ghanaian journalist points out of relief campaigns, "who has ever heard of fundraising for cancer victims by showing cancer patients dying? Yet, time and again, fundraising campaigns for relief in Africa show people starving, down to the flies in their eyes" (cited in Pieterse 2011). That is, photographs of suffering, as with photographs of smiling women and children, hold a kind of cultural currency that goes a long way towards producing a specific and desired response from the audience, so photographers and photojournalists may choose to seek out opportunities to create such images.

Thus, the Africa of colonial, and later development, imagery is not the Africa that is the fastest growing continent, the Africa that is home to a young populations and a rapidly growing middle class (Jabbar 2012). Through these images, Africa is first imagined and then performed as a space in need, a series of eternal truths rather than a vibrant and diverse continent. These performances draw on and reinforce a repertoire of stock images of 'Africa' as sub-Saharan Africa, contributing to and confirming the authority of such imagery through repetition.

In addition, while an image might rely on the interpretation of its audience to give it meaning, the way it is framed and constructed suggest specific meanings to the viewer. Specific power configurations, such as capitalism, patriarchy, and

colonialism structure and sanction specific ways of seeing and engaging with images, while simultaneously silencing alternative and sometimes opposing ways of seeing. Thus, when considering images of development, one must be aware of the systems and institutions structuring the choices made by the videographer or photographer, as well as the available ways for such images to be interpreted.

The "negative-positive" dichotomy in the classification of images may be oversimplified, but the assertion by the *Report on the Review of the Code of Conduct: Images and Messages Relating to the Third World* (2005) that "the classification of 'negative' images doesn't take into account that an image in its own right is neutral; it is the subjectivity of the viewer that translates it," (8) is not entirely accurate. Neither the photographer, the image, or the viewer exist in a vacuum, and thus both the photographer and the viewer are reliant on their own experiences, including their exposure to similar images and themes in constructing an image and in interpreting it. Part of this comes from exposure to certain genres, such as documentary film and photography, photojournalism and travelogues. For example, the emergence of documentary photography coincided with reformist projects, such that these photographs tended to focus on poor, oppressed or marginalized people (Rose 2001, 20). The aim was to inspire the viewer to agree that something must be done in order to alleviate the suffering of those depicted (Rose 2001, 20). Thus, while it is true that the audience brings a certain set of experiences to a photograph, it also brings a certain set of expectations prompted by the kind of events and symbols represented therein.

As Fyfe and Law (1988) note, “a depiction is never just an illustration […] it is a site for the construction and depiction of social difference” (in Rose 2001, 10). Because images are created as part of a specific power configuration and construct and display difference, it is important to understand how and why this works. For NGOs and the well intentioned in particular, such analyses must include an understanding of a specific project within the context of other past and current efforts. According to Fyfe and Law (1988, 1, in Rose 2001, 11), it is important to unpack a image in order to understand not only that which is explicitly depicted, but also the implications of the way the subject is presented. Such representations present certain power configurations as natural, which silences alternative visions or efforts at reconfiguration while at the same time making specific, and I would argue often stereotypical, roles available for different categories of people to whom the stereotypes are applied.

This means that in many ways, the accuracy or objectivity of the image is unimportant; rather, it is what these images do that matters (Campbell 2007, 379). The problem, then, is not simply the use of images (as opposed to text only), but the way in which they fit into a larger, and much longer, history of constructing a narrative about Africa (Mason 2012; see also Yuval Davis 2006, Crenshaw 1991 for brief discussions on social difference expressed through representation). Even with the best of intentions, photographers and the NGOs that use their work may end up relying on the familiar rather than attempting to present something new and risk alienating or confusing supporters. NGOs recognize that images do work which is why certain themes and styles of imagery are used in appeals; however,

the less explicit and immediate message of such images is also important and has the potential to undermine the best of intentions.

The power of a photograph, video or other visual image lies in its appeal to authority and authenticity. The relationships between the author of an image, the subjects of that image, and the viewers of or audience for that image contribute to the way places and populations are imagined. Such imaginations can shape the realities of the people included in or represented by an image both through external impositions and internally generated narratives of 'truth.' This work performed by images highlights the importance of the choices made in creating an image and the expectations of the types of experiences an audience may be assumed to bring to their interpretation of that image. The image itself displays a number of social interactions and relationships that exist at a given moment in time. Unpacking such interactions offers a way of identifying and engaging with relationships of power captured within an image and imposed on it by the audience. Such relationships are structured by race, gender and class, as well as religion, sexual orientation, and ethnicity, among others. The ways in which these relationships are mutually constitutive and reinforce or undermine one another is in part the focus of intersectional theorizing, to which I will now turn.

***Intersectionality***

Intersectionality generally is a term used to identify a type of theorizing that accounts for multiple identities. While less frequent, it is applied to a methodology for analyses seeking to render visible and understand interactions

between complex social identities in a broader social, economic, and political context. In this section I will examine the history of intersectional theorizing and engage with some of the major themes and critiques surrounding the concept. Specifically, I will address the challenges in defining intersectionality as well as the ongoing debate about the usefulness of the imagery suggested by the term itself. I will then look into the connections between intersectionality and international development as a broad category before narrowing the focus to engage with international development as applied specifically to Africa. The definition of intersectionality developed in this section is one that focuses on interactions rather than intersections between identities or categories of belonging, as a way of accounting for the way relationships of power between individuals and groups work to construct the identities of each. While the effects of such relationships are unequally distributed and affect the less powerful more strongly and, potentially, negatively than the more powerful, the concept of interactions accounts for such power imbalances more explicitly that that of the intersection.

This section will draw on work from feminist scholars and critical race theorists such as Acker (2006), Bassel (2010), Bilge (2010), Brewer et al. (2002), Crenshaw (1991), Dhamoon (2011), Hindman (2011), Ken (2008), McCall (2005), Nash (2008), Smith (2003), Smooth (2011), and Solanke (2007), all of whom have engaged with the question of what intersectionality can or ought to mean and the challenges of applying these meanings to a variety of research questions and scenarios. The literature identifies four central themes and critiques of intersectionality: first, that the framing of a given social issue or

interaction can silence or render certain identities invisible at the same time as it gives voice to others (see for example Bassel 2010, Hindman 2011); second, that the use of the intersection as a metaphor implies a degree of agency in choosing or selecting identities that may not fully account for the ways in which identity can be externally imposed (see for example Choo and Feree 2010, Ken 2008, McCall 2005); third, that not only is intersectionality itself difficult to define, the terms involved, such as gender, race and class, may also be difficult to define in ways that are sufficiently nuanced as to apply to a variety of cultural and historical contexts (see for example Brewer et al. 2002); and, fourth, that while categories are constructed they have consequences in reality (Smith 2003) such that any examination of relationships of power and privilege require engagement with the positions of all parties involved (see for example Brah and Phoenix, 2004).

Intersectionality initially developed from within the black feminist school, but in many cases it is complicated by its emergence from and use of examples in a Western context. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) is popularly identified as being the first to articulate intersectionality as a way of challenging legal discrimination and marginalization, though others before her authored or compiled works on the relationship between women, race and class (see for example Davis 1983). Crenshaw addresses the tension between the tendencies of identity politics to ignore intragroup difference and the subsequent marginalization of groups and individuals who claim belonging in more than one group with social justice aims (Crenshaw 1991, 1242, 1244).

In her work on intersectionality, Crenshaw (1991) uses the image of a crossroads or street corner to explain how an individual can be in multiple communities at once. Crenshaw makes a distinction between intersectionality and anti-essentialism, noting that social construction (of race, gender) doesn't mean that these constructions have no real world significance (Crenshaw 1991, 1296). She examines the limits of anti-racism (focuses on men) and feminism (focuses on white women), asserting that "…women of colour can be erased by the strategic silences of antiracism and feminism" (Crenshaw 1991, 1252-53). Focusing on the issue of domestic violence, Crenshaw asserts that the devaluation of women of colour is "linked to how women of colour are represented in cultural imagery" (Crenshaw 1991, 1282). She then presents "representational intersectionality," which "would include both the ways in which these images are produced through a confluence of prevalent narratives of race and gender, as well as a recognition of how contemporary critiques of racist and sexist representations marginalize women of colour" (Crenshaw 1991, 1283). In other words, intersectionality applies not only to the words and practices that involve varying combinations of gender, race, and class, but also to the ways images are used to consciously or unconsciously reproduce dominant narratives or stereotypes. Furthermore, analyses of images tend to focus on race or gender, but not both, which often means that critiques of such images recognize sexism or racism without delving into the compounded effects of the two together. While Crenshaw's research is based on women in the United States, it is important to

understand the limits of antiracism and feminism in analyzing images in a variety of contexts, including images of international development.

However, Crenshaw's is not the only way of conceptualizing intersectionality. Since her use of the word to describe the effects of membership in multiple marginalized groups, there have been various ways of understanding or trying to understand the effects of multiple marginalizations. One criticism of using an intersection as a means of visualization is that it suggests a certain amount of agency (Choo and Ferree 2010, 133). For example, at an intersection one can choose to take any one of the roads available, whereas one may be forced into a certain identity group based on one's name or appearance, whether or not one actually identifies with that aspect of their identity. Furthermore, intersections are not necessarily changed through their interaction (Choo and Ferree 2010, 133). In the case of externally driven development in Africa, then, gender, race and class are changed and given different meaning through their interaction with the kind of geographical imagination of the Africa described above. This means that North and South offer another axis of intersectionality, wherein geographic location interacts with power configurations.

This focus on interactions alongside or instead of intersections is reflected in a number of other works. For example, Ken (2008) uses sugar as a way of explaining the interactions between different types of difference, arguing that sources of oppression and privilege are like products or flavours that are "produced and used[…] in interconnected ways" (153). The emphasis here is on the dynamism of the process, where difference is a shifting category taking in a

number of factors of difference. This differs from the image of the intersection in that in an intersection it is the individual that is moving and changing and choosing, whereas in Ken's explanation of interactions, the individual is always the product of their differences; they do not become more or less based entirely on their own choices.

Using a different metaphor, Razack (1998) suggests interlocking rather than intersecting to visualize the relationship between different identities or categories of belonging. She argues that interlocking systems cannot be extricated from one another, where the image of the intersection seems to suggest that identities or categories exist independently of each other (Razack 1998, 13, in Dhamoon 2011, 232). On the contrary, Razack suggests that systems such as patriarchy and capitalism produce multiple identities in ways that cannot be separated, using the example of domestic workers and professional women, who do not exist without each other (Razack 1998 in Dhamoon 2011, 3). This means that, unlike the visual of the intersection, Razack's metaphor accounts for the relationship between individual and group identities and more explicitly recognizes the multiple relationships of power that construct such identities.

Taking a slightly different approach, McCall (2005) focuses on three approaches to intersectional analysis based on the use of categories: anti-categorical complexity, inter-categorical complexity, and intra-categorical complexity. The first is an approach that deconstructs categories of analysis in order to account for the endless complexity of social interaction (McCall 2005, 1773, 1775-1784). Unlike the first, the second relies on the assumption of

categories in order to examine relationships between social groups (McCall 2005, 1773, 1784-94). Finally, intra-categorical complexity as an approach accepts some categories, but tends to focus on the ways in which categories come together to silence certain configurations of identities or on identities that are often left out under the first two approaches (McCall 2005, 1774, 1775-1784). McCall's work identifies these three approaches to intersectional methodology as the most commonly employed, though she suggests that the second is less used than the other two (McCall 2005, 1773). This work is important because it contributes to a stronger understanding of the ways intersectionality has been or can be applied as a methodology rather than limiting it to theory alone. While the use of categories may unduly simplify the complexity of power relationships and interactions, it is difficult to discuss relationships between or within social groups without them.

Another common theme that has emerged out of efforts to define intersectionality is that of defining the terms or identities involved. Angela Davis (1983), for example, takes what McCall (2005, see above) might define as a combination of inter- and intra-categorical approaches and details the difficulties of building an inclusive women's movement in America, where 'woman' meant white woman and anti-racism efforts and the interests of Black women, including abolitionist and emancipation efforts, were consistently subordinated to or rejected outright in favor of the fight for white, middle-class women's rights, including the vote (see for examples Davis 1983, 70-86, 110-126) and access to birth control (202-221). Davis discusses the reproduction within the women's movement of racist and sexist stereotypes (see for examples Davis 1983, 111-126,

172-201), and devotes much effort to unraveling and disproving such stereotypes as politically expedient and rooted in white supremacist ideology. She clearly demonstrates the ways in which 'woman' is understood to mean something very specific and exclusive, and that Black women or working class white women were on the outside of the women's movement for a significant period of time and, indeed, developed separate groups devoted to promoting and pursuing their own needs and goals (see for examples Davis 1983, 127-148). Gender, woman, and race, then, all mean different things in different contexts (Brewer et al., 2002). Like Davis, Crenshaw's early work on the topic focused on the United States, where race, gender and class have specific histories and thus meanings attached to them. Similarly, Mohanty (1991) points out that discussions of women's subordination outside the North uses concepts like reproduction, family, and the sexual division of labour without interrogating what these words actually mean in practice when located in specific contexts (Mohanty 1991, 67). The question of gender and the challenges faced especially by women are particularly important here, with the development of multiple strands of feminist thought, or feminisms. Each developed in a different context, and thus has a different understanding of how women are marginalized, and what that means when multiplied by other power inequalities.

Transnational and black feminisms cross national boundaries, emphasize historical context and contemporary processes, and challenge Western feminisms on colonialism and racism (Ampofo et al. 2008, 328). African-centred scholars tend to resist 'objectification' and 'commodification' by the West/North and

reject notions of global sisterhood (Ampofo et al. 2008, 338). It is thus important to be aware that"…identity claims are […] relational, constructed in relation to white women and all men and clearly demonstrate that what we call 'identities' are not objects but processes constituted in and through power relations" (Brah and Phoenix 2004, 77). That marginalization and the construction of difference are in fact processes and not static is an important point. In the case of visual imagery such as photography and videography, the production of the image is itself a process steeped in a largely unequal power relationship. What it means to be a woman, and what it means to be a black African woman, are not necessarily the same things. The terms are modified by their connection to one another in such a way as to produce new meaning, not only in theory but also in the reality of those women to whom such terms are applied.

Furthermore, as noted above, Brewer et al. (2002) note that there can be a danger of articulating race, gender and class, as well as other categories, in ways that don't have linguistic/cultural equivalents elsewhere (Brewer et al. 2002, 5). This means that not only do race, gender and class have specific meanings in different geographic and temporal spaces, sometimes the words used in English do not have equivalents in other languages. Brewer et al. cite Oyeronke Oyewumi (1997), who argues that the concept of 'woman' may not have existed for the Yoruba in Nigeria before colonization (see also Lugones 2010 for another discussion of Oyewumi's work). Kaminsky (1993) notes that language, and particularly languages imposed through colonialism frequently impose certain understandings and interests that may not have existed previously (in Brewer et al.

2002, 5-6; see also Lugones 2010 for a discussion of the imposition of hierarchical gender dichotomies through colonization). In Africa, then, gender, race and class may mean different things in the colonial period than in the contemporary. Such understandings might move towards systemic change that prevents deeply divisive power inequalities rather than or in addition to more reactive changes that seek to redress inequalities and injustices after their occurrence.

This last point speaks to another critique of intersectionality as crossroads: it tends to be used in ways that are ameliorative rather than transformative (Hindman 2011, 201-202). That is, a number of intersectional analyses focus on reparative or ameliorative outcomes, rather than on changing the systems that perpetuate the marginalization of specific identities. Such outcomes might include the use of quotas to ensure political representation or employment opportunities (see for example Hughes 2011) or the application of discrimination law (see for example Solanke 2009, who examines the use of categories as a basis for anti-discrimination laws).

While this approach is not necessarily ineffective, it does tend to ignore the day to day marginalization people experience as a result of the gender, race, class, and/or caste category to which they belong; that is, an ameliorative approach does not always account for or suggest possibilities for social, political and economic transformation at the micro level. It is important to pay attention to hierarchies within groups or categories, as well as to interactions between multiply marginalized identities (see also Hindman 2011). Silencing can occur

within movements of marginalized people as a way of presenting a unified message and set of goals (Hindman 2011, 202). This can result in the essentializing of a community through reliance on specific individuals as representative of that community. Using Davis' (1983) work as an example illustrates the problem of using the category of 'woman' without attention to the differences and nuances of space, time and place. In the examples provided by her work, women were differentiated by their race and class in ways that promoted the goals and interests of one group of women at the expense of or in ignorance of others. Ameliorative approaches are not unnecessary or wholly ineffective, but there needs to be a complementary engagement with the challenges of legislating social change and the importance of encouraging transformation at various political and social scales. Interdisciplinary research can also help forward feminisms that are transformative in considering race/gender/class/caste rather than only ameliorative (Brewer et al 2002, 10), and indeed, intersectional research takes place across an increasing number of disciplines.

It can be difficult to distinguish between transformative and ameliorative change in international development, in part because of the selective way in which international development organizations engage with historical and contemporary events. For example, the empowerment of women and girls might represent a transformation of the way in which they are treated and perceived within their own communities, but not necessarily the way they are viewed by the international community. Furthermore, externally driven development might be

seen as an attempt to ameliorate long term effects of colonialism in Africa, or to attempt to correct existing power imbalances between the North and Africa. For these reasons, intersectional analyses of international development in Africa account for and consider the scale at which race, gender and class are being produced and are interacting in a given position. In addition, the working definition of intersectionality must be flexible enough to make room for different meanings of concepts such as gender, race and class.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will use intersectionality as referring to interactions between social categories of belonging. While the idea of the intersection suggests that an individual or group has the option of taking or identifying with any single category of belonging or difference, interactions (or interactionality) suggests that, while one aspect may take priority over another at a specific time and place, multiple social divisions and categories of belonging continue to act on and be enacted by the individuals who occupy those spaces. Furthermore, the focus on interactions is better able to account for inter- and intra-categorical difference (McCall 2005) as it makes space for multiple divisions within categories. This is important because it offers a way of challenging one form of essentialism that imagines African women as rural, disempowered and undereducated. A definition of intersectionality that creates spaces for differences within categories is better able to make nuanced distinctions between women, and to account for the ways these distinctions interact with other categories of difference, such as race and class.

In conceptualizing and defining intersectionality, one element that is underdeveloped is the potential for reflexivity (Brah and Phoenix 2004). Brah and Phoenix note the difficulty of seeing one's own privilege (Rothenberg 2000 in Brah and Phoenix 2004, 81). This means that individuals often struggle to recognize and understand the ways in which their own particular race, gender and class make certain opportunities available to them while closing off others. Brah and Phoenix also address the relationship between experience and assigning legitimacy or authenticity to a given perspective (Brah and Phoenix 2004, 82). For example, the authors emphasize the colonial relationship as one that affects both colonizer and colonized (Brah and Phoenix 2004, 83). One might argue that the study of the interactions in identities of white, upper class men has a long tradition, or even that of the white, middle-to-upper class woman. While this particular configuration may in many cases have been taken as the natural focus of research, it may be that a more explicit consideration of the interaction between these categories and in relation to the more traditional intersectional triad uncovers or develops a deeper understanding of the political, social and economic structures of inequality that shaped the lived experiences of members of diverse communities. If intersectionality is about understanding and analyzing interactions between marginalized positions, then one might also argue that such interactions also occur between marginalized and dominant or hegemonic positions. A better understanding of the former might shed new light on the latter or suggest new points of engagement or complexity for analysis.

In addition, Walby et al. (2012) suggest that the focus on categories has resulted in a focus only on the subordinate group, with too little attention to the actions of the dominant group in a given power relationship (229-30). While the purpose of this thesis is to focus on specific constructions of Africa, namely women in Africa, it is worth noting the implied production of the North and women in the North that takes place simultaneously. It is beyond the scope of this work, but future research might engage more explicitly with the intersectional positioning of the North, in so far as the North is gendered, raced and classed in a particular way. Another avenue might be to consider the production of difference from an African perspective: how difference is imagined and projected onto the North, how this affects relationships on difference political, social and economic scales, and how the imbalance of power affects the influence such projections of difference have on the relationship between the North and Africa.

These are important points. Much of the literature on intersectionality focuses only on individuals and groups who are marginalized by virtue of their belonging in multiple marginalized divisions or categories. Bassel's (2010) work on the significance of framing in intersectional analyses is useful here. Bassel argues that challenging the framing of a given debate or issues of social justice is not only possible but necessary in order to render visible concerns that may not be apparent when focusing on the gender-race-class or gender-religion intersections (Bassel 2010, 157-158). Intersectional research tends to focus on race, gender and class, where race is non-white, gender is women, and class is lower. By framing intersectionality as a theory or method of analysis aimed at uncovering multiple

marginalizations, it is too easy to lose sight of the ways in which privilege is constructed in relation to marginalized individuals, groups, and communities, and the ways in which interactions between marginalized and dominant groups reinforce and redefine the boundaries of power relationships. These relationships, by definition, involve at least two entities and as such, each partner ought to be analysed in order to gain a more complete understanding of the whole.

Intersectionality is a way of recognizing the numerous interactions involved in constructing identity as well as how such identities structure relationships of power between both individuals and groups. As theories of intersectionality have developed, so too have debates surrounding the efficacy of the metaphor of the intersection, the importance of defining the terms that form the intersection or are involved in the interaction, and the imperative of anti-essentialism. Furthermore, while there is much intersectional theorizing, comparatively little exists in the way of comprehensive intersectional methodology. This is not to say that intersectional research does not take place, but rather to point out that intersectionality both as theory and method is as complex as the relationships to which it is applied. At the heart of intersectional theorizing and analysis is the importance of recognizing the variables at play in constructing identities, as well as accounting for the dynamism of these variables in their relationship to space, time and place.

***Concluding Thoughts***

In challenging the assumed authority and authenticity of the photograph, intersectionality is an important tool as a means of unpacking the power

relationships represented within an image and in the creation of the image. Photographs and videos have been and continue to be central in the way the North understands and imagines Africa. While this imagination is not entirely one sided, it is thoroughly unbalanced in that the Northern imagination and expectation of Africa and Africans has the potential to promote much more intense and even harmful projects of development.

The kind of power imbalance at play in the above scenario points to three key elements of imagery: its creation, its subject, and its audience/consumption. Intersectional analysis is useful in unpacking each element because there are a number of interactions of identity, and by extension, power, involved at each point in the process. First, there is the issue of the gaze of the photographer or videographer, and its impact on those subject to it, as well as their return gaze. The intentions of the photo/videographer are influenced by the dictates of their employer, but also their internalized ideas of what constitutes a 'good' image and what kind of people and activities are worthy of capturing. Locating the creator and producer of an image and identifying the kind of interactions that produce that location offers a way of establishing the kind of power relationship between the producer and the subjects and the impacts the types of images the author is likely to create will have on those subjects.

The subject of the image is arguably at a disadvantage in their relationship with the photographer or videographer. While their participation may or may not be voluntary, the subject has very little control of the process beyond their presence. The editing process as well as any context offered to the audience is

decided by others whose interests may not be in line with the subjects'. This highlights both the importance of intersectional positions as relative to one another, as well as the potential for images to be deeply disempowering for certain individuals and groups based on their particular combination of interactions. It also emphasizes the difficulty of representation without essentialism; that is, in using a single image or series of images to represent an entire group of people, there exists a danger that certain groups are being silenced or realities ignored in favor of creating or sustaining a particular narrative.

The process of creating an image is only part of the equation, and the producer-subject relationship is not the only example of a power imbalance. The audience for the image also develops a relationship with the image that comes from their own experiences as well as the visual cues image's composition. While any given image can be interpreted and experienced in a variety of ways, such cues rely on stereotypical presentations in order to evoke a desired response from the audience. In addition, as with the position of the creation of the image, audiences also bring to bear their own gaze on the subjects of the image. Here too there is an imbalance of power, wherein certain positions are granted the power to look at others and some are not. Determining who is granted such power and who is not, and why, means understanding how relative positions of privilege and marginalization are produced through an interaction of categories that shift and change according to context. All of this makes intersectionality, defined here as interactions of social categories that form the basis for belonging or exclusion, an

important tool in understanding the power relationships involved in creating and making meaning from visual imagery.

Intersectionality is, at its core, about recognizing the diversity of variables that go into creating a particular position and about locating and understanding the power dynamic that exists between different positions. While there are numerous debates surrounding the usefulness of the metaphor, as well as the difficulties of defining the terms and avoiding undue essentialism when discussing categories of belonging and exclusion, intersectionality as both theory and methodology has much to offer in the analysis of images of all kinds, including visual representations of Africa.

## Chapter Three

## Findings: The Persistence of Subtle Stereotypes

This chapter constitutes the major research section of this thesis, and answers the questions set out in chapter one. I will examine two North American non-profit organisations, Because I Am a Girl and CARE. For each, I will provide some background information, including a brief history and overview of current programming before looking to video, photographs and television ads. My aim is to delineate the place of race and gender in the development discourse used by these organisations. I will analyse the use of symbols and familiar discourses of race and gender that contribute to a narrative of Africa as a space in need of development.[2] After analysing imagery from each organisation, I will draw comparisons between the two, with a view to the ways in which these similarities and differences locate each NGO as part of or outside hegemonic discourses of development.

In chapter one, I established the research questions at the heart of this thesis, and outlined the existing literature on race, gender and the media in relation to discourses of external development. I also established the distinction between the heterogeneous reality of Africa as a continent of 54 countries and the imagination of Africa as limited to a stagnant sub-Saharan region, as performed through a variety of visual images. In chapter two, I examined theories of visuality, imagery and the media before developing a working theory of

[2] 'Africa' refers to the continent as performed by development imagery. See Chapter One, ***A Note on Terminology***, for a discussion of the performance of an imagined Africa through imagery.

intersectionality for the purposes of this research. In particular, I examined the history of images of Africa in the global north, and their ongoing importance in constructing a particular imagination of Africa as a continent and as a population. I then surveyed existing literature on intersectionality, including the development of intersectionality as a theory with the notable absence of an intersectional methodology.

Chapter three builds on the work of the previous two by using two case studies to explore the place of race and gender in development discourse, as well as the role of good intentions in (re)producing gendered and/or racist stereotypes of Africa. The case studies were selected based on the self-identification of the organisations as women-centric, and because of their significant online and television presence. In selecting NGOs to study, I was primarily interested in those focussing on women that presented a kind of moral authority as a driving force behind their work. I was similarly interested in whether or not such organisations identified womanhood in a universalizing or "colour blind" sense, or if "woman" as a concept and a reality was marked by intersectional awareness. *Because I Am a Girl* and *CARE* both focussed strongly on the kind of moral authority and imperative of helping women and, both implicitly and explicitly, sets up 'women' as a category of a kind of global sisterhood. This is particularly intriguing for my work because it suggests that, in spite of the class element present in development work by its nature, considerations of race and racism are ignored or at least diminished in importance when in fact the interaction of race, gender and class plays an important role in shaping and justifying development

concerns. The following case studies explore the ways in which stereotypes do and do not come into play in presenting development to the public and shows how, despite the best of intentions, the lack of nuanced intersectional approaches to advertising continue to perform an imagination of Africa as dormant place and space in need of external development.

***Because I Am a Girl***

Because I Am a Girl (BIAAG) was founded in 2006 by Plan International, which was itself founded in 1937. It was envisioned as a social movement aimed at lifting girls and their communities out of poverty (Plan International Canada, *http://www.becauseiamagirl.ca*). The organisation's website states that "when a girl is educated, nourished and protected, she shares her knowledge and skills with her family and community, and can forever change the future of her nation" (Plan International Canada). The website offers a number of links to the research and campaigns of external organisations, including the World Economic Forum and the Nike Foundation's Girl Effect video. BIAAG offers monthly newsletters for an optional subscription and a regularly updated blog (http://blog.becauseiamagirl.ca/). Because I Am a Girl projects include scholarship programs, school construction, school based nutrition programs, youth training in post conflict areas, health centre construction, business skills development and microfinance initiatives, and birth certificate registration programs (http://becauseiamagirl.ca). Supporters have three ways to support these projects: donations, organizing a fundraiser, or shopping for gifts or BIAAG merchandise.

The focus on girls, and particularly on educating girls, fits as part of a larger focus on development and women's rights as human rights. White (2006) identifies a type of gender project at work in development and humanitarian agencies, typified by the Gender and Development (GAD) approach to external development. She identifies three key features of the GAD approach: the creation of expert knowledge regarding women and gender; the institutionalization of that knowledge in development organisations; and, the corresponding redistribution of resources within development agencies (White 2006, 57). The focus on women in development is also clear in the Millennium Development Goals (http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals). Dogra (2011) argues that while policies may have shifted towards a GAD approach, in many cases images and fundraising appeals continue to reflect a Women in Development (WID) approach, typified by the focus on individual women and girl children (Dogra 2011, 340-341). In addition to these approaches to gender as a key part of development initiatives, there are also a number of agencies devoted specifically to engaging, empowering, and protecting children, including the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF; http://www.unicef.org), and the United Nations Foundation's Girl Up programme (http://www.girlup.org).

The focus on girl children and women is part of what Manzo (2008) calls the iconography of childhood, which she identifies as one of the primary ways in which aid and development organisations identify themselves as humanitarian and human rights focused (634). She argues that the use of images of children creates a sense of vulnerability and dependence on external actors for protection and

support (Manzo 2008, 643). Not only does this set up an unequal power relationship between the North and South more generally, it also erases the parents of the children pictured and strongly suggests that they are lacking or failing in their efforts to raise their children. This is important because it highlights a source of tension between the efforts towards solidarity between Northern and African women and girls and the realities of an unequal distribution of power. This means that, in their efforts to promote children's health, education and empowerment, Northern and presumably white women are set up as a kind of saviour of the black African girl and woman in a way reminiscent of the colonial civilizing imperative (see also Manzo 2008, 636). This makes images of children in Africa particularly important in the construction of difference and in establishing, and perpetuating, or perhaps rejecting, an unequal balance of power.

BIAAG develops yearly reports organized around a specific theme. The 2011 report was entitled "Because I Am a Girl: The State of the World's Girls 2011- What About the Boys?" (Plan International 2011a). This report examined the importance of engaging men and boys in discussions around gender equality. It also identified ways in which stereotypical conceptions of masculinity can be detrimental to boys and men as well as to women and girls. The report focuses almost entirely on gender inequality, but notes that other identities such as age, ethnicity and religion can influence gender based power inequalities (Plan International 2011a, 13). In this particular report, age is identified as being particularly influential and important in understanding and addressing gendered differences in a variety of areas, such as educational achievement, access to health

care, mental health, and gender based violence (Plan International 2011a). Thus, while the report does not identify as intersectional, there is an element of intersectionality present that does not conform to the more common race/gender/class framing.

In 2012, the focus turned to education in the report entitled "Because I Am a Girl: The State of the World's Girls 2012-Learning for Life" (Plan International 2012). This report reflects concerns with understanding not only gender, but age as a factor in understanding and redressing inequality. While enrolment in primary school is important, secondary school has an important part in shaping the self-image of adolescent girls and their opportunities (Plan International 2012). In this report education is more than passing on knowledge: it is also about passing on attitudes about the value of girls, adolescents, and women and their place in the world (Plan International 2012, 17). Thus, it is not just education, but the quality of education that is important:

> The empowerment argument places its emphasis on how education should support the dignity and well-being of each individual girl. This places great store by improving education so it can work better as a key to securing rights for everybody. It is a view of education closely associated with human dignity, not simply as a means to a wider end (Plan International 2012, 26).

This highlights the role of education in social reproduction, with a focus on dignity and rights as values to be upheld and passed on. This statement also reflects the rights-based approach to gender equality that runs through both the 2011 and 2012 reports. Manzo (2008) notes that NGOs often rely on the deployment of a language of human rights to legitimate their activities (634). However, while BIAAG does engage in rights-based programming, it does so by

couching rights in terms of the benefits to the wider community. That is, rights are an end in themselves but, and perhaps more importantly, protecting and advocating for girls' rights has positive benefits for their communities. This idea is reflected throughout the videos analysed, and will be addressed in more detail below.

***Video Analysis***

I selected four videos for analysis: *Girl News: Girls' pig co-op in Rwanda* (Plan International 2011b), *Girl News: Child marriage in Kenya* (Plan International 2011c), *Spring 2011 TV Spot* (Plan International 2011d), and *Introducing: Because I Am a Girl* (Plan International 2011e). These four videos represent the type of appeal used by Because I Am A Girl, and the style of imagery used to display Africa to the Canadian audience. I will describe and briefly discuss the first two videos separately, before turning to the final two, which I will examine together as there are several images that are used in both. I will then locate the common themes among all four videos within the wider discourse of gender, race and development in Africa.

*Girl News: Girls' pig co-op in Rwanda*

This clip, posted on YouTube on 20 September 2011, lasts four minutes and 45 seconds and has received 1373 views. It adopts a newscast style, with one anchor delivering information to the audience. The anchor, who also acts as narrator, is positioned against a white background that has a pink floral overlay. The video begins by iterating the importance of girls and their role in uplifting their families and communities using language very similar to that used on the

homepage of the organization's website. The anchor goes on to explain that Girl News is about Canadians who support Because I Am A Girl and the positive effects of these supporters on their communities.

The first segment describes the fundraising efforts of a father-daughter team from Alberta, and includes the audio from a phone interview with the pair, who inform the anchor and the audience that they selected Plan's Because I Am A Girl campaign after exploring the organization's website. The emphasis here appears to be very much one of thanking Canadian supporters and encouraging others to get involved. The daughter talks about helping girls in Rwanda "claim their right to an education," while the father talks about the difference in opportunity and lifestyle of many children in Africa compared to his own and other children in Canada. While this is likely true with regard to his own children, it ignores the reality of child poverty in Canada. It also suggests a tension between the kind of solidarity implied by the focus on women and girls helping other women and girls, and the differences between them. While the father in this case engages with the differences, he does not have the opportunity in this video to explore why such differences exist and why they are more compelling in the developing world than in Canada, nor does anyone in the video question the possibility of solidarity in spite of this difference.

The anchor uses the father's comments and involvement with the fundraising project to segue into a brief mention of the 2011 report on masculinity and women's empowerment. She refers the audience to the Because I Am A Girl website for more information on or to read the report in full. While the relative

brevity of the video is limiting, it would have been informative to include more in-depth information about the role of men in pursuing gender equality, and the ways in which boys and men are also disadvantaged by gendered stereotypes. All of this is in the full report (see above), and would offer some balance to the focus on girl children. It might also go some distance towards creating a space for men to engage in discussions of male stereotyping and how this affects empowerment efforts for both men and women.

The anchor then turns to the efforts of a group of Rwandan girls to purchase and sustain pigs as a source of income for their communities. These eight girls approached Plan with a request for help establishing a pig coop and received three piglets, and help to build a pen. The images in this segment are accompanied only by the anchor's narration. None of the original sound is included. This group of girls is introduced with video of their dancing, while Plan staff or volunteers watch and in one case, take pictures. This cuts to images of their coop and the girls themselves working with the livestock, and the audience is informed that people from all over the community are now looking to these girls as role models for how to become pig farmers.

The Northern gaze is particularly present in this segment. The audience, and even spectators within the images who are themselves taking pictures or recordings, are very much in control of looking at the girls who are the focus of the segment. Even in the video clips where there was clearly sound in the original, it has been edited out allowing the context to be defined by the anchor and the viewer's own experiences and expectations. Here the message is one of

success and hope: that in spite of their blackness and femaleness, these girls have become economically successful and more meaningful contributors to their communities. However, they are not afforded the opportunity to tell the audience that with words, nor are they able to look into the lives of the videographer and decide for themselves what constitutes success. This lack of reciprocity is a large part of what constitutes the inequality in relationships defined by gaze: we, the audience, can look into the lives and successes and failures of the subjects, but they can never look back into ours.

*Girl News: Child marriage in Kenya*

This video was uploaded to YouTube on 28 June 2011. It is six minutes and eight seconds long, with 1146 views. This segment is styled the same way as the first, with the same news anchor. After an introduction to the campaign and a welcome to the audience, the anchor moves into a segment on child marriage in Kenya. It begins with an excerpt from a Plan France television advertisement aimed at drawing attention to child marriage by depicting a young white girl child marrying a much older white man. The anchor notes that child marriage is both horrifying and illegal in Canada and Kenya, but that it is still "deeply entrenched in culture" in two regions of Kenya in particular. She goes on to explain some of the negative effects of child marriage and how Plan has worked and is continuing to work to end child marriage in Kenya. She notes that the Plan France video elicited a strong response on Facebook, and viewers are urged to find out more by visiting the Because I Am a Girl website.

The images in this segment begin with those of girls presumed to be child brides. These girls are visibly unhealthy, pregnant, or walking with and/or carrying younger children. Adult figures are entirely absent. These images are then contrasted with those of girls in schools and smiling while the anchor describes the possibilities that are within reach for girls who are given the opportunity. These images in many ways conform to the kinds of expectations the audience might have when discussing Africa, particularly if their primary exposure to the continent is mediated by humanitarian aid campaigns, news media, and development campaigns: lone children, unhealthy and in need of aid, and in line with more recent campaigns, happy, smiling girl children at school.

In this part of the video, the viewer is given both aural and visual cues that prompt sadness/disgust/discomfort, and then provided with a way to alleviate it through their support of Because I Am A Girl. This progression establishes the need for development, and Africa and Africans as spaces and populations upon which to focus that need. This, combined with the kind of shock cued by the Plan France video, draws an equivalence between Africa and 'backwardness' in a way that not only justifies the development work of the Because I Am A Girl campaign, but necessitates it.

The video then turns to the efforts of a mother-daughter team from Ontario to raise money through a run/walk event. Funds raised went to building a girls' school residence in Tanzania, which the pair eventually visited. The pair is interviewed in the studio. Much of the interview focuses on the experiences of the mother and daughter in their trip to Tanzania. The mother describes it as both

"life changing" and "very emotional." The focus here on how it affects 'us', the audience who is assumed to identify with the fundraisers ignores the impact on the girls who use the school residence. In her work on gender, whiteness and development, Heron (2007) notes that in many cases it is "our" experiences of development that are the ones that matter most. Others, in this case the girls using the school residence, are assumed to be happy to have it, to be grateful for the aid and support, and to have identified this as a priority, and the images of smiling girls in uniforms seems to support this conclusion. This may all be very true, but we as the audience do not know this because the focus is all on how we are changed by our support for others, and on congratulating each other for doing so. While this is likely very effective in encouraging supporters, both present and potential, it has the uncomfortable side effect of silencing the girls and women whose empowerment is supposed to be the goal, or at the very least dismissing their voice in favor of one we can better relate to.

*Spring 2011 Spot and Introducing: Because I Am A Girl*

The first advertisement was uploaded to YouTube on 3 May 2011, and has been playing intermittently on television since that time. It has received 25425 views, and is 31 seconds in length. Like the *Girl News* videos, this advertisement is narrated entirely by one woman, in this case by Sophie Gregoire-Trudeau, who is identified in the ad as a National Ambassador. She tells viewers that millions of girls are denied basic rights for no other reason than they are girls, but that changing this is instrumental to combatting poverty and furthering development.

This advertisement relies on a mix of still photos and clips of other video as imagery to accompany the narration. In the case of the video clips, the original sound is removed and Gregoire-Trudeau and a musical accompaniment give context to the images.

With this video, as with the first one, the concept of gaze is particularly significant. Not only is the audience looking at the girls and women portrayed through the lens of the videographer, but in many cases the subjects are 'looking' back. While the audience is reliant on the producer of the image for his or her point of view and is thus limited in its power to project its gaze, it has far greater power in that it can decide what to do with the perspective the image offers. The audience can accept the narrative or dispute it, and in doing so have a far greater material effect on the subjects' lives than the subjects will have on the audience.

The focus of this video is not identified as Africa, but the girls and young women depicted are all non-white and implicitly from the global South. Gaze and the relationship of viewing are guided not only by a sense of who can look at whom, but also by a sense that the privacy of certain groups is more important than others or that the imperative to help overrides the right to privacy. In this case, non-white girls and young women are acceptable subjects in ways that their white counterparts are not.

The final video, also available on YouTube, was uploaded 4 May 2011, is one minute in length, and has been viewed 2246 times. In this ad an unidentified woman offers a first person narration while images of black women and children are displayed. Each phrase starts with "because I am a girl…" and ends with a

statement about girls' marginalization or potential. Many of these images are the same as those used in the television ad discussed above. Once again, the images used are a mix of photographs and video clips, with the only audio provided by the narrator and an accompanying musical soundtrack. Like the previous video, there is a definite progression from negative to positive both in the narrator's tone and in the types of images portrayed.

The use of the first person narrative in this video sets it apart from the three discussed above. In each of those the narrator might be said to be speaking in place of the girls portrayed. In this case, however, the narrator seems to be speaking for them or as their representative. This is an added dimension to the idea of representation. Here visual representation through video imagery is combined with aural cues to the audience that suggest a spokeswoman whose experiences can be taken as applicable to all of the people in the video. This is worth noting because it sets up some of the challenges that intersectionality is meant to address; namely, the importance of recognizing and engaging with diversity and the dynamic shifting of needs and interests within groups and the individuals who compose them. Establishing a single representative ensures clarity of focus in the message, but risks silencing alternative visions or dismissing those with different priorities.

What is particularly interesting about these two videos is that they make use of several of the same images, but weave them into distinct narratives. In the first, Sophie Gregoire-Trudeau is clearly identified and uses a language of 'us' and 'them' to relate to her Canadian audience. In the second, an unidentified

black woman talks about girls in the South as 'we' and speaks in the first person to her presumably Canadian audience. While race may not be explicitly discussed in these videos, it is certainly invoked in the way the audience and the narrators are constructed. The images the two videos share are thus given different meanings based on their position in a racialized narrative. This video strongly suggests a consciousness of race and a definite idea of who the audience is in each video. The audience, here Canadians, is meant to identify with the white woman, while in the second video, the audience is meant to be moved to help the non-white 'them'.

***Good Intentions, Girls as Caretakers, and the Meaning of Empowerment***

Taking the above videos as a representative example of the message put forth by Because I Am A Girl, and representative of the types of images the organisation relies on, what follows is an examination of the common themes and stereotypes found in the images and an accompanying audio. If discourse is a "[group] of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking" (Rose 2001, 136), then these videos might together be taken as a collection of statements that structure the way Canada thinks about development and about Africa, and the kinds of efforts that result. This means that these videos are examples of the thinking that justifies development projects and identifies women, and particularly black African girl children, as both worthy of assistance and effective instruments of change. In doing so, the producers and the audiences of these videos rely on three stereotypical assumptions: that good intentions equal good outcomes, or at least

mitigate negative outcomes; that women and girls are naturally suited to caretaking activities; and, implicitly, that the race of these women and girls is irrelevant to their identification as worthy instruments of development.

All four of the videos analysed emphasize the good intentions of white, mainstream Canadians, whether through explicit discussion as in the case of the *Girl News* videos, or by outlining the ways in which the audience can help empower girls. Images of fundraisers and interviews with those who organized the events promote a particular way of contributing positively to the development project, particularly girls' empowerment. Such exposure confirms the rightness both of this articulation of development, and of the participation of Canadians as part of that articulation. Heron (2007) argues that the "colonial continuities" that produce white, middle class identities are particularly important in forming the white woman development worker as well, in part because of the tendency of white middle class Canadian women to take part in development both in Canada and overseas, and because they tend to reproduce similar relations of power in both locations. Mahrouse (2008) examines the attempts of Canadian activists to use photography to document and publicize suffering as part of advocacy efforts, and finds that in spite of the intentions of the photographer, such images end up reinforcing rather than challenging existing power relations. In spite of the awareness of the privilege associated with whiteness (Mahrouse 2008, 88), photographers end up showing more of themselves through the images they produce, in such a way that much or all empathy or sympathy elicited by the

image is aimed at the photographer rather than the subject of his or her image (Mahrouse 2008, 100).

It seems, then, that doing good is as much about our own experiences as it is about the people who are meant to benefit. The focus in both of the *Girl News* videos on Canadian experiences of development, at home and in Africa, is consistent with this narrative of power where the self becomes more important than the others who are constructed as in need of assistance. In doing so, it sidesteps engagement with questions of power inequalities between Canadians and Africans, and more specifically, between Canadian women and African women. This disengagement allows such inequalities to continue unchallenged and perhaps even unidentified by supporters. It also avoids addressing questions of race and its place in development policy and practice.

In addition, in each of the videos, particularly the latter two, both the narration and the accompanying imagery begin by focusing on problems and end with solutions. The images shift in focus from a single stoic or suffering face to smiling, dancing women and girls shown in schools or as part of groups and communities. Thus, each video covers a range of familiar and accepted images aimed to resonate with the viewer and provoke action as a response: first, the suffering in need of alleviation, followed by the celebration confirming the rightness and goodness of helping. This type of imagery presents a vastly simplified picture of Africa, reduced to two states: suffering because of some internal lack, and prospering due to external interventions. Andreasson (2005) suggests that this kind of essentialism is fundamental to the development process

in that it identifies the need for external intervention in the internal failings of the continent as a whole, without reference to alternative or indigenous models of progress or development (Andreasson 2005, 974-975, 983). If this is the only kind of imagery the viewer is exposed to, it may be all he or she knows of Africa and while it may inspire intentions to do good, it presents an incomplete picture of Africa and the diversity of African women.

One example of the ways in which the intentions of the producers and audience override a race-conscious approach to development advertising is found in the third video. The television ad explicitly states that "millions are denied basic rights because they are girls," (Because I Am a Girl 2011) and this is implicit throughout the other videos. However, the images used are not just images of any and all women and girl children. They are black women and girl children, and implicitly poor women and girl children. In fact, all four clips, when discussing development, rely almost exclusively on images of black women and girl children. The exception is the television ad, which includes two separate one-second frames of children who are neither black nor white. It is difficult to accept that their colour has no bearing on the way the audience receives and understands the message, and the way in which that understanding furthers a narrative of Africa as both poor and "backwards." Such images tap into a wider tradition of imagining Africa as a place of need (see for example discussions by Mason 2012, Siji 2012, Djanie 2011, Imaging Famine 2010, Clark 2009). This means that, in spite of the intentions of the creators and producers of these films, the end result is

one that reproduces narratives of Africa in such a way as to disempower and render unequal the people who live there and who are pursuing a new narrative.

Second, there is the question of audience and who is defined as other. In each of the videos analysed, the narrator leaves the audience with the sentence "Girls are the answer-and so are you," yet at no point is a question explicitly identified. The audience might infer from the rest of the video that the question is one of ending poverty or improving quality of life for girl children and women in Africa, but *how* they are to do so is vague. Who is included in the 'you' to whom the video appeals? It is difficult to imagine that the 'you' in this statement refers to the families or communities to which the girls in question belong. Rather, the 'you' might reasonably assumed to be Canadians, an assumption that reinforces the role of the North in helping, guiding or even saving Africa. And yet, the framing of the question positions the audience as being in a kind of solidarity with all girls always as the answer to a global question. It would seem that empowered girls can end poverty or help development efforts in their communities, but that they cannot become empowered without help from the viewer or viewers, who are presumed to be empowered already. Difference, then, might be overcome by the well intentioned.

This in some ways reflects Mohanty's (1991) critique of feminist writing about women in the Third World. She argues that much feminist work on the topic assumes that all women in Africa, for example, must have the same experiences of oppression or exploitation because they are women in Africa (Mohanty 1991, 57-58). It also seems to suggest that Canadian women and girl

children have the same interests, with a kind of gender based solidarity that is meant to encourage women to pull together for a common goal. However, Davis (1983) adeptly outlines the many ways in which shared gender alone is not enough to give rise to common needs, goals, or interests, demonstrating that both race and class are significant modifiers of gender. This interaction results in different bases of power and experience that do not necessarily preclude solidarity, but make it much less than a certainty. Both Davis and Mohanty argue that the context in which a given group of women is constituted is of the utmost importance in understanding their positions in a power relationship and in analysing their political goals and interests. This means that the tension between attempts at building solidarity while at the same time defining others is of particular importance given the phenomenon explored by Heron (2007) of white middle-class Canadian development workers defining their own experiences of development as the most meaningful or important. Empowerment, then, is presented as the goal to be pursued by all African girls as a response to their powerlessness, and all women can help with this goal. Whether empowerment means the same thing to all of the girls and women involved in these videos is uncertain.

This raises a question as to the lived meaning of empowerment as suggested by the discourse of development. Is it, as suggested by the quotation supplied earlier in the chapter, about dignity and/or ensuring an equal partnership and participation in decisions affecting their lives? If so, there is a range of possible opportunities for women that may or may not include caring directly for

family and community, yet girls and women are not portrayed as pursuing careers outside of agriculture or a natural resource-based enterprise or making purchases unrelated to the survival or economic prosperity of the family. I am not arguing that women should not contribute to the economic stability of the household, only that it appears to be a contribution asked disproportionately of women, a proposition which furthers inequality and seems at odds with the explicit message of empowerment.

Positioning girls' empowerment as the key to successful development suggests that if girls' empowerment did not promote economic stability, improved health statistics, etc., that their rights would somehow be less important. It is interesting that the argument in each of these videos is not that girls' rights should be protected for the sake of the empowerment of each individual girl, but because it is good for their families, their communities and "the world." This in many ways reinforces the idea of girls and women as caretakers, responsible for the wellbeing not only of their families on a local level, but for contributing to prosperity on a global level. The message here is not one where women use their economic success to support interests independent of their familial and social circles or to seek increased opportunity elsewhere. Nor is it one where men are encouraged to reinvest in their families or make similar decisions to benefit their communities.[3] Rather, the physical/emotional/mental absence of men appears to

[3] The 2011 *State of the World's Girls Report* engages with this in slightly more detail, but greater attention is given to the reduction of violence against women and girl children, as well as challenging stereotypical masculinity as disempowering for boys and young men. This perspective is not in evidence in the videos analysed, save for a brief mention that above report had been released.

be accepted and the onus placed on women to use their newfound empowerment to fill this gap.

This focus on women as solutions fits into a broader perspective on women and girl children's role and responsibility in and for development processes. For example, Carella (2011) identifies similar themes in the Nike Foundation's Girl Effect video (http://www.girleffect.org) and suggests that that particular initiative actually does more harm than good in raising the profile of women-based development projects. Given the length of the selected videos and the fact that such videos aim to build support for development programming, it is not surprising that the producers would strive to avoid making the audience uncomfortable by explicitly engaging with questions of power inequality. As noted in the previous chapter, NGOs are in a position where the appearance of need is important in justifying their work and in bolstering the support they require in order to operate (Power 2003 in Clark 2009, 16). However, this raises questions regarding the role of development NGOs as advocates of and forces for social justice. Dogra (2007), for example, argues that NGOs have a role in "question[ing] the status quo and thus act[ing] as counterhegemonic voices" (169). The question here, and it is one that informs much of this thesis, is how this is enacted and the degree to which it is possible.

While the videos produced for the BIAAG campaign frequently reproduce familiar images of Africa, the annual reports published by Plan International as part of the campaign suggest that the organisation is aware of the importance of an intersectional approach to development, and one report includes an example of

an approach to visual representation that might better represent the people who access BIAAG's programs and services. In the 2011 report, there is a section on families in Benin (Plan International 2011a, 54-55) who were given disposable cameras to take pictures of their daily lives. The pictures were used to generate community discussion about gendered divisions of labour, but such images might also be a way of giving voice to the experiences of Africans in a way that levels the balance of power between photographer and subject, though BIAAG would still retain the power to decide which images were shown to their Canadian audience.

One of the reasons that this is problematic is that development NGOs are implicated in ensuring development continues to be necessary; that is, if development projects worked the way they are supposed to, those organisations would eventually put themselves out of business (see also Power 2007 in Clark 2009, above). Normatively, one could make the argument that NGOs *should* question the status quo, particularly where such organizations claim state neutrality and independence, as a means of advocating for those who are the focus of their programming (see for example Dogra 2007, noted above). Alternatively, one could argue against the ongoing presence external actors in matters of development as an interfering and ineffective one and that development as an externally driven project ought to be abandoned entirely. This, however, is somewhat beyond the scope of this research. For the purposes of this work, I accept the initial premise that empowerment is something to be promoted. My interest lies in whether this is happening, and how. This particular case would

suggest that while BIAAG engages in advocacy in favor of girls' empowerment, it does not explicitly engage with the interaction between race and gender or attempt to challenge the status quo of development discourse. Certainly championing girls' empowerment in the form of education, access to health care, and the prevention of violence requires challenging a status quo in which girls and women are subordinate or disempowered, but it does not address the power inequality inherent in development practices and discourse.

The problem with advocating for women's empowerment at the community level while using familiar and stereotypical imagery is that such advocacy fails to engage with gender relations on a larger scale. One can be empowered within one's community, but still be relatively powerless on a global scale. In the case of development, issues of women's empowerment fail to engage with the power disparity between women as a result of their racialised geographic positioning. Take, for example, the final two BIAAG videos: in the first one, the white Canadian woman exhorts 'us' to help 'them', while in the second the unidentified black woman tells 'them' to help 'us'. Power is implicitly recognized as residing with the white Canadians, but this imbalance is treated as unproblematic. Here the problem to be fixed is located within Africa rather than existing as a relationship of power between Africa and the North (Canada). A more nuanced approach to development, particularly to issues of gender equality and women's empowerment, would be multi-scalar, with attention to gender and racial equality at the community, national, and international levels.

The Because I Am A Girl campaign aims to empower girl children through enabling access to quality education, health care, and social programming and through the elimination of violence against and exploitation of girls. In support of these aims, the organisation created a number of videos to inform its supporters and those interested in becoming supporters of the types of activities and programmes it undertakes, to thank fundraisers, and to encourage audiences to support its goals through various types of support. These videos, despite efforts to empower girls both in Canada, Africa and the rest of the developing world, reproduce some problematic stereotypes and ignore some important tensions between their messages and the way in which these messages are delivered. As a result, these images together represent a performance of 'Africa' that fails to accurately represent the diversity and dynamism of the continent.

Three problematic messages delivered by these videos are: that good intentions equal good outcomes, or at least mitigates negative outcomes; that women and girls are naturally suited to caretaking activities, which raises the question of the meaning of empowerment; and, implicitly, that the race of these women and girls is irrelevant to their identification as worthy instruments of development. Furthermore, all of this raises the question of the responsibility development NGOs have in promoting narratives of Africa that are race and gender conscious, and are nuanced in their respect for their subjects while effectively communicating with their audiences. Because I Am A Girl is hardly the only development NGO to make use of videos in support of their goals. Indeed, images play an important, if not essential, role in reaching the public and

building support for development as a discourse and in practice. The next section examines the efforts of an anti-poverty NGO aimed at creating a more socially just world through women's empowerment. CARE takes a slightly different approach to its use of visual imagery, but ultimately is unable to completely avoid engaging in existing narratives of power regarding Africa and African people.

***CARE***

This section focuses on the second of the two case studies. It starts with a brief synopsis of CARE's history and ongoing work, and provides an analysis of three videos created to further the organisations message and efforts in Africa and the developing world. After examining each video, I identify themes and stereotypes at play, including the use of male narration and the absence of African men in much of the video, as well as the foregrounding of women and the absence of overt discussions of race. In spite of CARE's dedication to equality and ending discrimination and in tension with the efforts towards presenting women as powerful and as independent agents in their communities, the images used in combination with the audio provided still, in the end, contribute to a broader narrative of Africa as a place, space and people reliant on external development.

Founded in 1945, CARE supports community based efforts aiming at women's empowerment, with the goal of alleviating poverty (CARE 2013 http://www.care.org). Both the vision and mission statements focus heavily on social justice, from fighting global poverty to addressing discrimination "in all forms" (CARE 2013). Despite the focus on women's empowerment, the mission statement widens the organizational mandate to include bases for discrimination

other than gender. While this in itself does not present an explicitly intersectional approach to programming or to social justice more generally, it does open the door for considerations of the possible interactions between forms of and bases for discrimination.

In 2012, CARE worked in 84 countries on 997 projects that reached 84 million people (CARE 2013). In Africa, CARE operates in 29 countries. The organisation works in the following sectors: emergency response, children's education, maternal healthcare, economic opportunity, policy advocacy, ending gender based violence, climate change, and issues relating to the use, access, and management of water (CARE 2013). CARE USA produces a number of video and text-based resources associated with its ongoing campaigns. These campaigns include "Help Her Learn," a campaign focused on improving access to education and enrolment for girls; "Help Her Live," aimed at improving maternal health care; the "Help Her Earn" campaign, developing village savings and loans associations in sub-Saharan Africa; "Voices Against Violence," focusing on stopping gender based violence; and, CARE carries out emergency relief work in places such as Syria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Sahel, and Haiti (CARE USA 2013).

CARE releases an annual report on its work around the world. At the time of writing, the 2012 report was not available online. The CARE USA 2011 report, entitled "Real Impact," relies heavily on imagery to add to text based information on CARE achievements and ongoing projects, including updates on advocacy campaigns both in the U.S. and in countries where CARE projects are

based. According to the 2011 report, CARE USA works in partnership with a number of other organizations, including the World Wildlife Fund, GAP Inc., the Walmart Foundation, Teavana, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (CARE USA 2011, 14-16). CARE allocates 90 percent of funds to programing, with the remaining 10 percent directed towards administration and fundraising efforts (CARE USA 2011, 30). The majority of programming (74 percent) is long-term, while 26 percent is based on emergency need (CARE USA 2011, 30).

Like Because I Am A Girl, CARE operates in the context of a much broader institutional focus on women as effective agents and instruments of development. As noted above, the place of women and gender in development policy and practice is fairly well established, with two primary approaches: WID and GAD. One perspective on this focus suggests that establishing women (and children) as primary identifiers of development and humanitarian work effectively depoliticizes the work itself, and results in a tension between empowerment and objectification (Dogra 2011, 334, 336). Depoliticizing development makes it much more difficult to discern power relationships and to unpack their meanings for all involved. The following videos offer a way of identifying the numerous relationships at play and analysing the constructions of African women in the global North.

***Video Analysis***

I analysed three videos produced by CARE USA and available both on the organization's website and YouTube: *Strength in Numbers* (CARE 2009a), *Mamata Tinou* (CARE 2011) *Unlocking the Power of Women: CARE* (CARE

2008). These videos together are representative of the kind of work CARE does in Africa, and the type of coverage that work receives. They demonstrate CARE's efforts to empower women and to work with the communities it serves, but in the end rely on some of the more subtle stereotypical representations of Africa and African women. In particular, these videos promote women's endeavors in the absence of their male counterparts, while in some cases relying on male narration to inform the viewer. They make a strong effort to portray women as strong and independent, but still reliant on external development for the source of that independence. This comes in part from efforts to engage women in the process of creating the video through the inclusion of interviews, but falls short of leveling the power dynamic between the producer and subject or the audience and subject. Finally, the videos do not explicitly engage with questions of race or North/African power relations, focusing instead on women as the key category and instrument of development. As with the videos by Because I Am a Girl, I will address each video individually before drawing out common themes and locating them within a wider discourse of development.

*Strength in Numbers*

This video comes from CARE's "Help Her Earn" campaign, a microfinance program focusing on sub-Saharan Africa. The program is based on the village savings and loan system initially deployed in Niger in 1991 (CARE USA 2008). In 2011, CARE helped more than 7 million people as part of the "Help Her Earn" campaign (CARE USA 2013). This video is six minutes 32 seconds in length, and was made available online on 14 October 2009. It has 4

693 views. This video begins with a brief history of village savings and loans associations (VSLAs) in Africa and Latin America using onscreen text accompanied by images of rural Africa. The video then shifts to Malawi, with the narration of the filmmaker.

After a brief introduction to the village and the VSLA by the narrator, the video alternates between his narration and translated excerpts of conversations with women who are members of the savings and loan programs. The focus is on rural areas and in nearly all cases where women are portrayed, they are performing some kind of physical labour, whether child care, carrying water, or various stages of food preparation. Where women are not working, they are dancing and singing, or directly addressing the camera. Even in the case of the latter, the women interviewed are pictured with food products. The sole exceptions are the VSLA meetings, though these too are a kind of work. This is reminiscent of Wilson's (2011) work on neoliberalism and representations of development at work, where women are presented as more efficient and more likely to thrive than men (Wilson 2011: 318). Indeed, here the filmmaker references women's tendencies towards saving, loan repayment, and reinvestment in families as the reason VSLAs are successful in eradicating poverty. This is problematic because it borders on essentializing women and men, where the latter are implicitly not good at saving, uninterested in repaying loans and in reinvesting in their families. At the same time, it places responsibility on women to be these things in the apparent absence of male engagement.

This video attempts to strike some kind of balance between the impact of this work on the women who are part of VSLAs and the impact on the filmmaker. While the majority of the video focuses on first person accounts of the way membership in the VSLAs changed women's lives for the better, the film ends with the filmmaker's realizations. Indeed, his perspective is presented as the main takeaway: savings and loan associations not only tackle poverty, but bring pride, respect and stronger communities and interpersonal relationships.

*Mamata Tinou*

This video is three minutes ten seconds long, and was made available online on 3 March 2011. It has been viewed 708 times on YouTube. The particular video focuses on one woman, Mamata Tinou, who is the leader of a VSLA in Niger, part of the Mata Masu Dubara program. Mata Masu Dubara means "ingenious women" or "women who achieve" (CARE 2011).

This video begins with on screen text to introduce Mata Masu Dubara before cutting to video of a group of African women walking down a dusty unpaved road carrying wood on their heads. There are no buildings in sight, so the audience can safely assume that this is a rural setting. A male voice is heard, and then the video cuts to a male CARE staff member, who speaks in French with English subtitles provided. He describes life for rural women in Niger as very difficult, and offers Mamata Tinou as an example of a rural woman. The video alternates between this CARE member, and interviews with Mamata Tinou in her village. Mamata explains her role in her developing regional microcredit association and managing the federation that resulted. The primary take away

from this video is that small microcredit associations improve the quality of life for rural women in Niger, and that such associations both offer an opportunity for and prove that women can contribute in meaningful economic ways.

This video combines the authority of "talking heads" of the sort one sees on newscasts or in documentaries (Bordwell and Thompson 2008: 338) with the authenticity of people speaking for themselves. The first person response to development in the community is valuable and worth paying attention to. While these videos are a type of marketing plan and are thus unlikely to include footage of people disagreeing with their work, in presenting only one perspective and one woman's voice, the filmmaker and the organisation contribute to a single narrative of African and of African women: as hard working individuals in a place that is primarily rural, with absent or incompetent men, who need a chance to prove themselves to their communities and, it seems, the North as well.

*Unlocking the Power of Women: CARE*

This video was made available on YouTube on 18 September 2008. It has since been viewed 65317 times. Two minutes and thirty six seconds in length, the video beings with a girl walking on dry, cracked earth in a wide open space. She is quickly joined by other women, who together form a large group. This imagery is accompanied by a male narrator, who pauses while the women, first individuals and then together, state "I am powerful" (CARE USA 2008). At the bottom of the screen contact information for CARE, including a phone number and website, is displayed.

The next segment is introduced and narrated by CEO and Director of CARE USA, Dr. Helene Gayle. She affirms CARE's commitment to the United Nations Millennium Goals and offers the audience statistics to support her claim that woman are too often the face of poverty. The images used in this second part of the video are all graphics or illustrations, similar in style to the Girl Effect video (www.girleffect.org). These include infographics such as charts and graphs, as well as illustrations of people, primarily women, moving in and out of the frame to punctuate the argument made by the narrator.

The illustrations start with a sketch of a woman carrying a bowl and looking down. This is followed by a series of statistics about poverty and women. These statistics are illustrated with pie charts, bar graphs that use coins for bars, and infographics including wheat fields that are slowly depleted and books that are largely closed. After Gayle confirms that women are among the most impoverished people in the world, the illustrations focus more on people and less on visual depictions of statistics. They include sketches of women with children, girl children carrying books and sitting at desks, pregnant women standing with medical professionals, and women opening doors and letting light in while leading others. These illustrations do not have faces; they are identified as women by listening to the narration and based on their dresses and the shapes of their bodies. Many of the figures do not appear fully drawn; rather, an invisible artist draws them into place.

***The Northern Gaze, Animations as Representations, and the Place of Men***

These three videos provide a sample of the types of work CARE undertakes as part of its development programming, and the style of visual imagery the organisation uses in order to promote its work. This section will tease out some of the themes and patterns in these videos, as well as one stylistic departure. First, in each video the gaze is very important in establishing and attempting to challenge the existing relations of power between the videographer and the subjects of the video. Second, the physical settings of the videos, with visual cues suggesting rural poverty, reinforce narratives of Africa as poor and barren. Third, the use of animation or graphic illustration in the third video marks a departure from the types of images seen in the first two, though it is unclear that this style subverts or challenges existing configurations of power. Finally, these videos are notable for their use of male narration even in videos about women's empowerment. The relative absence of African men in the rural settings depicted contrasts with the authoritative male voices presenting information to the audience.

All three of these videos include segments where women from the global South speak to the audience. In the case of the first two, this means the inclusion of interview excerpts where the interviewer and his or her questions are edited out so that the interviewee appears to be speaking directly to the viewers. In most cases, the images reinforce this perception, with the women interviewed looking directly into the camera or slightly off camera while they speak. This brings the importance of the gaze into representations and power relationships. In their work on gaze, Lutz and Collins (2003) established different manifestations of gaze,

including the photographer and viewer`s gaze and the non-Western other (354). The use of the non-Western gaze, in this case of African women, seems in some ways an attempt to level the playing field by suggesting that there is some equality in the act of viewing; that is, that the African woman can in some way look at the audience. It establishes a connection between the viewer and the subject of the image in a way that might encourage action. It does not, however, create real reciprocity in a relationship of viewing because the subject does not actually see the viewer, while the viewer is able to look at the image and the people it represents as and when they choose.

Each of the videos includes an element of documentary style imagery (for a discussion of documentary style film see Bordwell and Thompson 2008, 338-354). The first two are produced entirely in such a way, while the third is more complex with its use of a staged segment, illustrations, and the kind of direct appeal to the viewer used by Dr. Gayle. The use of the documentary style draws on a sense of authority and authenticity, suggesting to the viewer that the representations made by these videos are true or real. These documentary styles include the use of talking heads and compilation footage (Bordwell and Thompson 2008, 338). Each video uses a rhetorical form (Bordwell and Thompson 2008, 348-349) to argue in favor of women's empowerment as an end to poverty, meaning that each relies on certain generally accepted 'truths' in order to make its argument. In this case, this means the rural settings, where Africa is presented as a series of villages; the poverty, where Africa is poor and must be made better; and, the essential role of women in ending poverty.

The first two videos focus on rural settings, while the third begins with a barren landscape and concludes with illustrations that make it difficult to locate as either rural or urban. This focus makes sense in the context of the VSLAs, which focus on reaching clients not served by larger financial institutions due in part to geographic inaccessibility (CARE 2009b). This does not mean, however, that such videos do not contribute to a narrative of Africa as primarily rural and poor, and raises questions about the needs of urban populations and the place of development in urban centres. Randolph (2008) notes that rates of urbanization in Africa are among the highest in the world, and that it is expected that more than half of the population on the continent will live in cities by 2025. However, images of development in Africa, including those seen in these videos, frequently leave this out. Furthermore, Africa is home to seven of the ten fastest growing economies in the world, has a rapidly growing middle class and has made increased investments in education (Jabbar 2012). In viewing these and other images of externally driven development in Africa, one would likely be unaware of this information and might be surprised to learn it.

The first two videos include less explicit appeals to a sense of moral obligation, though arguably showing women in rural and implicitly impoverished situations, as well as how they overcome such challenges with the aid of the VSLA, performs this function. The third video, however, is much more explicitly an appeal for support. It includes the phone number for CARE USA on the bottom of the screen as well as the web address for the organization. It also uses statistics conveyed through infographics, such as pie charts and illustrations, to

emphasize the importance of the message delivered by the narrator. Direct engagement with the viewer combined with indirect appeals made by showing the viewer the good outcomes of participating, in these examples the successes of the VSLAs, create a sense of hope that the viewer is invited into. This sense of hope and 'goodness' is very much bound up in the imagination of what Africa is as a place and space, as well as who the people are who inhabit that space.

The decision to use illustrations of people rather than photo or video is a curious one. First, it could be said to lessen the connection between the viewer and the video, in that empathy for a drawing or computer graphic is different from empathy for a human being. In addition, one might argue that illustrations or cartoons sometimes rely more heavily on stereotypes or clichés in order to make it clear to the viewer who is meant to be represented. On the other hand, perhaps the intention is to avoid projecting stereotypes onto "real" people and to attract attention through a set of designs and images that cannot be created through the use of live action footage. Such illustrations might also be used as a tactic to catch viewers' attention where using live action images might be ineffective. Compassion fatigue might be overcome by using new styles of appeals and avoiding what Osa (2010) calls "the pornography of poverty" (72). Where viewers are exposed to multiple appeals for support, using a style that stands out as different or innovative might be more successful in attracting attention and financial support, especially when combined with the emotional appeal of the introductory segment. The illustrations then provide a break from that emotion and provide the kind of information the viewer needs to take action.

On the other hand, illustrations have a different emotional impact than representations of "real" people. It is difficult to say definitively that drawn images have less emotional impact, but I would suggest here that it is in some ways easier to project preconceived ideas onto drawings or computer generated graphics as opposed to live action images, and that such illustrations contribute to both depoliticizing Africa as a place and space, and to the creation of distance between the North and Africa in the Northern imagination. King et al. (2010) argue that in the case of feature length animated films, there are socializing elements that teach the audience about available roles based on gender, race and sexuality, and that this is increasingly accomplished without the use of explicit stereotyping (6, 8-10). Their focus is on feature films aimed at children, but their findings suggest that in shorter, explicit advocacy pieces such as this, thinking about Africa is structured at least in part by cultural discourse as well as a development discourse.

It might be that both of the options above are at work at the same time: animation may be more attention-grabbing than live action, while at the same time relying on recognizable visual cues in order to make the point of the piece clear. This once again demonstrates a possible point of tension in development advocacy and fundraising. As a point of future research, it would be useful to study focus group responses to drawn or computer generated images of people and development compared to live action images of the same. This might offer a sense of which style of appeal is most effective in generating positive responses

from viewers, as well as how each style affects audience perceptions of Africa and the kind of knowledge about the continent that is accepted as real or true.

The videos analysed in the study of CARE USA make use of specific familiar symbols and images of Africa that reinforce existing understandings of Africa as rural and poor. The way development is presented in each of these videos represents an argument that gender, and specifically women, is essential to the success of the development project. Men are rarely present in these videos except as narrators or to provide information about CARE programming. Women relate their experiences of CARE programming in response to questions not included in the final edit, and the third video uses a woman to narrate the second part of the segment. Men, on the other hand, are pictured twice, but provide narration in at least part of all three videos. Male voices are frequently perceived to be more trustworthy and authoritative (Nichols 2001, 55 in Bell and Gray 2007, 123), so that even in videos that promote women's empowerment, it is men who frame the images for the audience and provide the context for programming aimed at women. This demonstrates a different kind of tensions between intentions and outcomes: in this case the images themselves are not the only point of entry for analysing power relations in development, but so too are the voices, often disembodied, who speak to the viewers.

While gender is something that is explicitly considered, race is unmentioned. However, the women in the first two videos are black women, and their status as both black and women can reasonably be expected to impact the way they are perceived by a Northern audience. The relative absence of men in

all three videos contributes to a sense of vulnerability and thus suitability for assistance on the part of the women represented (Dogra 2011, 335) which in many ways contradicts the message of empowerment: not only must black women be helped because of the absence of men, but those men are at the same time reduced to and defined by their absence. They become lazy, abusive, neglectful or irresponsible; in effect, not "there" in any contributory way (see also Dogra 2007, 339). To be clear, this is not explicitly stated in any of the videos analysed. However, absence creates a space into which the viewer can project their own preconceptions which are neither reaffirmed nor challenged, which in turn contributes to a particular imagination of Africa and of the relationship between black men and black women, and black women and the presumably white North.

These three videos together present a fairly coherent view of what development is, how success is defined, and how it is to be accomplished. Gender is foregrounded, while race is implied only through visuals. If one listened only to the audio accompaniment, one might not actively consider the colour component of the people being described even though it is possible, even likely, that the listener would imagine women in Africa as black and possibly dressed in bright, traditional clothing and living in a village. This precludes almost immediately any direct expression of engagement by CARE with the interactions between race and gender and the positions produced by such an interaction. Rather, such engagement is left to the viewer, who may or may not explicitly identify or articulate the relationship between race and gender. This means that, while they avoid any typically negative stereotypes such as the starving or conflict affected

child, these videos do not represent any substantial deviation from the standard discourse of development insofar as they encourage an image of Africa as a space filled with villages and poverty whose hope lies in external assistance and the women who inhabit the continent all at the same time. While a shift towards an ostensibly hopeful and positive outlook on Africa represents a welcome change from Africa as a place of famine and disaster, in some cases it means the stereotypes are more subtly inserted and thus more difficult to challenge.

***Conclusion***

I want to return to the idea of discourse as a collection of "statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking" (Rose 2001, 136), and to the notion that images perform a social function in producing identities and geographic imaginaries (Fyfe and Law 1988, 1 in Rose 2001, 11; see also Clark 2009, Campbell 2007). Taking these videos and the accompanying details available from the NGO websites and reports as a group of statements offers the viewers and readers not only a way of thinking about development and Africa, but also an explicit instruction of how to act on the basis of that thinking.

The first set of videos fits squarely into existing patterns and themes of representing women and girl children in images of development in Africa. The videos make explicit appeals to the goodness of the audience, which is presumably primarily white Canadian. This sense of goodness is constructed against a representation of African need that relies on stereotypes of women and girl children as caretakers in need of opportunity and on corresponding

stereotypes of the absence of African men. Furthermore, this kind of moral imperative, with women's empowerment in the foreground, fails to engage with the salience of race in development discourse and practice in large part because it accepts without question the assumption that solidarity between white northern women and black African women is both possible and desirable.

In addition, the videos created by Because I Am A Girl perpetuate the popular conception of Africa as a place of poverty and need, while presenting women's empowerment through external development as the solution. This perpetuation of African women is an example of the kind of reductive stereotyping Andreasson (2005) identifies as part of the ongoing justification for development as progress and modernity. In this way of thinking, African women are hard workers, they are vulnerable, they need the help and protection of outside forces: the combination of imagery and narration in these videos reinforces these stereotypes and sets up a relationship between the audience and the subject that is deeply unequal and risks flattening and essentializing the diversity of experiences and ambitions of women and girl children in Africa.

The second set of videos, created by or on behalf of CARE, take a different approach to presenting African women's empowerment, one that seems slightly more conscious of the work images do and of the types of stereotypes images can reproduce. Rather than focusing almost exclusively on girl children, these videos support CARE's work with women of all ages. While they avoid much of the negative imagery of the starving child that are too often associated with development or aid endeavors, these videos still contribute to popular

imaginings of Africa, albeit in more subtle ways. Like the videos in the first case study, men are largely absent from these videos, except in positions of authority such as the narrator or filmmaker, and like the first case study, women are presented as caretakers essential to changing their communities and continent.

While less explicit in appealing to the goodness of the audience, CARE's videos nevertheless gloss over the inequality between their audience and the women they represent as well as the way the race and gender of the women in question interact to produce a version of Africa that is 'backward' and in need of external assistance in order to thrive. Furthermore, the use of graphics and illustrations in one of the videos analysed raises questions about the ways women in the developing world are understood; that is, the video presents faceless women identified by the shapes of their bodies and their proximity to children. Combined with charts, graphs and a rhythmic presentation of facts and images, this may be an eye-catching and attention getting method of building support. It seems unclear, however, whether it is one that respects the people it is meant to represent and one that presents the diversity and complexity of women in the global south.

Images are created within specific power dynamics (Campbell 2009, Fyfe and Law 1988 in Rose 2001), and the images analysed here are no exception. These particular images work to naturalize gendered roles within communities and between the North and Africa, marking women as caretakers and essential to the home economy. Such images conform to a much longer history of imagining Africa (see also Mason 2012, Campbell 2007, 2009, Clark 2009). Assigning gender roles fails to account for indigenous understandings of gender and

gendered roles, and risks imposing a foreign plan for progress based on an inadequate understanding of the needs and interests of the people it is mean to help. Unfortunately, this can also mean silencing alternative visions of development that do not conform to the accepted model of development which, based on the videos and literature presented in the last two chapters, seems one deeply dependent on unequal power dynamics and focussed on a particular understanding of women's rights as a marker of both development and equality.

While the two organizations offer alternatives to one another, ultimately each offers different ways of accomplishing the same goal: to empower implicitly non-white women in order to alleviate poverty and effect widespread change. How they accomplish this matters: the videos produced by BIAAG are much more in line with ongoing patterns and narratives of what 'Africa' is, where CARE's work suggests at least the possibility of a departure. This matters because it speaks to the question of whether empowerment can be supported through the use of disempowering imagery, and to the role of NGOs in doing so. The goal of gender equality through women's empowerment is part of a larger pattern of development discourse and associated practice, wherein women and gender have taken centre stage in defining what it means to be developed and how a given region can attain a state of development. The videos analysed here suggest that social advocacy can work on different scales, where development NGOs focus on social justice within communities while simultaneously reproducing stereotypical narratives. Thus, the imagery used by BIAAG and CARE USA is explicitly oriented towards social justice, while implicitly reinforcing racist and sexist

narratives based in racialising discourses of the North and Africa. Imagery, whether photography, film or illustration, remains central to the way the North imagines Africa. In spite of the attention given to the work such imagery does, through documents such as the *Report on the Review of the Code of Conduct: Images and Messages Relating to the Third World* (2005), my findings here suggest that the development imagery performs an imagination of Africa as a place in need: in need of empowerment, in need of development, in need of rights for women and in need of external aid.

## Chapter 4

## Conclusions, Next Steps, and Final Thoughts

Race and gender interact in images of development in Africa in ways that shape the way that continent is imagined in the North, the way African women are imagined, and how the North imagines and understands itself. This final chapter will review the ways in which development discourse is constructed and how it frames the choices made by NGOs in selecting and producing visual imagery and will conclude by suggesting areas for future research.

This thesis began by asking how images of African women draw on discourses and symbols that are reasonably familiar to audiences, and to what extent do these images appeal to a sense of moral obligation. I identified a secondary question aimed at unpacking the way(s) in which the interaction between race and gender in images of development in Africa contribute to popular perceptions of 'Africa' as a place and space in need of development. The version of 'Africa' performed in these videos is one that flattens the diversity of the continent, reducing it to a region that would remain unchanged if not for the work of development organisations. In order to answer these questions, I examined existing literature on race and gender in development, and established a

theoretical framework grounded in intersectionality and visual imagery as a relationship of power.

My findings strongly suggest that images that rely on racist and/or sexist stereotypes to convey a message about development persist, in spite of media literacy efforts, critiques of the tensions between fundraising and ethical responsibility, and self-awareness on the part of NGOs, as evidenced by different codes of conduct. That these images continue to be used and presented as authentic or authoritative examples of what Africa is and needs suggests that audiences in the North hold well established narratives of difference that make such images too readily accepted.

Part of this comes from a desire to help, and to be seen as a people who help; the impetus to do good, to feel good, to take care of others, and to empower others as North American populations believe themselves to be empowered (Mahrouse 2011, Heron 2007). However, this can contribute to the representation of others, particularly Africa, as 'backwards,' a conception reinforced by images of poverty, lack of rural infrastructure, conflict, and disease. Development, then, is the opposite of this: roads, schools, hospitals, food, material goods, and stability. Another benchmark of development is the place of women in a given society: the opportunities afforded them, the roles they are permitted to fill, and the occupations they are accepted in. Here, development is decided by the North for Africa, where women's rights and gender equality hold focus almost to the exclusion of other types and scales of inequality, such as race, disability, and economic inequality both locally and internationally (see for example Goudge

2003). This thesis focused on race and gender as two relationships of inequality that interact and produce multiplied consequences for how development is enacted.

The relationship between gender and race is a dynamic one, and the way it affects and is affected by development plays out not only in on the ground practices, but also in the way African development is represented through visual imagery. Existing literature on the representation of women in development, together with the videos analysed in the two case studies, suggests that African women are imagined primarily in caretaking functions, whether as mothers or as contributors to the home economy through small scale economic endeavors, or both. Empowerment here means being able to contribute this way, or being able to go to school and access health care and other types of social programming. In many ways, this depoliticizes the discussion around women's empowerment and the types of roles that are made available to African women through development.

The other part of this relationship, race, has received comparatively little attention, even though it plays an important role in shaping and framing how we understand gender roles and define the possibilities of empowerment. Acknowledging the interaction between race and gender in development discourse and its effect on practice might allow for more space for alternative models, narratives, and discourses that could start to reshape the relationship between the North and Africa. Race and gender are relationships of power and their interaction shapes not only possibilities, but realities as well.

Representations of race and gender in African development form an integral part of the discourse of development. Defining discourse as a group of texts and images that shape the way we think about something and that defines the types of actions that are then made available (Rose 2001, 136) means that, in terms of development, it is important to look not only at individual texts or images, but also how each fits with the others. This means examining the history of visual representations of Africa, as well as tracing themes and patterns through contemporary portrayals.

Key in tracing patterns and themes is the concept of the gaze. Representative of power dynamics in any relationship created through viewing, the gaze sets out the boundaries of who may look at who, and affords certain groups of people the power to look into others' lives unchallenged (Lutz and Collins 2003, Sontag 2003, Sturken and Cartwright 2001). While there are ways in which those others can look back, the gaze as a relationship between the viewer and the subject is one primarily characterized by an imbalance of power. This means that those creating an image and those who view it are able to project their own ideas onto the people represented within the image in ways that can either reproduce dominant narratives of race and gender, or challenge or subvert those narratives.

One way of challenging some of the existing narratives of Africa as well as the expected or intended readings of images of Africa is to take an intersectional approach. Existing literature on intersectional theorizing and methodology offers a way of approaching interactions between identities that

accounts for the dynamic interplay between them and the multiple effects this interplay has on discourse and on the day to day realities of the people for whom these identities hold true. This interplay is envisioned in different ways, with a number of different metaphors offered to explain the way it works. Razack (1998) suggests that interlocking might be more appropriate than Crenshaw's (1991) use of the intersection as a metaphor. Ken (2008) suggests that the interactions of ingredients, tied to the history of sugar, is an effective way to explain the way identities are tied together and the way they affect and construct each other.

For the purposes of this thesis, I used the idea of interactions to describe the way that, while one aspect may take priority over another at a specific time and place, multiple social divisions and categories of belonging continue to act on and be enacted by the individuals who occupy those spaces. Focussing on interactions makes space for multiple divisions within categories as a way of challenging the kind of essentialism that imagines African women as rural, disempowered and undereducated. Examining interactions accounts for the ways differences within a group, such as a group of women, interact with other categories of difference, such as race and class. It also establishes a framework for examining the way identities are constructed in relation to others, enabling analysis of relationships of power which require examining multiple categories as they relate to one another. In the case of this thesis, the relationship between white Northern women and black African women is one that allows the former to look into the lives of some the latter and to make decisions that affect the material

well-being of that group. Thus, empowerment becomes a relative term, where white Northern women are empowered in specific ways and in comparison to specific groups black African women, who are themselves to be empowered.

The idea of empowerment was fully embraced in each of the two case studies presented above. Because I Am A Girl and CARE are two examples of NGOs that focus on empowering girl children and women as the key to furthering development. The videos created by Because I Am A Girl are examples of a discourse of development that holds that good intentions equal good outcomes, or at least mitigates negative outcomes; that women and girls, in their roles as caretakers, are particularly suited for helping themselves and their communities' efforts for economic stability; and, implicitly, that race makes little difference in the way Africa is imagined or in the type of development that is deemed necessary. Meanwhile, the videos created by and for CARE end up relying on some of the more subtle stereotypical representations of Africa and African women. For example, these videos further the stereotype of the strong African women in the absence of a man and, while they make a strong effort to portray women as strong and independent, in the end these videos are unable to meaningfully shift the power dynamic between the creator/producer and subject or the audience and subject. Like the videos from the first case study, CARE's videos do not explicitly engage with questions of race or North/African power relations. Instead, these videos focus on women's empowerment as the key to eradicating poverty and introducing economic and social stability.

These case studies suggest that race and gender do interact in images of Africa in ways that cue the viewer to think of Africa as a place and space in need of development. This is bolstered by images of women of the type under consideration in the second research question. Images of women in the absence of men, typically in rural settings, and associated with poverty, hunger, and inadequate education combine to support a need for development actions in Africa. These tie in to earlier colonial discourses of dependence and 'backwardness' and, while the types of intrusions are different and the stereotyping more subtle, these images continue to create Africa and African women as dependent on the North for their empowerment as individuals and as a collective. This dependence prompts a corresponding sense of moral obligation in the Northern audience, encouraged by images and videos that assure the viewer that not only is he or she capable of helping the African woman or girl child, but that this help will have a huge positive impact on both the donor's life and the recipient.

As a point of future research, it would be informative to compare development images focused on Africa with anti-poverty imagery used in Northern, and specifically Canadian, campaigns. This would offer some insight into the way the North constructs itself in relation to Africa, and with it a more nuanced look into how difference is constructed and deployed at different scales. This would allow for intersectional analysis at multiple levels: class, race and gender within Canada, where the poor are constructed in relation to the wealthy (and vice versa); and then, class, race and gender between Canada and Africa,

where Canadians and Africans are constructed relative to one another. The case studies presented in this thesis might form a starting point for the latter comparison, though developing more case studies would offer a stronger foundation for the comparison. I would be interested in knowing if poor women and girl children in Canada are represented through visual imagery in the same way as their counterparts in Africa, and what that suggests about the way we view ourselves and others as well as what types of interventions are legitimized as a result.

A second area for further research is a comparison between Northern images of Africa and images of Africa created by Africans for themselves, and for Northern consumption. There are numerous popular critiques of the representation of African development (Siji 2012, Seay 2012, Wainaina 2012, Djanie 2012, Jabbar 2012). Using these as a starting point, future research might examine the way development efforts are represented within Africa and the kinds of imagery used to present and promote NGOs in the countries where projects are based. Undertaking an analysis of imagery, whether photography or film, that is produced by Africans for different audiences might start to unpack the tension between these two trends.

This thesis began from an interest in the tensions and apparent contradictions between the goal of women's empowerment and the way such empowerment is being and has been promoted. Efforts to represent Africa in a positive way have shifted the types of stereotypes used and made their use more subtle. The tension between the good intentions of NGOs and their supporters on

the one hand, and fundraising and advocacy goals on the other, highlight one of the challenges of accurately and respectfully representing the diversity of experience of African people in general and women in particular. The focus on women's empowerment within Africa risks missing the inequality and disempowerment that results from imbalances between the North and Africa. As a result, visual images of Africa risk challenging gender inequality within Africa at the expense of reproducing inequalities between the North and Africa. The power imbalance between the North and Africa creeps into images of the latter and demonstrates that just because an image, on its face, represents a given group in a positive way, does not mean it does so in an equitable one.

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