

UNICEF and the image of children

A qualitative content analysis on the portrayal of children by UNICEF on Instagram



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Abstract

With this analysis, UNICEF content on the image-based social media application Instagram was studied. The importance of correct representation in relation to the moral ambiguity of non-governmental organisations, as defined by Richard Miller, is the starting point. This led to the analysis of various theories on representation and mass audience influence in combination with the data retrieved from UNICEF's main Instagram account. With 5.8 million followers, a renowned institution like UNICEF has considerable influence on their opinions and perceptions of others. With various concepts regarding public sphere, framing, visual communication, and responses to cultural framing from a notably intercultural audience, it can be concluded that the representation of non-western children by UNICEF is created from a predominantly western cultural perspective and ideology. The significance of these findings is the fact that it corresponds with what a western audience desires to see, hence adjusting their content towards the western audience's liking. This is a branding strategy that encourages engagement and donations. They consequently present themselves as a western-based organisation that saves others. This hybrid form of portraying self through others, however, leads to the objectification of the other and what they represent. The conclusion is therefore that moral ambiguity has manifested itself in the lack of stereotype-breaking information in the representation of the children's respective cultures and the similarities between theirs and the audience's. The need to frame children according to the often-biased expectations of potential donors to be able to raise enough funding to keep operating explains how UNICEF values the collateral damage of their portrayals over the nuanced representation.

Disclaimer

I wish to point out that this thesis has avoided the assumption of gender to not offend people. It has avoided the use of "developed" and "undeveloped" to avoid the portrayal of one culture as better than another. The term 'western' world has been used to distinguish these cultures (North America, Europe and Australia) from the rest of the world, only to emphasise the cause of imbalanced representation. The use of "country" and "nation" has been omitted to acknowledge that cultural boundaries may differ from the geographical borders. Lastly, colours of skin were not discussed since increased globalisation has confirmed that how one looks may not correspond with how one identifies.

Introduction

In 1946, the United Nations General Assembly founded UNICEF, institutionalising their work to provide aid and relief to children affected by World War II in Europe and, four years later, the world.¹ Although UNICEF's aid programs and forms of advertising changed over time, photography remains a fundamental and essential form of communication.² It is used to further the agenda and create awareness of children as victims of conflict.³ Generating sympathy and support, photographic marketing is vital to UNICEF; without donors, no aid can be provided.⁴ This became clear in 1989 when the Convention on the Rights of the Child was substantially supported by humanitarian imagery. It assisted in raising tremendous funds while portraying children as passive, vulnerable, and voiceless bodies – considered by some a predominantly western perspective.⁵

Nowadays, imaged-based social media application Instagram enables Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) like UNICEF to visually engage with their audience in a unique way, encouraging more effective electronic word-of-mouth. This allows NGOs to broadly convey a quasi-personal and authentic identity – as their profile is formally indistinguishable from a personal profile. It also allows the online audience to comment on posts and each other. This creates a sense of inclusiveness and transparency and, at the same time, potentially a forum for dissent or affirmation.⁶ UNICEF's Instagram account – a public profile that has grown with over a million followers over the last 4 months to a current 5,8 million followers – permits anyone to explore and share its content.⁷ Over the past years, the amount of 'noise' on the internet, such as fake news, has grown considerably.⁸ Established and renowned institutions have become increasingly

¹ Tracey Skelton, "Children, young people, UNICEF and participation," *Children's Geographies* 5, no. 1-2 (2007): 170.

<https://www.unicef.org/stories/learning-experience-19461979>

² Zulkifli Abd Latiff, and Nur Ayuni Safira Safiee, "New business set up for branding strategies on social media– Instagram," *Procedia Computer Science* 72, no. 1 (2015): 14.

³ Paula S. Fass, "A historical context for the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 633, no. 1 (2011): 25.

⁴ Kinjal D. Vasavada, "Then and now: Evolving representations of children in UNICEF photographs," *Intersect: The Stanford Journal of Science, Technology, and Society* 9, no. 3 (2016): 4.

⁵ Fass, "A historical context," 25.

⁶ Latiff and Safiee, "New business set up for branding strategies," 14.

Although profit-business based, the advertising passage is equally applicable to NGOs as it discusses resources and tactics to gain an audience, which is of equal importance to both.

⁷ <https://www.instagram.com/unicef/?hl=en>, last visited on 22 June 2020.

⁸ David MJ Lazer, Matthew A. Baum, Yochoai Benkler, Adam J. Berinsky, Kelly M. Greenhill, Filippo Menczer, Miriam J. Metzger et al, "The science of fake news," *Science* 359, no. 6380 (2018): 1094-1096.

valuable for the obtainment of trustworthy information, at least according to institutions like the Global Development Research Centre.⁹ UNICEF is thus expected to provide reliable content on various issues and events, each with different contexts.¹⁰ The content can, consequently, have a significant influence on the attitude of a world-wide audience towards these issues and events. At the same time, it is customary in Instagram marketing to promote oneself by producing customised and simplified content suited to the expectations of the audience, hence influencing their opinion on the content in the desired way.¹¹ UNICEF's self-presentation is a converging process based on the representation of children online in combination with UNICEF's role in their lives.

This responsibility and power of UNICEF over the attitude of the mass compels them to carefully select what they post to avoid generating false beliefs. My research question, therefore, is how moral ambiguity manifests itself in the representation of non-Western children on the UNICEF Instagram account.¹² To get a better understanding of the representation on the UNICEF Instagram account, three sub-questions are formulated:

1. How does the institutional self-representation of UNICEF manifest itself in the representation of children?
2. How does UNICEF's content reflect and universalise western values, e.g. in the form of a 'Western gaze'?
3. How does UNICEF's online audience respond to this online cultural framing?

The academic relevance and positioning of this study will first be discussed, emphasising relevant discourses and novel perspectives. Secondly, theories and concepts regarding moral ambiguity, framing, visual communication, and responses to cultural framing from a notably intercultural audience will be elaborated. The methodology is then described, followed by the actual analysis and, concludingly, the presentation and implications of the findings.

⁹ <http://www.gdrc.org/ngo/credibility/introduction.html>

¹⁰ <https://www.globalreporting.org/information/news-and-press-center/Pages/Increasing-transparency-and-credibility-in-the-NGO-sector-.aspx>

¹¹ Latiff, and Safiee, "New business set up for branding strategies," 18.

Sadaf Rashad Ali, Debbie James, and Fred Vultee, "Strike a pose: comparing associated press and UNICEF visual representations of the children of Darfur," *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* 3, no. 1 (2013): 6-7.

¹² Non-Western, because explicitly the western gaze will be studied.

Academic relevance and positioning

For this study, a qualitative content analysis was completed on UNICEF's Instagram content based on five visual subgenres.¹³ This analysis builds on and contributes to four scholarly discourses: branding on Instagram, UNICEF, intercultural visual communication, and framing. The arguments taken from studies within these discourses help shape this research.

Firstly, UNICEF's account on Instagram is a less conventional type of profile, as research on Instagram in marketing and communication studies commonly focuses on profit-based brands or personal profile branding regarding body image and influencers.¹⁴ These studies have shown how corporate and personal profiles deal with self-presentation in ways to expand their reach with a growing audience to get publicity and eventually bigger profits. This research, however, will offer new insights on the self-presentation of NGOs and add a humanitarian element to the discourse on branding since UNICEF uses a hybrid version of representation to present themselves: presenting others who represent their work. This can have a substantial impact on the perception of represented information by UNICEF's mass audience.

Secondly, Instagram is a relatively new platform for an NGO to promote their work, as previous research on the media strategies of non-profits has concentrated on specific campaigns in conventional media, largely disregarding the audience's response.¹⁵ Scholars have proven that the material used in these campaigns is worth the analysis regarding concepts such as representation and framing. Instagram, however, has a more massive audience and provides a uniquely rich data set because of the conjunction between visual and textual communication and its accessible

¹³ See *corpus*, page 13.

¹⁴ Latiff, and Safiee, "New business set up for branding strategies," 14.

Jennifer B. Webb, Erin R. Vinoski, Adrienne S. Bonar, Alexandria E. Davies, and Lena Etzel, "Fat is fashionable and fit: a comparative content analysis of Fatspiration and Health at Every Size® Instagram images," *Body image* 22, no. 1 (2017): 53-64.

Yasmin Ibrahim, "Instagramming life: Banal imaging and the poetics of the everyday," *Journal of Media Practice* 16, no. 1 (2015): 42-54.

Jin Yea Jang, Kyungsik Han, Patrick C. Shih and Dongwon Lee, "Generation Like: Comparative Characteristics in Instagram," proceedings of the 33rd ACM CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, Seoul (2015): 4039-4042.

¹⁵ Skelton, "Children, young people, UNICEF and participation," 170.

Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 6-7.

Vasavada, "Evolving representations of children," 2.

Wendy Willems, "Remnants of Empire? British media reporting on Zimbabwe," *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* (2005): 3-5.

commentary section.¹⁶ With this combination, Instagram surpasses other visual and social platforms like twitter and the substantially smaller Flickr which are respectively more focussed on textual conversations or solely photographic content.¹⁷ Studying these platforms would, however, be useful for further research on the extent of UNICEF's publicity and influence.

Thirdly, there has been a critical view in previous research on the NGO's, and specifically UNICEF's influence on mass audiences through the framing of relatively unknown cultures. Studies on framing have presented how this concept manifests itself in various forms that not always are immediately perceived as 'framing'. This indicates that UNICEF could shape the expectations and associations of the audience with certain cultures without providing an honest representation.¹⁸ This has again only been studied in conventional media or specific campaigns. The representation of UNICEF's global work on an influential platform like Instagram has rarely been studied.¹⁹

Lastly, NGO's are usually not the case study for analytical research on intercultural communication because they ideologically do not directly affect international relations (as they aim to improve international cooperation).²⁰ More obvious threats to international cooperation and concord are usually studied and immediately relevant, overlooking the long-term influence of organisations like UNICEF on their online communities. The intention of this interdisciplinary study is, therefore, to disparage UNICEF, but as we look critically at organisations and situations that have immediate negative impacts, we should look equally critically at organisations that do good or great. When provided with detailed, well-argued, and constructive criticism, they can improve to become better and greater.

¹⁶ Tim Highfield and Tama Leaver, "A methodology for mapping Instagram hashtags," *First Monday* 20, no. 1 (2014): 1-11.

¹⁷ Luke Sloan and Anabel Quan-Haase, "Instagram," in *The SAGE handbook of social media research methods* (New York: Sage, 2017), 574.

¹⁸ Jane Jackson, "Chapter 7; Ethnocentricism and Othering; Barriers to intercultural communication," *Introducing language and intercultural communication* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 158-161.

Melissa Hart, "Subjective decisionmaking and unconscious discrimination," *Alabama Law Review* 56, no. 1 (2004): 744-747.

¹⁹ Skelton, "Children, young people, UNICEF and participation," 170.

Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 6-7.

Vasavada, "Evolving representations of children," 2.

Willems, "Remnants of Empire?" 3-5.

²⁰ Richard B. Miller, "Humanitarian intervention, altruism, and the limits of casuistry," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 28, no. 1 (2000): 4-6.

This thesis adds to these discourses how this particular NGO advertises itself on social media through the representation of others, but also uncommonly incorporates user comments to not just speculate the audience's reaction, but study it. The analysis includes an unusual selection that is not about a specific campaign but UNICEF's general online presence by studying the umbrella Instagram account instead of local accounts. These new and adjusted perspectives cumulatively create a new approach for mentioned discourses that can be used in future related research.

Theoretical Framework

For this research, theories from the four aforementioned discourses will be employed and combined. Starting this framework with the notion of moral ambiguity – the theoretical foundation of this study – I next elaborate on theories regarding public sphere, framing, visual communication, and responses to cultural framing from a notably intercultural audience.

We speak of moral ambiguity when the practiced contradicts the preached; the way one acts seems to comply with what one stands for, but has conflicting consequences.²¹ Richard Miller, Ethics and politics professor at the University of Chicago, relates this concept to humanitarian work and claims that such work, despite its admirable aims, is morally ambiguous because it interferes with internal affairs and implicitly labels a region as incapable of self-governance.²² Wendy Brown, a renowned political theorist at UC Berkeley, has described this intervention as disregarding the Westphalia state – a key principle in international law that each state has exclusive sovereignty over its territory.²³ The Peace of Westphalia is considered by political scientists to be the beginning of the modern international system of sovereign states and is enshrined in the United Nations Charter, which states that nothing should authorise intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.²⁴ Tanner Mirrlees, assistant professor in Communication and Digital Media Studies, claims that the contemporary world structure has jeopardised equality between unevenly developed states in a systemic hierarchy of unequal power

²¹Neill McKee, Erma Manoncourt, Chin Saik Yoon, and Rachel Carnegie, "Involving People, Evolving Behaviour: The UNICEF Experience1," in *Communication for development and social change* (2008): 254.

²² Miller, "Humanitarian intervention," 4-6, 30.

²³ Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2010), 124.

²⁴ Derek Croxton, "The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty," *International History Review* 21, no. 3 (1999): 569.

https://legal.un.org/repertory/art2_7.shtml

dynamics which “is not likely to change any time soon.”²⁵ This understanding is essential to the study of cultural framing by NGOs because it brings the possible negative impact of such lauded work to light. Although UNICEF has the position to set aside certain biased interests, this suggests that their Instagram material could boost negative associations towards cultures.

Cultural influence

In an article by Talal Asad, cultural anthropologist at CUNY, he criticises Habermas’ notion of the public sphere by saying that nowadays, it still excludes various kinds of people or claims from being taken seriously.²⁶ Although he was not the first to address this flaw in Habermas’ theory, he proceeds by taking the criticism on the pluralist theories of liberal democracy and states that the public domain is an exclusionary space and not one of equal rational debate. When a topic falls outside of the interest of the acceptable, it will receive no recognition and, as Robert Wolff argues, “its proponents are treated as crackpots, extremists, or foreign agents”.²⁷ Asad adds to this notion that the ideal of free speech does not only consist of being able to speak but equally to be heard. As he strikingly describes it as when “one’s speech has no effect whatever it can hardly be said to be in the public sphere, no matter how loudly one shouts” because the domain of free speech is limited by pre-established limitations.²⁸ Limitations can be understood as legally and lawfully binding limitations, but also as societal standards and desires: the dominating idea of acceptable which is determined by the dominant party in the public domain. This theory can be used to understand how UNICEF provides a voice to their subjects in online posts and how they make sure it is heard, hence giving them a place in the public sphere.

Since the further development of the postcolonial world order, Adom Getachew, a political theorist at the University of Chicago, has argued that those public domains are not an exclusive space, but, as Asad already implies himself, a dominated space. She takes this public domain to a global scale as she talks about world order. According to Getachew, the proponents described by Wolff are only heard and recognised when needed by the dominating party, in this case, the west.²⁹

²⁵ Tanner Mirrlees, *Global entertainment media: Between cultural imperialism and cultural globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 241.

²⁶ Talal Asad, *Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, modernity*, (Stanford: University Press, 2003) 189.

²⁷ Robert Paul Wolff, “Beyond tolerance,” in *A critique of pure tolerance*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965).

²⁸ Asad, *Formations of the secular*, 2003: 189.

²⁹ Adom Getachew, “Introduction” and “A Political Theory of Decolonization,” in *Worldmaking After Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 1-8, 14-20.

Free speech can therefore not go hand in hand with free listening unless the listener appropriately engages with what is said at all times.³⁰ For this to happen, however, one needs to put aside all personal and cultural judgement and perspective. This means on a larger scale that one has to put aside the national interest. Although the national interest is not studied in this thesis, personal judgement will be addressed when studying the comments to see whether there is a dominating party in the debate and whether all participants are heard.

But while UNICEF creates global awareness of critical situations in their messages to the world, Sadaf Rashad Ali, Debbie James, and Fred Vultee, communication scholars, go as far as to name their work a form of imperialism.³¹ Cultural imperialism is a complicated concept that, over time, has developed varying definitions. This paper limits itself to the definitions that present the core aspects of the theory. The most influential and quoted theorist on cultural imperialism, Herbert Schiller, describes it as

the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to or even promote the values and structures of the dominating center of the system.³²

What stands out in this definition is again the use of domination in relation to imperialism as repeatedly argued by Getachew.³³ Mirrlees uses this definition to differentiate cultural globalisation and cultural imperialism. According to Mirrlees, cultural globalisation is best understood as the spread of cultural goods of one country to others, gradually influencing the latter's culture. It spreads the cultural ideas, not obliges one to follow.³⁴ Cultural imperialism, however, determines general cultural values and standardises civilizations around the world according to the norm of that dominating centre. John Tomlinson, therefore, argues that cultural imperialism is not the globalisation of cultural goods, but fundamental political ideas and values.³⁵

³⁰ Asad, *Formations of the secular*, 2003: 189.

³¹ Ali, James and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 9.

³² Livingston White, "Reconsidering cultural imperialism theory," *Transnational Broadcasting Studies* 6, 2001: 9.

³³ Getachew, "Introduction" and "A Political Theory of Decolonization," 1-8, 14-20.

³⁴ Mirrlees, *Between cultural imperialism and cultural globalization*, 16-18.

³⁵ John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1991): 17.

UNICEF, as part of the UN, is an organisation that fights political and juridical injustice on a global scale. It is relevant to remember that UNICEF operates most visibly in non-western countries on which in the postcolonial aftermath and contemporary unequal power relations, demands are being put by the western world, influencing their national system and culture. Critics therefore commonly claim that those cultures will forsake their traditional values and lose their cultural identities when they are solely exposed to Western demands.³⁶ Analysing UNICEF's Instagram account, we can see how they value local and traditional cultures in combination with the globally standardised western ideology. This research can discover whether they cherish the cultural differences and discuss them or focus on the western ideology, publicising the described cultural imperialism.

Online framing

Ali, James, and Vultee explain, specifically for non-profits, framing as a way to make complex issues comprehensible by providing simplified and customised information.³⁷ According to human biologist Kinjal Vasavada, it decontextualizes the situation at hand and generalises regional information.³⁸ Wendy Willems, a media and communications professor at the London School of Economics, discusses the search for sensation and the audience's identifiability with people that look like them as other motivations for framing. She claims that western media have the power to adjust the representation of foreign cultures and hence possibly incite social conflicts.³⁹ Ali, James, and Vultee argue that in the western world, this simplified and often biased frame shapes the attitude of the audience while encouraging othering – the objectification of and distancing from, in this case, the non-western world.⁴⁰ They then claim that UNICEF uses the increasingly universalised western ideology of children as innocent and defenceless objects, stereotyping their bodies to create identifiability.⁴¹ Children could hence offer an emotive instrument to legitimise humanitarian intervention.⁴² According to Vasavada, this strategy allows UNICEF to portray itself

³⁶ Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, 241.

³⁷ Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 6-7.

³⁸ Vasavada, "Evolving representations of children," 2.

³⁹ Willems, "Remnants of Empire?" 3-5.

⁴⁰ Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 3-11.

Jackson, "Ethnocentrism and Othering," 158-161.

⁴¹ Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 12.

⁴² Ibid.

as western saviour, while imposing western values, separating the west from the non-western world.⁴³ The combination of these claims with earlier discussed theories on cultural imperialism and the public sphere indicates that colonial imperialism turned into western saviourism. This allows us to study how formerly colonised or dominated cultures are represented by UNICEF and whether that supports the currently described separation. It also shows how UNICEF presents itself to its online audience whilst objectifying photographic subjects which means that they cannot speak for themselves, as criticised in Asad's theory on the public sphere.⁴⁴

From a digital media perspective, Jemel Ganal, University of Toronto graduate, uses Baudrillard's theory on hyperreality to argue that when we post online, we enter a performative state: users create the reality they want their audience to see by reducing photographs to simplified simulations, ruling out true representation.⁴⁵ In their business theory, Latiff and Safiee argue that attractive and relevant photographic content has become an important component to generate interest to the public, as it takes brands beyond their economic nature to influence people's lives.⁴⁶ Ali, James, and Vultee explain that images create an understanding of a subject by concretising an abstract idea while conveying the emotion and drama of events convincingly. Audiences are, therefore, more eager to trust photographic content.⁴⁷ Vasavada explains, however, that the very act of photography already creates a power dynamic, as the photographer "dominates the interaction as a representative of the larger interests and goals of his or her organization".⁴⁸

Veronika Koller, a discourse studies scholar, explains that self-presentation can also apply to institutions like UNICEF, not just profit-based companies, that use branding to maximise profit.⁴⁹ Uniting aforementioned theories means UNICEF can play with connotations one wants to trigger with branding, using framing to improve their institutional image. The strategy to objectify children stereotypically for profitable means is addressed in this paper while arguing that with their influential photographic content, they have the substantial power to shape attitudes and beliefs.

Miller, "Humanitarian intervention," 4-6.

⁴³ Vasavada, "Evolving representations of children," 23.

⁴⁴ Asad, *Formations of the secular*, 2003: 189.

⁴⁵ Jemel Ganal, "The bigger picture: changing the way kids see the world one photo at a time" (Ph.D. diss., Ryerson University Toronto, 2018), 6-8.

⁴⁶ Latiff and Safiee, "New business set up for branding strategies," 14.

⁴⁷ Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 6-7.

⁴⁸ Vasavada, "Evolving representations of children," 23.

⁴⁹ Veronika Koller, "Corporate self-presentation and self-centredness: A case for cognitive critical discourse analysis," in *Language and social cognition: Expression of the social mind* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton 2009): 268.

The portrayal of self as western saviour, as Vasavada argues, is done not by the saving deeds but by the framing and posting and spreading of the deed, creating the best image for their institution.

Exploring the consequences of such western-centralised framing, the social identity theory argues that individuals tend to make sense of a complex social environment by grouping people into conceptual categories: in-group and out-group. Judging novel groups on very limited and biased information, however, reduces the willingness to understand them, often leading to ethnocentrism and stereotyping.⁵⁰ Connecting cultural imperialism to intercultural communication, international relations professor David Rothkopf argues that one should, therefore, promote tolerance and cultural diversities that do not allow differences to cause violent conflicts. He argues that tolerance is crucial to social well-being, which in time has frequently been threatened by both intolerance and a heightened emphasis on cultural distinctions.⁵¹ As argued before, Instagram is a performative medium and UNICEF has used children to promote and present itself. The information they provide about these children and their social contexts is essential when we look at the social identity theory because it enables people to form ideas and opinions with only a fraction of information about a culture.

If one eliminates tolerance and embraces the concept of ‘othering’ in a culture, it becomes normal to differentiate oneself from others and feel superior to them. Reading the theory of Ghobadzdeh and Akbarzadeh and Brunner, this can lead to sectarianism and end up as violent conflicts.⁵² Presumably, however, many people that are interested in UNICEF’s work share their vision of global equality. It might, therefore, not be their intent to stereotype or discriminate. Melissa Hart claims that this process can develop unintentionally but lead to unconscious discriminative decisions in everyday life.⁵³ It could cause the creation of an unconscious feeling of superiority towards the outgroup.⁵⁴ When studying the comment section on the UNICEF Instagram account, people might thus not directly express their discriminative behaviour in comments. They might show interest in and appreciation for other cultures, but still hold superior

⁵⁰ Jackson, “Ethnocentrism and Othering,” 158-161.

⁵¹ David Rothkopf, “In Praise of Cultural Imperialism,” *Foreign Affairs* 107 (1997): 38–53.

⁵² Naser Ghobadzdeh and Shahram Akbarzadeh, “Sectarianism and the Prevalence of ‘Othering’ in Islamic thought,” *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (2015): 698-701.

Rainer Brunner, “Shiism in the Modern Context: From Religious Quietism to Political Activism,” *Religion Compass* 3, no.1 (2009): 148.

⁵³ Hart, “Subjective decisionmaking,” 744-747.

⁵⁴ Ganal, “The bigger picture,” 4.

feelings towards those. To acknowledge the audience might feel unconsciously or consciously superior means that despite UNICEF's laudable aims, their content has morally ambiguous implications which can have a major impact on international relations.

Methodology

In favour of this research, the Instagram application has been used months in advance, following UNICEF, to ensure proper understanding of both the application and UNICEF's usual online behaviour. A qualitative content analysis was then used to analyse fifteen posts on the UNICEF Instagram account between the 1st of February and the 31st of March [Appendix A]. The size of the dataset fitted this method and provided the required material to answer the research question.⁵⁵ It affords a detailed search for patterns in this compact collection which would get lost in a quantitative analysis.⁵⁶ The method was then used to analyse the corpus by analysing the separate posts and looking for differences and continuities that would form patterns to see how moral ambiguity manifests itself in the representation of non-Western children.

Corpus

After a cursory investigation of numeral posts combined with UNICEF's core goals, five themes were identified: children in relation to food, playing, education, health, and enduring hardships.⁵⁷ The fifteen analysed posts were selected by these five themes, minimally three per category – or more as some apply to more than one category. This number sufficed to represent the case study of this thesis and successfully carry out the research. Moreover, non-western children had to be portrayed as the subject to focus on the framing of 'other'.

Solely pictures were selected for the corpus, including user comments and posts with multiple pictures. Videos were excluded because considerable additional research on aspects such as soundtracks, montage, and the like would be needed, exceeding this thesis' aim and scope. Hashtags were automatically included in the caption and comments but were not researched in detail because they mostly led to additional unrelated posts. They were, however, studied on if and

⁵⁵ Sloan and Quan-Haase, *The SAGE handbook*, 575.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Losh, "Feminism reads big data: "Social physics", atomism, and Selfiecity," *International Journal of Communication* 9 (2015): 1650.

⁵⁷ <https://www.unicef.org/stories/learning-experience-19461979>

where they were used. Research has shown that Hashtags on Instagram are used to create identities and build communities.⁵⁸ As thematic slogans, they create a community lingo, adding to marketing values and branding strategies.⁵⁹ They were therefore textually studied as normal phrases, while the fact that hashtags were used in general added another layer of self-presentation.

Comments were categorised by interaction with the post, from forum-like reactions to independent comments. The names of the accounts posting a used selection of comments can be found in appendix B but were omitted from the text to avoid immediate assumptions based on online identity and to enhance readability. Not all comments in the appendix were used, but they function as additional support for made claims. Comments from accounts asking for money, offering money, or trying to defraud others were disregarded. The fact that none of these comments were removed, however, implies that UNICEF does not exercise any control over the comment section; the audience is free to respond without UNICEF interfering and editing what better suits their image.

Process

To successfully carry out this research, the value of the selected posts to the company's work was studied, analysing the degree of detail, such as the identity and story of the subject, and underlying self-presentational goals. Concepts like framing and representation were applied to the individual posts to understand how the subjects are objectified.⁶⁰ It helped to understand the generalisation of information and western values.⁶¹ Finally, the comments made by UNICEF's audience were analysed to see whether UNICEF's content implicitly – or explicitly – discouraged, allowed, or encouraged the audience to hold feelings of superiority, implying moral ambiguity.⁶² Eventually, each post complements the analysis of the corpus which clarifies how moral ambiguity is manifested in the representation of non-western children on the UNICEF Instagram account.

An unforeseen current limitation was the attention to COVID-19. Only posts from the 1st of February until the 31st of March, when COVID-19 was not yet extensively present on UNICEF's

⁵⁸ Sloan and Quan-Haase, *The SAGE handbook*, 572.

⁵⁹ Paul Hitlin and Jesse Holcomb, "From Twitter to Instagram, a different #Ferguson conversation," *Pew Research Center* (2015).

⁶⁰ Ganal, "The bigger picture," 6-8.

⁶¹ Vasavada, "Evolving representations of children," 23.

⁶² Jackson, "Ethnocentricism and Othering," 164-172.

Instagram account, were selected. Over-representing content on the virus would not have been proportionate, but it was worth examining UNICEF's online responsiveness to global issues – which is characteristically different on Instagram than in traditional media like brochures and static websites – as they are continuously involved in unexpected temporary crises like COVID-19. Two posts were therefore allowed to cover COVID-19 in all categories collectively. Despite set limitations, the data provided content that is correlated enough to be studied in relation to each other, yet diverse enough to afford representative claims.

Furthermore, there is always bias in research like this. My western education has taught me to look critically at case studies but temporarily living in California taught me much more. I came in contact with students from various non-western cultures and I directly experienced racism and discrimination. I have visited countries with different political systems, and it pulled me out of my Eurocentric world view. I now live in Lombok, Utrecht and although it educates me every day on tolerance and the acceptance of different cultures, it also shaped my expectations. Looking at post [1] of the dataset, I assumed Medina was wearing a Hijab hence disregarding the fact it could just as well be local or traditional non-religious fashion. Furthermore, working with children made me realise they are much smarter than one might think. Having a 3-year-old explaining to me the global consequences of COVID-19 showed me that even though children can be naïve, they are more informed and sensible than one might think. I eventually hope to provide a tolerant and most neutral observation without taking my education and upbringing as a globally standard.

Analysis

Anyone can get access to the pictures and with a free Instagram account, one can comment on the post. All these posts have in common that they are about children and support UNICEF's goal to save and improve their life. The posts become related to the rights of the child. The Instagram account portrays these rights in different strategies: by showing the imperfect current state of affairs and by how their lives should ideally be. After shortly introducing the diversity of sorts of comments, these strategies and UNICEF's role in it will be discussed. The analysis is structured by micro-genres that support these strategies. These micro-genres are not the categories used to select representative data but are derived from the discovered themes and patterns. The analysis will clarify UNICEF's institutional self-representation and how the data reflects and arguably

universalises western ideologies, supported by the theoretical framework. The interpretations and reactions of the audience are analysed per micro-genre to support each finding.

Understanding the commentary

All posts were commented on, varying from 54 to 854 comments per post with a total of 3728 comments. There is a significant difference, however, with the distribution of comments with the five most commented posts [5, 7, 11, 12, 13 to be seen in appendix A] averaging on 549 comments and the others on 99, with 154 at most. Although some comments are negatively phrased, they are excessively outnumbered by posts of appreciation in every post. Relevant to point out now is that the comments used in the analysis were often more elaborate, but that most comments related to the post were either only written with emoticons or short expressions of appreciation and support, such as [1] 🙌😍 Education! ❤️, [7] It's too cute 😍😍😍, and [14] ❤️, which can be found in appendix B. The use of emoticons, and especially the hearts standing out as dominant here, is not uncommon in text-based communication. They are used as facial expressions to express subtle emotional distinctions or to reinforce the textual statement.⁶³ One of the best examples of a post generating these expressions was the well-commented post on Albertine [7]. The power of that post was in “Awww!! That lovely smile 😊” resulting in “Albertine in this photo totally made our day! 🥰”.



Figure 1: Post [7]

Another great deal of comments was either written in poor English – the lingua franca used by UNICEF – or in languages other than English. A possible cause is that someone speaking English as a second language will master the emotional expression strategy from another language better.⁶⁴ Emotions are, therefore, best expressed in one’s dominant language which does thus not necessarily have to be English.⁶⁵ The meaning of comments in poor English was sporadically assumed when contextually logical and clear. Other comments were sometimes translated and

⁶³ Jaram Park, Vladimir Barash, Clay Fink, and Meeyoung Cha, “Emoticon style: Interpreting differences in emoticons across cultures,” in *Seventh International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media*, 2013, 474.

⁶⁴ Rene Altrov, “Aspects of cultural communication in recognizing emotions,” *Trames* 17, no. 2 (2013): 159-164. Daniel G. Guttfreund, “Effects of language usage on the emotional experience of Spanish-English and English-Spanish bilinguals,” *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 58, no. 5 (1990): 604.

⁶⁵ Jean-Marc Dewaele, “The emotional force of swearwords and taboo words in the speech of Multilinguals,” *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development* 25, no. 2-3 (2004): 205.

interpreted more freely to not exclude non-English speakers but equally respect the original emotive expression.

A western saviours' gaze

The subjects in the posts that represent children as 'in need of help' are mostly portrayed as victims of a force they did not call upon and cannot do anything about. In four posts [5, 11, 12, 13] children are pictured in situations that do not reflect the safe space in which children according to UNICEF belong.⁶⁶ The subjects confirm this with their serious and gloomy faces that discern from other posts with mainly smiling children. The portrayed negativity and despair disagree with the earlier described western ideology of childhood as joyful and innocent; not needing to deal with life-threatening situations.⁶⁷ That people engage most with these posts that trigger emotions of iniquity and sympathy is implied by recognising these four posts from the five best commented overall. This engagement and strive for the western ideology be recognised explicitly in various comments: [5] "[...] look into the face of an innocent child [...]", "[...] giving hope to the



Figure 2: Post [5]

hopeless and life to the downtrodden", and [13] "[...] These Children are so helpless!!". The long story on new-born baby Hassan from Yemen [5] receives the most attention of all. While the image presents an infant in a well-maintained hospital, the caption first portrays the horrific preceding story of Hassan's mother. Towards the end of the caption, however, one learns that a nursery funded by UNICEF has saved Hassan's life. They even use the pronoun 'we', emphasising the contribution of both the community and UNICEF together hence creating a shared, connecting experience.

UNICEF repeatedly explains how they helped the children better their lives in various posts [4, 5, 7, 11, 13, 14] and is then extensively thanked for their work in others: [5]“🙏🙏 huge respect for @unicef the world need[s] you!”, even adding “thanks for being there when we can't” implying UNICEF is in service of their audience. In the caption of post [3], however, UNICEF asks the community to help them by explicitly clarifying the need for additional funds to keep providing children with life-saving aid. Implying these children may not survive without creates a feeling of

⁶⁶ <https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-text>

⁶⁷ Skelton, “Children, young people, UNICEF and participation,” 170.

Ali, James, and Vultee, “Strike a pose,” 12.

responsibility and guilt that can be used to manipulate the audience to make donations.⁶⁸ This has successfully urged users to ask [3] “how does one donate?”, while others are so inspired that they either [7] “are willing to volunteer” or encourage others to [12] “Donate [to] UNICEF!!!!”. Vasavada claims, as explained in the theoretical framework, that creating this heroic image can be seen as saviourism.⁶⁹ Although it shows that donating money has indirectly saved the lives of innocent children, it provides a sense of pride and satisfaction with the donors and guilt with the people who did not donate.⁷⁰ It also encourages viewers to think that, thanks to their contribution, the western organisation has successfully intervened in distant conflicts and iniquities; i.e. the west is teaching the ‘other’ how to behave.⁷¹

By distancing oneself from these cultures, UNICEF encourages the audience in ‘othering’.⁷² This is recognised in comments such as [1] “[...] I really loved [...] how attentive the Ethiopians were, how much passion there was in their eyes when it came to learning NEW things”. Although describing the Ethiopian people positively, millions of people from one culture are generalised and stereotyped as inquisitive. Another even said [14] “I love love love African Children 😊” referring to the continent as a uniform culture. A third member of the audience, however, asked [11] “[...] when will men in her part of the world get wiser”, referring to the Arab world negatively as a distant and behind culture. Distancing and especially the negative portrayals legitimise UNICEF’s interference with local politics and support the frame of the western culture above others as done in the past, encouraging a feeling of superiority and contentment.⁷³ Interfering with local politics and framing oneself as superior, however, impacts other cultures in a culturally imperialistic manner, meaning that the western ideology becomes the dominating and hence universalised norm.⁷⁴ A member of the audience criticises this process by attacking the UN in general by saying [11] “[...] it is a completely useless organization!” Another even goes as far as to claim [1] “wow. The UN ruining more cultures” but continues by stating on a post

⁶⁸ Susana Costa e Silva and Carla Carvalho Martins, “The relevance of cause-related marketing to post-purchase guilt alleviation,” *International Review on Public and Nonprofit Marketing* 14, no. 4 (2017): 477-478.

⁶⁹ Vasavada, “Evolving representations of children,” 23.

⁷⁰ Costa e Silva and Carvalho Martins, “Post-purchase guilt alleviation,” 490.

⁷¹ Mirrlees, *Between cultural imperialism and cultural globalization*, 241.

⁷² Jackson, “Ethnocentricism and Othering,” 158-161.

⁷³ Miller, “Humanitarian intervention,” 4-6.

Willems, “Remnants of Empire?” 3-5.

⁷⁴ White, “Reconsidering cultural imperialism theory,” 9.

Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, 17.

encouraging education for girls that “the planet does NOT need more impudent women.” Although possibly serious, one cannot ignore the chances of internet trolls – accounts who provoke others for one’s own enjoyment – being active in the comments section.⁷⁵ The comment successfully provokes the audience to respond and defend UNICEF by asking “r u serious?”. While the comment itself may be a troll, it exposes the audience’s perception of the organisation as exclusively benevolent and trustworthy. This convincingly hands them the power to shape the attitude of a trusting mass audience towards various cultures.⁷⁶

Female empowerment

Another one of the four negatively depicted posts [11] also states it is thanks to UNICEF that the subject is safe and can continue the preferred education. The post, however, did not receive any reactions on the subject’s innocence and dependence as seen before. The caption reveals that the difference between the young subjects of the other posts and 16 years old Nour: age. As opposed to the others, Nour is personally trying to better the dire situation. Rewarding comments state that the subject is “brave and strong” and “[a] role model” that stands “tall and [is] proud to be different and pretty”. This portrayal of an adolescent child fighting against an undesirable situation is not uncommon on UNICEF’s Instagram account. In other captions [1, 4, 10, 14, 15], one reads about adolescents who are ‘breaking barriers’ and going against what is allegedly expected of them while endorsing what UNICEF recognises as ‘good’. It is not always said, however, that these children are breaking with their local cultures. Rather, some are working or aspire to work in their respective communities [1, 11, 14, 15].



Figure 3: Post [11]

Neeshan [10] is the only one explicitly breaking a local stereotype according to her quote. The audience responds to this with confirmation: “You know it is hard for a girl to work in this kind of places” and even talk to Neeshan by name as in “[...] proud of you Neeshan” and “[...] so happy, she is not listening to what stereotypes have to say!! I think Neeshan is a very smart young lady for not listening to the negativity 🙄!!!”. Leaving this information out, however, frames a

⁷⁵ Jonathan Bishop, “Representations of ‘trolls’ in mass media communication: a review of media texts and moral panics relating to ‘internet trolling’,” *International Journal of Web Based Communities* 10, no. 1 (2014): 8-24.

⁷⁶ Ali, James, and Vultee, “Strike a pose,” 6-7.



Figure 4: Post [10]

simplified, possibly incorrect image that has triggered members of the audience to become so upset, they make statements like [11] “down with Saudi Arabia”. The post this comment was on, however, did not name the location of the subject. This implies this comment was based on the stereotypical interpretation of a child assumingly wearing a Hijab as equally happened in [10] “Not listening to stereotypes by wearing hijab...” since her clothing or religion was not discussed anywhere in the post.⁷⁷ Another commenter goes beyond assuming religion and says [11] “These Muslim youths must be given opportunities to live a better life but first unicef must make sure they give up their brainwashing of hating America & Israel & other religions...”. This shows the hostile approach towards the subjects’ cultural origin, emphasising the cultural differences that threaten the tolerance of other cultural beliefs which, as argued, is crucial to social well-being.⁷⁸ Lastly, a combination of this unstable tolerance and idea of saviour is seen in two comments on the earlier discussed post on Hassan [5] in which someone does not understand why in the “[...] middle of the war they keep having babies. They are crazy and first they need condoms urgently!!” Another agrees by saying that “These things can be prevented, healthy circumstances first before pregnancy. Education on birth control, abstinence, women rights, liberation etc”. Repeatedly using ‘they’ in negative phrasing and telling other people what should be done creates bigger social gaps between cultures. It encourages the stereotyping and negative framing of ‘other’ populations as seen by the fact that the second comment is not just about Hassan’s birth but continues with liberation, implying oppression of cultures. Comments like this legitimise UNICEF’s intervention once more, by strongly supporting the earlier explained interpretation by UNICEF’s audience of predominantly western values as normative, encouraging the perception of other cultures as lagging behind and consequently inferior.

At the same time, these posts and their comments [1, 4, 10, 14, 15] reveal another core aspect they have in common: the subjects are addressed as female and they are related to gender equality – the last three even explicitly through similar hashtags. Female empowerment is a recurring topic in the dataset, a micro-genre, that agrees with the feminist topic and work-in-

⁷⁷ Vasavada, “Evolving representations of children,” 2.

Jackson, “Ethnocentrism and Othering,” 158-161.

Hart, “Subjective decisionmaking,” 744-747.

⁷⁸ Rothkopf, “In Praise of Cultural Imperialism,” 38–39.

process of usually western patriarchal societies.⁷⁹ Serene Khader, philosopher and feminist theorist, presents research that shows how the process and progress of gender equality vary throughout the world, revealing its intersectional complexity.⁸⁰ UNICEF, however, withholds information on whether these cultures share the battle for gender equality or whether they are, for example, matrilineal and already perceive this behaviour as standard.⁸¹ The lack of information on varieties of feminism simplifies and generalises the representation of the intersectional complexity of the depicted situation while feeding the stereotypical frame of female adolescents as powerful, unappreciated human beings.⁸²

The audience willingly agrees with this depiction as seen in comments that claim [11] “Women all over the world suffer with you” and [4] “[girls] should never be treated as inferior.” Because UNICEF does not mention, except in Neeshan’s post [10], whether this inferior treatment is the case in represented cultures, the children become commodified symbols not of their culture, but of UNICEF’s western notion of female empowerment.⁸³ As supported by Khader’s theory, this objectification and universalised simplistic idea of intersectional complexity in a globally diverse movement, distributes ideas and strategies throughout the world that are specifically western feministic.⁸⁴ They thus do not afford an intercultural dialogue or bring what the 'other' women need to the attention.⁸⁵ With these content and the perception of the audience, UNICEF’s political influence on their audience and the portrayed cultures is made visible, once more suggesting the culturally imperialistic universalisation of predominantly western ideologies.

⁷⁹ Uri Gneezy, Kenneth L. Leonard, and John A. List, “Gender differences in competition: Evidence from a matrilineal and a patriarchal society,” *Econometrica* 77, no. 5 (2009): 1658.

⁸⁰ Serene J. Khader, *Decolonizing Universalism: A Transnational Feminist Ethic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 8.

Catherine Compton-Lilly, Kristin Papoi, Patricia Venegas, Laura Hamman, and Briana Schwabenbauer, “Intersectional identity negotiation: The case of young immigrant children,” *Journal of Literacy Research* 49, no. 1 (2017): 134.

⁸¹ Abu Zafar M. Shahriar, “Gender differences in entrepreneurial propensity: Evidence from matrilineal and patriarchal societies,” *Journal of Business Venturing* 33, no. 6 (2018): 762.

Gneezy, Leonard, List, “Gender differences,” 1638.

⁸² Compton-Lilly, Papoi, Venegas, Hamman, and Schwabenbauer. “Intersectional identity,” 134.

Ali, James, and Vultee, “Strike a pose,” 3-11.

Jackson, “Ethnocentrism and Othering,” 158-161.

⁸³ Ali, James, and Vultee, “Strike a pose,” 12.

Khader, *Decolonizing Universalism*: 11-12.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Emphasising and de-emphasising

By emphasising the role of female adolescents, they also inevitably de-emphasise others, such as male adolescents who are not represented in this dataset (which was created to present a representative, synchronous cut). Females are, therefore, presented with numerous role models, while men not once. A member of the audience even requests UNICEF not to [14] “neglect the boys”. Research has shown, however, that masculine characters tend to create fewer feelings of “empathy” and consequently less engagement, resulting in fewer donations.⁸⁶ The combination of the objectification of female adolescents as ideologically western symbols of feminism with the fact that young females more easily generate feelings of empathy hence results in this dataset in a thoughtfully exploited, profitable strategy.

Male adolescents are not the only ones being de-emphasised on the account according to the comments. Coverage is repeatedly requested on matters such as [1] “[...] Iranian refugees in turkey”, [2] “[...] children with #disabilities [...]”, and [8] “massacres of Muslims in India [...]”. Especially the [8] “[...] asylum seekers on the Turkish-Greek border [...] dying in the cold winter” [6] “and wounded by Greek soldiers at the Greek border” receive significant attention and UNICEF is criticised for “just looking to advertise”. The audience proves to be knowledgeable and critical which confirms UNICEF’s narrow and thematic approach in this dataset; deliberately emphasising one theme means de-emphasising another. It results in the account inevitably presenting a standardised pattern of topics that shapes the visual imagination of both the curators and audience. The strategy implies that UNICEF values donations over the possibility and responsibility to inform people on world-wide issues as a renowned institution.

Dominating speech

Concerning the de-emphasised group, another pattern occurs on the account; female adolescents are the only represented children who get to have a voice [1, 10, 11, 15]. Their quoted stories are all written in English and although they might all speak the language, the stories could also have been translated by UNICEF, leaving them the power to easily and unintendedly edit their story and add substantial information.⁸⁷ Regardless of whether the short quotes were translated and

⁸⁶ Eva Skoe, Amanda Cumberland, Nancy Eisenberg, Kristine Hansen, and Judi Perry, “The influences of sex and gender-role identity on moral cognition and prosocial personality traits,” *Sex Roles* 46, no. 9-10 (2002): 295-297.

⁸⁷ Dũng Minh Quan, “Minimizing translation mistakes in the writing process by using the questionmaking technique,” *The Journal of Asian Critical Education* 2 (2013): 14.

edited or not, they all stress UNICEF's message and engagement with these children. This implies first that gender equality is provided by UNICEF, and second that UNICEF has the power to decide that only adolescents have a voice in the "public sphere".⁸⁸ This means the devaluation of the subject's voices in eleven posts.

The age gap between the children with a voice and the other eleven is again the most significant difference. By depicting younger children as needing big changes and guidance from others so they can live carefreely – as confirmed by the captions of several posts [7, 8, 9] – UNICEF labels their voice and opinion as not in power and thus irrelevant. At the same time, portraying that it is expected of the female adolescents to save themselves, disseminates higher expectations for adolescents.⁸⁹ They work hard, support their community, and deal with situations many western children have never dealt with. Although disagreeing with the desired defencelessness of the western ideology, the empowering stories are inspiring and coherent with the previously described western portrayal of the gender equality issue. This strategy allows UNICEF to create attractive and relevant content to generate interest to the public, at the expense of reasonable representation.⁹⁰

The children are thereby at an age where one is competent to make decisions like an adult and the story of being a helpless victim would simply not be as credible as with younger children.⁹¹ One could, therefore, argue that most of the voiceless children are just too young to participate in the public sphere, but this argument is in-line with the western portrayal of children as innocent and defenceless: one of UNICEF strategies proven to ease identifiability for the western audience.⁹² An article by prominent scholar on childhood inclusion John Davis, however, reminds us of articles in the UN Convention on Rights of the Child which, without distinguishing the age of children, state that "children not only have a right to articulate their opinions with regard to issues affecting them but have a right to have these opinions heard".⁹³ He provides more examples

⁸⁸ Asad, *Formations of the secular*, 189.

⁸⁹ Skelton, "Children, young people, UNICEF and participation," 170.

Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 12.

⁹⁰ Latiff and Safiee, "New business set up for branding strategies," 14-18.

⁹¹ Leon Mann, Ros Harmoni, and Colin Power, "Adolescent decision-making: The development of competence," *Journal of adolescence* 12, no. 3 (1989): 265.

<https://www.unicef.org/csr/css/industry-toolkit-children-digital-marketing.pdf>

⁹² Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 12.

⁹³ John Davis, "Understanding the meanings of children: A reflexive process," *Children & society* 12, no. 5 (1998): 325.

<https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-text>

and argues that adults should listen to the voices of children when making decisions regarding their lives.⁹⁴ While not representing the voices of children in eleven posts, in seven cases [2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13] the captions did not even provide any significant information on the subjects of the image and their photographed context. Four of these posts [2, 4, 6, 8] spread the ideal image UNICEF wants to achieve. They contrastively do not state UNICEF provided aid to the subjects. The children are, furthermore, not represented in the caption and in two cases [2, 4] not even referred to. They thus become commodified symbols the audience can identify with, while submissive to whatever caption UNICEF adds to the image.⁹⁵ UNICEF takes their chance of a voice away and excludes children from the “public sphere” who are not directly threatened by health or safety risks.⁹⁶ UNICEF concludingly uses predominantly voiceless others to represent their goals and actions, hence itself.

Using innocence

One of the seven posts [9] explicitly portrays the correlation between younger subjects as supposedly incapable of self-preservation and their innocence and vulnerability, in contrast to the empowering posts. The post [9] distinguishes itself by presenting an issue that is familiar to the western audience – the



Figure 5: Post [9] consisting of two images

choice between healthy or junk food – as confirmed by various comments stating “[...] Obesity is an epidemic of the developed world [...]”.⁹⁷ Both the supermarket as background and the products presented in this post [9] look qualitatively positive and are objects that are familiar to the global audience. Choosing between healthy food and junk food is a choice people make every day and first of all, one could certainly argue that by criticising the unhealthy food, they promote local agriculture. More importantly, however, by projecting this relatable issue on potentially distant and unfamiliar cultures, they relate global issues to different cultures and show that non-western cultures can experience western problems. They emphasise the similarity between the cultures,


⁹⁴ Davis, “Understanding the meanings of children,” 325.

⁹⁵ Ali, James, and Vultee, “Strike a pose,” 12.

⁹⁶ Asad, *Formations of the secular*, 189.

⁹⁷ <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/obesity-and-overweight>

breaking the assumption of another culture as “undeveloped”.⁹⁸ In contrast to other findings, this post [9] hence demonstrates how UNICEF teaches their audience to think beyond stereotypes. They encourage tolerance towards other cultures and go against the common framing without portraying themselves as saviour.

Another significant difference with other posts is how UNICEF [9] urges others to solve the problem, instead of claiming to be the saviour themselves as discussed before. While the earlier comment points out the high prices of healthy food and others propose to “[...] make new foods for children”, it becomes clear that UNICEF is not in the position to change or make this. Although not in power to change the cause, however, they describe what should change and how this can be achieved. The only other post in the dataset that follows suit is when UNICEF calls for the transfer of refugee children in relation to the COVID-19 crisis [12]. By doing so, UNICEF raises the long-awaited awareness of these issues among a large international audience, as highlighted by a comment thanking UNICEF “for bringing our attention to this 

⁹⁸ Mirrlees, *Between cultural imperialism and cultural globalization*, 16-18.

⁹⁹ Long-awaited, because of the earlier mentioned comments requesting coverage on the refugees.

Conclusion

The analysis aimed to look into the representation of non-Western children on the UNICEF Instagram account. This was done using a qualitative content analysis through which the micro-genres on the Instagram account have been identified and studied. Various posts and comments have shown how UNICEF's content reflects and universalises western values and how their online audience responds to the online cultural framing. This explains how the institutional self-representation of UNICEF manifests itself in the representation of children. These findings eventually explain how moral ambiguity manifests itself in the representation of non-Western children on the UNICEF Instagram account.

The analysis has shown how various factors contribute to moral ambiguity; the interference with internal affairs and implicitly labelling a region as incapable of self-governance, despite an organisation's laudable aims (and achievements).¹⁰⁰ UNICEF uses a hybrid form of representation and self-presentation in which they use children to explain the organisation's achievements and further goals throughout, in this case, the non-western world. The representation has often proven to rather be an objectification of the children in favour of western ideologies than representing their own cultural beliefs.¹⁰¹ This strategy of commodifying children to create better identifiability for the audience not only goes against the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child.¹⁰² It has often taken the children's chance of a voice away, excluding them from the "public sphere".¹⁰³ The few subjects who do have a voice are employed to emphasise either UNICEF's contribution or beliefs. UNICEF does not, however, represent their culture in detail or at all, meaning that even with a voice, one is not always heard.¹⁰⁴ UNICEF thus predominantly uses voiceless others to portray their goals and actions, hence itself, contributing to the domination of certain cultures and ideologies thereby maintaining the unequal power dynamics in the contemporary world structure.¹⁰⁵ The predominance of western ideologies has been implicitly found not only in the post that symbolise and visualise these ideas but also in posts that disregard the local and traditional

¹⁰⁰ Miller, "Humanitarian intervention," 4-6, 30.

¹⁰¹ Skelton, "Children, young people, UNICEF and participation," 170.

Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 12.

¹⁰² Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 12.

¹⁰³ Asad, *Formations of the secular*, 189.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Mirrlees, *Between cultural imperialism and cultural globalization*, 16-18.

Getachew, "Introduction" and "A Political Theory of Decolonization," 1-8, 14-20.

beliefs of other cultures.¹⁰⁶ By not explaining this diversity, UNICEF generalises culturally diverse communities with simplified, stereotypical frames.¹⁰⁷

The simplified frames and implicitly dominating western ideology have contributed to the culturally imperialistic influence of UNICEF as a non-governmental but at the same time ideological and political global force.¹⁰⁸ This influence has repeatedly been recognised by and in the comments of the account's 5.8 million followers that confirmed UNICEF's power to shape mass attitudes as a credible authority.¹⁰⁹ Searching for a balance to represent itself and the other has, however, been noticeably influenced by the importance of encouraging engagement and donations.¹¹⁰ The manifestation of moral ambiguity can, therefore, be found in the need to frame children according to the often-biased expectations of potential donors to be able to raise enough funding to keep operating.¹¹¹ The lack of stereotype-breaking information in the representation of these children's respective cultures and the similarities between theirs and the audience's houses the negative effects of the Instagram account. Without explaining differences and emphasising similarities, tolerance is hard to achieve.¹¹² Even in a community that does not mean to stereotype, repetitive exposure to certain frames will discriminatively influence everyday decision making.¹¹³ UNICEF thus values the collateral damage done by their portrayals over the nuanced representation of a child. To create an equal global community, however, people have to feel as one in-group.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁶ Compton-Lilly, Papoi, Venegas, Hamman, and Schwabenbauer, "Intersectional identity," 134.

Khader, *Decolonizing Universalism*, 11-12.

¹⁰⁷ Ganal, "The bigger picture," 6-8.

Latiff, and Safiee, "New business set up for branding strategies," 18.

Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 6-7.

¹⁰⁸ Mirrlees, *Between cultural imperialism and cultural globalization*, 16-18.

Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, 17.

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.gdrc.org/ngo/credibility/introduction.html>

<https://www.globalreporting.org/information/news-and-press-center/Pages/Increasing-transparency-and-credibility-in-the-NGO-sector-.aspx>

¹¹⁰ Koller, "Corporate self-presentation," 268.

¹¹¹ Latiff, and Safiee, "New business set up for branding strategies," 18.

Ali, James, and Vultee, "Strike a pose," 6-7.

¹¹² Rothkopf, "In Praise of Cultural Imperialism," 38-39.

¹¹³ Hart, "Subjective decisionmaking," 744-747.

Ganal, "The bigger picture," 4.

¹¹⁴ Jackson, "Ethnocentrism and Othering," 158-161.






These findings have been essential to the study of cultural framing by UNICEF, bringing the lesser-known negative side-effects of their lauded work to light. To argue that this thesis, because of the occasionally harsh critique, disagrees with UNICEF would be too easy. This study focussed on the flaws of UNICEF's Instagram account, but it cannot be emphasised enough, as mentioned before, that UNICEF delivers spectacular work under challenging circumstances that has saved the lives of millions of children. They have a wide range and positive influence on various situations that were not studied or emphasised in this paper. It is, however, good to keep a critical eye. This research has indicated specific points for improvement to better utilise UNICEF's large influence to reach their humanitarian goal and to break up intercultural social conflicts and diffuse unnecessary tension coming from misunderstandings.




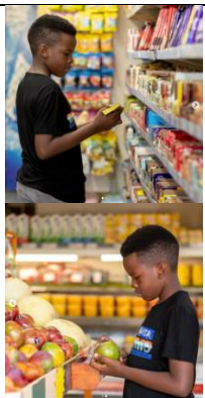
The study has focussed itself on the representation of non-western children on Instagram with a small dataset, because of limited time and scope. Only the main account of UNICEF was studied over a shorter period. The small dataset does thus not allow the generalisation of the findings over previous and succeeding content, but it does show patterns within a two-month frame of UNICEF's online activity around the representation of non-western children. It would be valuable to look at the content from different periods to see whether the identified micro-genres change over time. Another analysis could also be done on a broader dataset in which all posts of children, all posts on the account in general, or, for example, only videos are studied. Results from suggested analyses could be compared to corresponding studies on other NGOs to get more insight into other marketing and branding strategies.




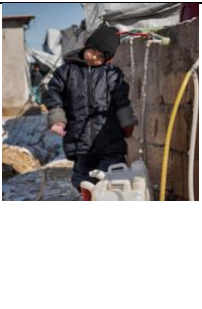

Furthermore, the audience in this research was not demographically studied. Instagram is known for its diversity in users, culturally and economically, but more research is needed to make claims about this specific audience in relation to the studied posts and comments.¹¹⁵ Another suggestion would be to interview members of the audience and research how the different strategies and micro-genres affect the donations and engagement of different people. Lastly, it would be valuable to also study how UNICEF can reach people that do not follow their account and create awareness of global issues with people who are not immediately interested.


¹¹⁵ Sloan and Quan-Haase, *The SAGE handbook*, 572.

Appendix A - Material

#	Date	Picture	Caption	Notes
1.	7 February Ethiopia		"I am very happy that our parents are learning about female genital mutilation. We learn about the problem in school too but our parents didn't go to school so this community dialogue helps them a lot. I am part of the adolescent girls club and we've learned a lot. It's not only about female genital mutilation, we've also learned about child marriage problems and I'm looking forward to continue my education." Medina Amin, 15, in Ethiopia. #endFGM #YouthEndFGM © UNICEF/UN0281307/Tadesse	C3- C4-C5 T2 T6 G
2.	10 February Myanmar		Play is every child's right. #EarlyMomentsMatter © UNICEF Myanmar/2017/Kyaw Kyaw Winn	C2 T1 T5
3.	18 February Mali		Marka, 1, is receiving lifesaving treatment for malnutrition at a UNICEF-supported health centre in Mali. Due to ongoing conflict and climate change we expect over 700,000 children under 5 will suffer from severe acute malnutrition across the Central Sahel region of Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger this year. We are on the ground, supporting children's health in clinics, hospitals and out in communities - but to save more lives, we urgently need additional funds. #ChildrenUnderAttack © UNICEF/UN0126775/Dicko	C1- C4 T2 T3 T6
4.	21 February		Game changers. World shapers. Sports players. Girls, everywhere, are breaking barriers caused by stereotypes. And they won't stop. We're helping girls build strength, confidence, and leadership skills, all while they play and have fun. #t20WorldCup #Cricket4Good © UNICEF/UN0278941/Katragadda	C2- C5 T1 T4? T6 G
5.	28 February Yemen		Baby Hassan is clinging to his mother's finger, and to life. The newborn is just 11 days old, born prematurely in the middle of a terrible conflict in Yemen. It's been an incredible journey to this moment, explains his mother, Iftikhar. "The war got worse. All the people around us were killed in an airstrike – our neighbours were killed, so we fled with nothing. We used the bus my husband was driving, we took the people around us who were still alive and we came to Sana'a. My husband and I slept in the bus for two months. I did not know then that I was pregnant." When Iftikhar realized she was pregnant, she sold her gold earrings so she and her husband could afford to rent a tiny room on the outskirts of the city. But they could barely afford to eat and couldn't access any kind of antenatal care. One day, while hauling water for miles back to their room, Iftikhar started to bleed – there was a problem with her placenta. Soon, she delivered a tiny baby boy who was fighting for his life.	C4 T2 T3 T6

			<p>The family was referred to an intensive care nursery which UNICEF supports with electricity, medicine and supplies, and we're proud to say Hassan is responding well to his care. Now, despite the conflict and chaos that rage around her, Iftikhar pours all of her energy into getting her baby healthy enough to leave the hospital. "Before I got pregnant I begged God for a baby. I would pray, all day," she says. "I was so happy when I realized I was pregnant. I felt the whole world became mine. We have a baby. He will be well. He will come home with me."</p> <p>. #EveryChildALIVE #ChildrenUnderAttack © UNICEF/UNI224658/AIGhabri</p>	
6.	1 March Congo		<p>Best friends in Congo! Around the world, differences in pigmentation still cause discrimination and exclusion. We must end all types of stigma #ForEveryChild. #ZeroDiscriminationDay © UNICEF/UN0282037/Dejongh</p>	C5 T1 T5
7.	2 March Congo		<p>Look at that smile! 😊 Four-year-old Albertine washes his hands with soap after using the toilet in DR Congo. Last year, 275,000 people gained access to water, sanitation and hygiene services thanks to support from @unicefrdcongo. #ForEveryChild, safe water. © UNICEF DRC/Dicko</p>	C4 T3 T5
8.	4 March Namibia		<p>These children in Namibia are dancing, laughing and enjoying the simple pleasure of being active outside on a sunny day. But too many children around the world don't have access to green spaces or pathways to play, walk or cycle safely. Together with unhealthy diets, that's contributing to a global crisis of overweight and obesity. It's time to give every child the chance to be active and healthy.</p> <p>. #WorldObesityDay ©WHO-UNICEF-Lancet</p>	C2 T2 T4 T5
9.	4 March Namibia		<p>Two pictures. Two stark choices for this boy in Namibia. Today, many children are swamped with an abundance of junk foods that are high in calories but low in the nutrients they need to thrive. Sometimes, it can be hard to ignore the marketing and choose healthier options - if they are available at all. We're calling on governments and businesses everywhere to empower families to make healthier choices. Children need leaders to regulate exploitative marketing of sugary and fatty foods, provide clear nutritional labels that are easy to understand and ensure healthy foods are affordable and accessible for all.</p> <p>. #WorldObesityDay ©WHO-UNICEF-Lancet</p>	C1- C4 T2 T4 T6

10.	8 March Maldives		<p>“They believe girls can’t be successful here. I want people to understand what they’re doing when they judge people. I want to change their intolerance.” Neeshan, 17, is the only girl on her construction site in the Maldives, and she’s not listening to what stereotypes have to say.</p> <p>When she builds walls, she’s breaking barriers. #IWD2020 #GenerationEquality © UNICEF Maldives/2019</p>	C5 T6 G
11.	18 March		<p>Nour, 16, was only seven when she was forced to flee her home. Since then, she has lost her mother, her leg, and years of schooling. “But life goes on. I will never set boundaries for my ambitions.” She is back in her war-damaged home now, catching up on her schooling with the help of UNICEF. She wants to become a psychologist, so that she can help her battered community get back on its feet. #ChildrenUnderAttack © UNICEF/UNI310492/AI-Droubi</p>	C3- C5 T2 T3 T6 G
12.	20 March Greece		<p>For refugee and migrant children living in crowded and unsanitary conditions on the Greek Islands, #COVID19 poses an imminent threat making an already dire situation worse.</p> <p>UNICEF is calling for the immediate transfer of every vulnerable refugee to the mainland, in line with all public health measures. #AChildIsAChild © UNICEF/UNI312603/Romenzi</p>	C4- C5 T1 T2 T4 T5
13.	22 March Syria		<p>In camps for the internally displaced in Syria, children are feeling the strain of winter.</p> <p>With poor health coverage, they are treacherously vulnerable to the seasonal illnesses that sweep through the crowded camps. UNICEF is working to mitigate this, providing clean water to over 5 million people and immunization to nearly 750,000 children in Syria.</p> <p>Health matters at every level for #ChildrenUnderAttack. #WorldWaterDay © UNICEF/UNI310465/Romenzi</p>	C1- C4- C5 T1 T2 T3 T6
14.	23 March Côte d'Ivoire		<p>This girl in Côte d'Ivoire is taking part in a UNICEF-supported training programme to mentor the youngest in her community and make sure every girl succeeds in school.</p> <p>When girls do better, we all do better. #GenerationEquality © UNICEF/UNI288060/Diarassouba</p>	C3- C5 T3 T6 G

15.	24 March Colombia		<p>“I want to show the survivors that they are more than their stories and pain – that they can and they will achieve great things.” Yasmira is advocating in Colombia for survivors of abuse, and working to build a safe and more equal world for all. #GenerationEquality © Plan International</p>	C4- C5 T6 G
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Appendix B: Selection of common and distinguished comments used in the analysis

Post 1 – 84 comments

- Munnataheen ThankU Unicef for reaching out to these beautiful innocent girls and their community 🦋
- Just.baby 🙏🥰 Education!❤️
- mack.t.free Wow. The UN ruining more cultures. The planet does NOT need more impudent women.
 - o camelia.ligia “r u serious?”
- doctor.nura - I did an optional internship in Ethiopia just see the problems for myself and we drove around the desert, visited the small villages and the woman I worked for was called Valerie Browning. She moved to Ethiopia from Australia decades ago and she dedicated her life to spread awareness about female genital mutilation, about cultural misconceptions, she built a small school and she trained midwives, distributed food etc. However, what I really loved was how attentive the Ethiopians were, how much passion there was in their eyes when it came to learning NEW things, you know. I see the same passion in her eyes and I hope she will continue longing for education. Thank you so much for this wonderful post ❤️
- abzlbahadory please help iranian refugees in turkey

Post 2 – 123 comments

- malaikkaputri99 Happy to see their smile❤️❤️🥰
- farzaneh._ghasemii Omg!I become so happy with children's happines.
- amir.sport1 Ilove you unicef
- access_anjlee Including children with #disabilities @unicef
- mia_anselmi_ Genuine happiness ❤️

Post 3 – 68 comments

- loopycomics Thanks for making a difference
- niran_chai Keep up the good work.... UNICEF🙏
- ink.a.little How does one donate ?

Post 4 – 54 comments

- ishita_feminism It's a fact that wherever you send girls to complete the job they do it so well and better than men. They do it with perfection, hence, they should never be treated as inferior. They will increase our efficiency and income, so why do we suppress them?
 - o Comment on gurl evidence
- Dunklann You go girl! Don't let anyone stop you!

Post 5 – 854 comments

- christyna333 Amazing such a miracle being a mother is. And the instant love it means. Praying heis life will change the world. In light of such chaos and death, life brings happiness and new meaning. I wish all war could seize and everyone could look into the face of a innocent child and promise them love instead. Warms my heart the mother is optimistic and grateful with such disaster around her. We should all be just as grateful and have faith ❤️🥰
- madmaxroadwarrior84This is an amazing story. A baby like this would not have survived without access to electricity and medicine.
- vira___wang I hope the baby will grow up healthily.
- mima.mriz Can we help ? Prayers to baby hassan and his parents
- elisabethdriscoll These things can be prevented, healthy circumstances first before pregnancy. Education on birth control, abstinence, women rights, liberation etc.
- apwhite00 ❤️ God bless this family. I know the Lord has His hand on Hassan and his mother. There is a purpose for this child.

- Ucsoftware 🙌🙌 huge v for @unicef the world need you! Thanks for being there when we can't.
- nawwara___ In sha Allah ❤️
- ogatalp I dont understand in Ege Middle of the war they keep having babies. They are crazy and first they need condoms urgently!!
- Okennaa Very touching. @unicef you are doing a great work giving hope to the hopeless and life to the downtrodden.

Post 6 – 154 comments

- __lizzysmith Just like many colours make a rainbow... There's no superior color. We're different to produce beauty.(can't find the smiley)Kisses!
- _pamoja Why is it we can't look past our physical differences and default to physical categorization? I'm curious to learn
- _omidganji Does this mean you do not know how many immigrants are dying from the cold and wounded by Greek soldiers at the Greek border? Or just looking to advertise? Look how much Iranian and Afghan people are sick of it

Post 7 – 744 comments

- juanarafaephoto The epitome of innocence. 😊 He has what he needs and is happily enjoying it. 🙌🙌 We all long for the return of that innocence in our lives. Beautiful capture. 🏆👍🏆🏆
- deekshabhardwaj_26 Awww!! That lovely smile 😊
- its_me_s.paul It's too cute 😊😊😊
- aquilamodupe Why will you only show malnourished children? I just wonder.
- Enjoyabilitea Such innocence...cool little guy 🙌
- Azdentalfoundation ❤️ THIS! We are very grateful to have you helping to make the world a better place. Thank you @unicef. Albertine in this photo totally made our day! 🙌
- Esiisoli Please stop killing muslims in india they are human like u and me 🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏🙏 please #indiniamuslim #indinamuslims #مسلمانان_هند
- alex_princely I appreciate the efforts !!! But I still can't accept this as an acceptable source of drinking water in 2020!! More has to be done in order to make sure these water sources are safer , cleaner and meet modern norms! Would u really fancy drinking water from here??
- pcarvalho22015 When we see someone so happy with something so basic as regular higiene, that should make us wondering how bad their lives must be... 😊
- hammysuh I'm ready / willing to volunteer.

Post 8 – 138 comments

- mhr.mhr1990 Hello world community, pay attention to the situation of asylum seekers on the Turkish-Greek border! More than one hundred and fifty thousand, most of them women and children, are dying in the cold winter.
- Kingsleyekema This is beautiful... Thanks to UNICEF for giving hope to the hopeless!
- _uatjaa._ Namibia my pride 😊😊
- elda_memalla Can you say or do something for the Sirian refugees dying in Aegean Sea?There are kids there,a lot of people dying in the middle of the sea!Do something!
- dr_nelu Agree!!!! Obesity is an epidemic of the developed world where inactivity and screens rule and sadly kids just don't play like they used to. Not to mention that healthy alternatives are always more expensive for families.... Love this pic and this post ❤️
- mr_taghavi9Shame on you 😊 Why did you keep silent about the massacres of Muslims in India? 😊
- boby_sharma2211How can I work with @UNICEF

Post 9 – 57 comments

- Mitracheraghiinventor My idea is make new foods for children.
- amyl78758 Yay Namibia ♡♡♡♡ I was a volunteer teacher in Swakopmund ♡♡♡♡♡♡ NANANANANANANANANANANANA

Post 10 – 131 comments

- zahra_n_ You know it is hard for a girl to work in this kind of places... I know women who works as a mechanic bcs It is rare in my country
- lutfimaulani05_ Woman strong 🤝
- maaks.off I mean... If she does it cuz she likes it, not only to prove a point, good for you 🙏
- ainul.magfirah 😊 proud of you Neeshan
- velma_winbush Good for her 🙏👏👍!!! I am so happy, she is not listening to what stereotypes have to say!! I think Neeshan is a very smart young lady for not listening to the negativity 🙏!!!
- Nvneetpandey Not listening to stereotypes by wearing hijab...

Post 11 – 665 comments vooral akki3778

- bazaar_times_india_ You are strong, God bless you Girl ♡
- osuolalefolo She lost all to religion and politics. When will men in her part of the world get wiser
- sonuonline1010gmail She is very strong and role model 🙏♡♡
- _anikoren ♡♡♡ you are amazing, Nour! I'm the same age as you and can't even imagine what's it like to go through that many difficulties at this age. You are strong and wishing you good luck to reach your dreams!
- Spankyworth You are so brave and strong. You are not alone. Women all over the world suffer with you. We are a community and must take care of each other. Blessings precious child.
- jacksepticeyes_son11 She is standing tall and proud to be different and pretty
- may96l Love you Nour and wish you the best . I'm Syrian too 🙏
- lily_ewitt Thanks @unicef this is a good news ♡
- donnakirk9796 I send all my love to Syria and Nour <3 God bless and protect her <3
- jagannath631A meaningful message comes with this post that is highly motivating ...The brave heart in her is an example for all of us...and an example is better than a precept...👍👍
- zhzhkhongir USA thank you 🙏
- best_mechanical_boy down with saudi arabia
- kananikj I understand the UN is trying to do , but it is a completely useless organization!
- my.opinions.r.mine These Muslim youths must be given opportunities to live a better life but first unicef must make sure they give up their brainwashing of hating America & Israel & other religions...
- paradisal.ati I was so upset im sorry where is she from?

Post 12 – 273 comments

- jennifer.8449 Donate UNICEF!!!!
- alexprunedal Don't come illegally than
- fatima.naazir Stop wars and let children live with their families at home in their country in their own land.
- xapa303 Once again UNICEF runs to the rescue 🙏
- levent.ozar.1977 Heartless Europe 😞
- maney_my_soul Most of the Greeks are horrible
- assoctobenefitchildren Important post. Thank you for bringing our attention to this ♡
- marygosis @billmanou we have truly opened our homes and our hearts and will do whatever possible to help these children and any children. These are children of the world. These are our children! It is saddens me to see this platform used for spreading incorrect information.

Post 13 – 207 comments

- velma_winbush Thank you UNICEF for looking out for those, who cannot help themselves 😊🙏!!! These Children are so helpless!! I am so glad you are there for them UNICEF 🙏🙏🙏!!!
- el.diavel Hello i from iran pleas read this comment dont send masks and antiviral products to iran cus ur leader and president sell ur help to us they sell masks u send they sell evry thing u send dont send helps pleas dont send eny thing to iran they not giving your helps to us they selling them to us pleas dont send helps to ira

Post 14 – 82 comments

- 74unicef ❤️
- Mupotsaeunice Yes, girls/women do better. In fact they are the salt of the earth 🙏
- Yawagah Yes and don't neglect the boys
- eve.gathairu You educate a girl, you educate a generation 📖
- jennyestrella8783 I love love love African Children 😊

Post 15 – 94 comments

- drbahramiii The World Health Organization's office in each country must be active in the official language of that country on virtual networks. Many people in the world do not know English#corona #virus #
- ecatarina.lholistic.life.coach How could I spread my message for women survivor of domestic abuse?
- corona_alea Can somebody ID that handbag? 📷
- dr.nilofar_mohammadi long live yasmira ❤️
- garlinghouseelorna How can I make donation to help in term of coronavirus

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- het parafraseren van teksten van anderen zonder verwijzing. Een parafraze mag nooit bestaan uit louter vervangen van enkele woorden door synoniemen;
- het overnemen van beeld-, geluids- of testmateriaal van anderen zonder verwijzing en zodoende laten doorgaan voor eigen werk;
- het overnemen van werk van andere studenten en dit laten doorgaan voor eigen werk. Indien dit gebeurt met toestemming van de andere student is de laatste medeplichtig aan plagiaat;
- het indienen van werkstukken die verworven zijn van een commerciële instelling (zoals een internetsite met uittreksels of papers) of die al dan niet tegen betaling door iemand anders zijn geschreven.

Ik heb bovenstaande definitie van plagiaat zorgvuldig gelezen en verklaar hierbij dat ik mij in het aangehechte BA-eindwerkstuk niet schuldig gemaakt heb aan plagiaat.

Tevens verklaar ik dat dit werkstuk niet ingeleverd is/zal worden voor een andere cursus, in de huidige of in aangepaste vorm.

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Handtekening: 