Dignity & Pain: Beneficiaries' Perceptions of Fundraising Imagery

A Dissertation for the Degree of MPhil in Modern Societies and Global Transformations

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Abstract

This research presents homeless beneficiaries' perceptions of fundraising imagery that represent them, and how their perspectives compare to those of charity staff who publish them. This project employed a qualitative study, interviewing a sample of 42 individuals on their opinions about three highly-circulated homeless charity fundraising adverts. Findings conclude that, while both groups agreed fundraising engages stereotypical depictions of street homelessness, beneficiaries specifically called for more representations of hidden homelessness outside symbols of stigmatisation. Even if ads presented the homeless experiencing pain during times of need, beneficiaries wanted context that emphasised their dignity and portrayed poverty as impermanent. This research expands upon theoretical applications in the Third Sector through the lens of charity aid and representations of that aid, while also highlighting the role of identity in media publications.

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Introduction

This research seeks to identify interpretations of beneficiary representation by proposing the following question: "How do beneficiaries perceive the presentation of stigma in published fundraising media?" I argue that beneficiaries perceive fundraising adverts through Roland Barthes' (1980) theories of studium and punctum; they see themselves represented as 'the Other' in these advertisements, and this identity is communicated through Erving Goffman's (1963) stigma symbols across the narratives of poverty porn, photogenic poverty, and empowerment. While beneficiaries prefer to be shown with context portraying them as individuals experiencing temporary states of need and otherwise similar to non-homeless individuals, they are instead depicted as persons carrying identities entirely 'different' than those who can provide help: the donors.

The focus of this research is beneficiaries' visual experiences of fundraising, and includes charity staff perspectives to clarify these observations. In recent discussions of fundraising imagery, disagreements arise regarding whether fundraising fairly and accurately portrays beneficiaries and their experiences of poverty (Black 1992, Cohen 2001, Dogra 2012). Consequently, scholars have investigated to what extent fundraisers describe poverty in misleading narratives of extreme suffering (Cohen 2001, Dogra 2012, Lidchi 1999, Lissner 1977) or extreme optimism (Hutnyk 2004, Lutz and Collins 1993). Researchers use terms "poverty porn" (Lissner 1977) and "photogenic poverty" (Hutnyk 2004) to describe such cases of representation. Poverty porn depicts severe instances of beneficiaries' suffering, and commonly occurs when the Developed World describes countries of the Majority World[1]; fundraisers find "the most extreme situations and

[1] "Developed World" and "Majority World" are defined in accordance with Nandita Dogra's classifications (Dogra 2012, p.21). Developed world: West/North/Global North/First World/developed countries/Self/we/us(our)here. Majority world: South/Global South/ non-West/the Rest/underdeveloped/developing/less-developed/

[make] it look like the most common situation on the continent" (Ruge 2015). Photogenic poverty, contrastingly, presents "the opposite end of the spectrum, showing only uplifting images of people in poverty. Like poverty porn, these upbeat images don't present a full picture" (Gharib 2015). Photogenic poverty also lacks contextual significance, neglecting to inform donors about the causes of impoverishment, disregarding beneficiary agency and independence. Consequently, a call for empowering imagery has been made; adverts that present "fair and constructive photography, portraying the subjects as self-sufficient and dignified" (Ibid). In sum, three narratives of poverty circulate throughout fundraising today: poverty porn, photogenic poverty, and an empowerment model.

My research objective continues this study on perceptions of charity representations, but includes the perspectives of those who are involved in the ads' creation (charity staff) and those represented in the ads (charity beneficiaries). Thus far, majority of research in this field emphasises depictions of global poverty in international fundraising, such as the studies from Nandita Dogra (2012) and Dambisa Moyo (2009). Furthermore, reports on charitable efforts in the United Kingdom primarily examine poverty porn and photogenic poverty through surveys and focus groups, only assessing the staff who create the ads and the donors who receive them (Presser and Schuman 1996, Richards 2004). Limited research has been done collectively examining all three types of representations— poverty porn, photogenic poverty, and empowerment imagery— from the perspectives of fundraising beneficiaries and fundraisers. This essay explains how my project addresses this gap in the studies. I begin this paper with a review of the literature, discussing theories of social identity, and address how representations of these identities manifest in the Third Sector as forms of poverty porn, photogenic poverty, and

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Ohers/ them/ there/Third World/ global poor/ poor (countries, world, regions, communities).

the empowerment model. I also provide a conceptual framework that includes Erving Goffman's *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963) and Roland Barthes *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (1980), and conclude with a discussion of my methodology and findings. Goffman's "stigma" explains advert representation, while Barthes "studium and punctum" help clarify advert reception across charity staff and beneficiaries (Barthes 1980 and Goffman 1963). Thus, Goffman's identity analysis and Barthes' theorisation of image rhetoric communicate a joint expression of social conventions and social stigma, contributing to the theoretical analysis of my research findings.

By investigating socially shared knowledges, their suggestions in fundraising media, and how they reflect deeper understandings of beneficiary treatment and representation, this project proves relevant to larger social contexts as well. The uniqueness of this research, however, lies in its employment of tactics traditionally used to assess representations of global poverty, with two variations. Firstly, I analyse poverty representations from a local-national perspective rather international, focusing on charities who serve poverty at a domestic scale, specifically homelessness, and how local populations of beneficiaries in the city of Cambridge perceive these campaigns. Secondly, rather than using focus groups or survey analyses, I conduct a qualitative study that individually interviews a sample of clients these ads represent, and the parties responsible for publishing them.

Adding new dimensions to local charity analysis is significant, as individuals encounter these organisations and the populations they serve more regularly than communities served by international aid. Additionally, positioning the theoretical perspectives of Barthes and Goffman in media analysis enables this project to study the relevance of their arguments today, and determine how their conclusions can be applied to the Third Sector. As a result, this research contributes to existing literature surrounding charity publication and discourse, while also expanding upon theoretical applications of representation and reception, in the context of charity aid and representations of that aid.

Chapter I: Literature Review

This review of the literature engages previous discussions of identity, enabling my project to explain how homeless individuals are treated as 'the Other,' both in their communities and within fundraising images. Existing scholarship surrounding social difference and identity emphasises representation, and its origins in conventions and cultural processes (Corbin and Strauss 1997, MacInnes 2004, McSweeney 1999, Rutherford 1990). This review addresses such notions of self, centring on group difference as demarcations of individuality. The sample whose representations I study, homeless beneficiaries, are observed and understood by society through their difference to the majority. Thus, the examined literature provides framework that can address if beneficiaries are in fact represented as 'different,' and if so, through what visual schemes. This review begins with a conceptual framework of identity (Bakhtin 1975, Butler, 1999, Hall 1997, Said 1978, Woodward 1997), discusses how it is represented and received (Barthes 1980 and Goffman 1963), and concludes with previous research executed in the field of homeless identity (Feldman 2004 and Hopper 1988).

Part I: 'The Other'

In "The Spectacle of the 'Other,'" Stuart Hall (1997) explains 'the Other' as a co-creation, occurring when "culture depends on giving meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system" (Hall 1997, p.236). Hall uses "'the Other'" to describe how individuals navigate their sense of self in relation to identities different from their own; "'the Other'" Hall says, "is fundamental to the constitution of the self" (p.237). Individuals define meaning through classification, consequently defining difference and positioning identity. Essential to this classification, then, is the social principle according to which individuals declare objects similar or objects as 'the Other,' all while bespeaking a self-reflective set of cultural values and attitudes (p.229).

The purpose of the 'Other' remains vital to creation and simultaneous recognition of identity because it is continually related to that which it is not. The 'Other' manifests as stereotyping and typecasts, which Hall defines as social instruments that classify people "according to a norm and constructs the excluded as 'Other" (p.259). Stereotyping "reduces people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by Nature" (p.257). Consequences also include representations using oversimplified images, ideas, or messages of a specific type of person, groups of people, thing, or groups of things. Effects of stereotyping can also be seen in instances of social power inequality, where a dominant group implements decisions without challenge, even if it is against the will of minority groups (Ibid). In their ability to determine which groups as socially accepted and excluded, the majority establishes signifying practices that create meaning and carry social power (p.120). Although Hall navigates this research through the lens of gender and racial representations of African American culture, he also states this study on difference can be "equally applied in many instances" to other measures "such as gender, sexuality, class, and disability" (p. 225). Contributing to Hall's argument on difference by incorporating fundraising media remains relevant then, as this avenue commonly depicts beneficiaries from social classes, abilities, and backgrounds different than advertisers and donors.

Identity and Difference

From difference, identity emerges. According to Hall, "difference" occurs when individuals acknowledge separation between themselves and those from different cultures and backgrounds. In this way, acknowledged separations are multidimensional in character and multifunctional in meaning. Thus, understanding difference "matters because it is essential to meaning; without it, meaning could not exist," and its importance can be seen through classifications of linguistics, culture, and in psychoanalytical effects" (p.234). Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin (1975) holds the view that, concerning language, social meaning cannot be achieved by a single speaker. Rather, meaning emerges from dialogue between speaking participants. As a result, co-construction of social meaning and shared understanding occurs in conversation, and remains inherently subject to adaptations and amendments through interaction. Hence, meaning is neither permanent nor entirely dominated by one party. Instead, meaning arises from efforts of understanding that occur *between* parties. (Bakhtin, 1975, p.36). The same can be applied socially, Hall emphasises language as a platform of identification, stating that in language "we need 'difference' because we can only construct meaning through a dialogue with 'the Other'" (Hall 1997, p.235).

Judith Butler (1999) also finds that the discursive framing of an issue makes it identifiable. For example, "per-sons," she explains, only become intelligible through becoming gendered in conformity with recognizable standards of gender intelligibility" (Butler 1999, p.22). Hall's studies harmonise with Butler's observations, in which he claims that social agents recognise masculinity, not because "masculinity" carries within itself an essential identity, but because of its counterpart: femininity. For example, in an analysis of representations of difference concerning African American athletes, Hall proposes that these athletes are not only 'read' through their race, but also through differences within their gender and sexuality. Such discretions in identity and difference introduce acknowledgement of duality between femininity and masculinity (Hall 1997, p.235). Viewers, in turn, employ these overlapping constructs of difference to understand a collective image of the African American athlete. Duality and contrast, therefore, remain crucial to an understanding of perceived difference because identifications achieved through binaries incite a classification's instalment and transformation. Furthermore, as Edward Said's (1978) study on the representation of 'the Orient' finds, these binaries carry economic power in addition to their symbolic weight.

Orientalism

Edward Said presents in *Orientalism* (1978) that systems of categorizing difference solidify and justify stereotypes' existence on an international scale. For example, when the West uses stereotypical distinctions to validate exertion of power and control over countries in the East, they map regions of difference in physical geographical landscapes, and within the mental landscape. Said introduces the theory of "imagined," a concept that describes individuals' tendencies to mentally locate geographical regions of difference, constructing a self-perception grounded in this adopted rationale of separateness. "Imagined" describes "the lenses through which the Orient is experienced, and they shape the language, perception, and form of the encounter between East and West," and this lens informs persons' understandings of place through composed language, visual, and literary depictions (Said 1978, p.58). Said's "imagined geographies," a social concept that is informed by the conflicts and tensions of history, illuminate how Orientalism remains dependent upon geographical understandings that are produced primarily within Western viewpoints. Individuals in the West may carry with them historically and culturally informed imaginations of their country concerning how they understand their nation compared to others (p.62). Consequently, representations of 'the Orient' are produced and experienced, not only through geographic and spatial differences, but through cultural and social differences as well. In this way, Said problematises conventional recognitions of space to uncover cultural reasoning that underpin the awareness of one's space and those whom reside outside it, thereby segregating mental and physical locations of 'the Orient.' This self-awareness allows individuals to assemble notions of location, and how they can occupy that location, regarding where they live and who they associate with

(Ibid). Space, then, exists within the mind, as an exhibition of interlinked ideas navigated by an “imagined geography” (p.58).

Hall and Said present sound arguments demonstrating varying identities of separation fostered by representations of ‘the Other’ and ‘the Orient.’ However, Hall and Said’s observations emerge from a cultural studies approach that concerns news media and publications from commercial and for-profit sectors. For example, Said’s perspectives primarily examine journalistic media representation on the international scale. His theories have traditionally been applied to descriptions of the West's superiority and their condescending attitudes towards countries of the East and of the Majority World (Cohen 2001, Dogra 2012). Moreover, while Hall articulates consequences of ‘the Other’ through a focused gender and racial lens, these representations are primarily fostered in the for-profit sector. Although development imagery scholars discuss ‘the Other,’ and ‘the Orient’ to assess international relations and humanitarian aid, they do not consider how this othering occurs at local levels of difference as well (Black 1992, Cohen 2001, Dogra 2012, Hutnyk 2004, Lissner 1977, Lutz and Collins 1993). Neither development scholars, nor Hall and Said, fully address populations of ‘the Other’ through an examination of represented images of domestic poverty, where ‘the Other’ (beneficiaries) is not of a different race or country origin, but of a different social or socio-economic status than the majority (donors).

For example, although scholarship on Said’s orientalism pertains to social effects that occur on a transnational scale, Said’s “imagined geographies” can also be applied at an internal level, in which similar geographical constructions occur within nations and municipally of cities. As Kim Hopper (1988) reveals, local beggars in communities are disregarded as “the Other” or “the Orient.” Hopper finds that their “otherness” prompts members of the public to label them as “menacing” (Hopper 1988, p.164). As a result, “the purportedly alien character of homelessness is regularly reinforced…tired orientalisms are trotted out to accentuate how out-of-place, how "foreign," these dispossessed people are” and this “suggests that homelessness in that city is a different thing entirely” (p.167).

It can be considered, then, that the homeless adopt the role of ‘the Other’ in fundraising media as well, whereas non-homeless viewers maintain the role of the majority. In addition to focusing on geographical and constructed difference in the light of scholars Hall and Said, my research seeks to study the publication of difference as they appear in media circulated by service organisations that communicate the homeless identity. As discussed, unlike international poverty, homelessness' local poverty commonly allows beneficiaries and non- beneficiaries to share a similar geographical background, although their cultural and social placement remain distinct. In addition to introducing a localised evaluation of ‘the Other,’ my project continues Hall’s and Said’s theories of representation while also including an analysis of its reception. To explore responses to ‘the Other’ further, I draw upon the theoretical frameworks of Barthes and Goffman, allowing me to survey how ‘the Other’ is represented (Goffman) and received (Barthes) in such media. These theories set forth by Barthes and Goffman, while not originally intended to investigate fundraising imagery, allow this research to articulate differing perspectives of representation and reception among beneficiaries and staff, highlighting pictorial details that are apparent to some groups while invisible to others.

Part II: Studium and Punctum

Although it is important to understand how ‘the Other’ is represented in fundraising imagery, it is equally imperative to discuss how the experiences of ‘the Other’ are understood within this imagery. As I discussed in the Second Substantive Essay, Barthes’ *Camera Lucida* emphasises that viewing is a practice culturally adopted, and his conclusions are relevant for the examination of fundraising photography this research project attends to (Greene 2017). Barthes deconstructs the visual landscape of photographs by organizing them into two spatial realms: the “punctum” and the “studium" (Barthes 1980, p.27). These two regions of focus within photos create a duality of experience within the mind’s eye. What Barthes describes as the “co-presence of two discontinuous elements," the studium and punctum work together to activate social and emotional meanings of a photo (p.23). However, Barthes maintains that there are certain details in an image that catch the emotional eye of viewers (punctum), while other details of the photo remain less emotionally impactful, fade into the background, and remain ignored by the viewer (studium) (p.27).

Studying Barthes' theories of photography continues to aid my research; his theories emphasise the importance of pre-existing culturally-informed knowledges that allow viewers to recognise studium and punctum, therefore highlighting principal social assumptions, and how they appear in fundraising media. Barthes’ work has been applied to evaluations of propaganda media and commercial advertising, however few works have applied Barthes observations to Third Sector marketing (Bouzida 2014, Biernoff and Tynan 2012, Džanić 2013, ZHANG Shu-ping 2011). My project allows me to critically examine Barthes’ theories of studium and punctum, seeking to reveal if they are relevant in fundraising publications as well, and how photos of beneficiaries are interpreted through these theories.

Studium

When a camera captures the visual frame, the image is recognised through viewer interpretation. This interpretation, according to Barthes however, remains informed by the interplay of the viewer’s personal history and his/her adopted social conventions. Providing the photo with optical unity and coherence, studium establishes a meaning that appears immediately obvious to the viewer. In other words, studium is the “background” of a photo, common knowledges easily understood by the photo’s spectators. Media scholar Kasia Houlihan (2004) claims that through its iteration of common knowledges, studium not only “stands for the general, cultured interest one has in photographs,” but also allows spectators to grasp photographers’ intentions (Houlihan 2004). In other words, there is nothing that “sticks out” to the eye or emotionally grabs the viewer. In its nature, studium is recognizable to the point of the usual and expected. With studium there are no surprises, simply socially shared knowledges in dialogue with an image’s visual cues. As Barthes describes, stigma is the common “thing, taste for someone, a kind of general, enthusiastic commitment…but without special acuity,” appearing consistent and unchanging (Barthes 1980, p.26).

Punctum

By understanding why the details of punctum shock viewers, one better understands the social contours of media reception that frame it. As previously stated, studium constructs a “unary photograph”' because it displays an image without any interruption; it is basic, of cohesive composition, and abides by photographic conventions (p.40). Contrarily, punctum is the element “which rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me” (p.26). What makes punctum so seductive is that it can be a random, minor aspect of the photo, and in any context outside the image would most likely remain invisible to viewers’ eyes, camouflaged by its insignificance. Punctum triggers the viewer’s mind by ‘pulling on the heart strings’ first, such as reminding one of a memory, person, or area of personal importance. The punctum gains its emotional leverage by isolating unexpected details to shock viewers into reading the photo, not from their logic, but from their emotional awareness. Accordingly, through punctum, a photo’s smallest detail becomes its greatest emotional pull.

There is a "subtle beyond" of punctum, and is why Philosopher Jacques Derrida (1981) deems punctum as operant outside the "always coded" studium;” punctum retains an uncoded continuation of meaning (Derrida, 1981 p. 41). Allowing the outer reflection of inner thought, Barthes agrees finding that punctum "'arouses great sympathy… almost a kind of tenderness" (Barthes 1980, p.43). This emotional tension of punctum uses its coincidental presence to bruise the studium rationale and redefine the photo. This personally specific detail causes viewers to transcend social logic to understand an image beyond a dichotic arrangement of elements co-locating a scene. This significance speaks to individuals' sentiments, where viewers find themselves emotionally triggered by random, concrete details. As a result, they disregard all "knowledge and culture;" refusing to "inherit anything from another eye" than their own (p.51).

The Punctum of Noeme and Eidos

In addition to the "subtle punctum" that is specific per person and per experience, the punctum of "noeme and eidos" concerns a deeper, shared sense of emotional poignancy (p.76). Noeme and eidos are areas in a photo that also call forward moments of the past, demonstrating photos' potential to trespass time. Barthes uses this type of punctum to classify photographs as dead objects, and Susan Sontag's *On Photography* (1977) speaks to notions of noeme and eidos as well. Sontag claims that "all photographs are memento mori. To take a photograph is to participate in another person's (or thing's) mortality, vulnerability, mutability. Precisely by slicing out this moment and freezing it, all photographs testify to time's relentless melt." (Sontag 1977, p.15). In a similar vein, Barthes concludes that to determine the nature of the photo, the viewer must first relate to its noeme and eidos—a punctum of "the thing has been there" (Barthes 1980, p.115). He believes noeme and eidos allow all viewers, regardless of personal experiences, to "interrogate the evidence of Photography, not from the viewpoint of pleasure, but in relation to what we romantically call love and Death" (p.73). Noeme and eidos, then, are punctum that appear as universal reminders of reality's intensities—such as time, love, and Death—rather than a concrete detail specific to a person.

Noeme and eidos also describe the essential characteristics of images, speaking to their natural abilities to relay “pure representation” (p.96). Its purity stems from a photo’s capacity to be considered as a being in it of itself, performing as a “transparent envelope,” that defines the photographic referent (p.5). Noeme and eidos define photographs beyond signs referring to objects that exist in the ‘real-world;’ rather, photos are those objects existing in the ‘real-world.’ Unlike a painting, in which artists depict objects that may not actually exist, the punctum of noeme and eidos confirm the referent in photography, guaranteeing both the origin and presence of an object. As a result, noeme and eidos establish photographs as both a presence and a coinciding “certificate of presence,” while at the same time serving as punctum—yielding emotional impact in forms of intensity, rather than in the form of the tangible (p.87).

Part III: ‘The Other’ Represented through Stigma

In addition to reception of ‘the Other’ through studium and punctum, this project also concerns representation, specifically how stigma can be used to characterise ‘the Other’ (Goffman 1963, p.22). As Hall confirms, difference lends itself as an organizing tool, enabling social members to judge the social hierarchy of its agents. However, Hall also notes that “marking ‘difference’” leads us, symbolically, to close ranks, shore up culture and to stigmatise and expel anything which is defined as impure, abnormal” (Hall 1997, p.237). Erving Goffman’s *Stigma* discusses such stigmatisation, and the arising impression management that occurs in the socially excluded. Goffman defines stigma as a sociological theory that describes the experiences of an individual with a “spoiled identity” (Goffman 1963, p.22). Stigma is “the situation of the individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance,” and is also used to describe any “attribute that is deeply discrediting” (p.9) Stigmatised individuals, Goffman argues, do not receive full acceptance into their societies. As a result, these individuals’ practises consist of constant attempts to amend the identity of their social selves to align with surrounding conventionality (p.15).

Goffman's stigma supports my examination of fundraising imagery because, similar to Hall and Said, his theories analyse marginalised bodies that mirror identities commonly depicted in charity adverts. Individuals from homeless populations may experience similar documented instances of stigma; most people currently experiencing homelessness today have reported psychological disorders or substance abuse problems, traits Goffman classifies as “spoiled identities” (p.22). For example, an estimated 46% of the homeless live with a severe mental illness or a substance abuse disorder in the United States (NAMI, 2016); and according to Homeless Link (2016), in the UK, 44% of the homeless reported a long term mental and physical health condition, 27% reported an alcohol problem, and 41% use drugs or are in recovery. By continuing Goffman’s observations, published in the 1960s, to reference current collected data., my project allows me to critically asses Goffman’s understandings from a longitudinal estimate. In doing so, I can determine if these observations are still relevant, and if they appear in publications in the Third Sector. Thus, my research uses qualitative data and analysis to address Goffman’s applicability to Third Sector media today, and the experiences of those represented through those channels.

Three Types of Stigma

Goffman outlines the three primary classifications of stigma as: “abominations of the body,” “blemishes of individual character” and “tribal stigma” (Goffman 1963, p.14). Abominations of the body include physical deformities and disabilities. Additionally, blemishes of individual character constitute as “weak will, domineering, or unnatural passions, treacherous and rigid beliefs, and dishonesty…for example, mental disorder, imprisonment, addiction, alcoholism, homosexuality, unemployment, suicidal attempts, and radical political behaviour” (Ibid). Such “blemishes of character” refer to an internal disability, where moral failures or flaws in character traits cause marginalisation (Ibid).

Tribal stigma describes the group identity that an individual adheres to, such as race, cultural groups, ethnicity, or religion. These stigmas can be inherited through family heritage, whereby the stigma corrupts the identity of all relatives (p.15). Goffman's stigma also refers to both sociological and psychological characteristics of development. For example, a requirement of Goffman's classification of stigma is the "moral career," where an individual not only carries the stigma, but also has concern for what others think about his/her stigma—therefore being at the effect of opinions informed by social conventions and normalcies (p.45). Furthermore, the stigmatised must receive and interpret these judgements about their stigma, incorporating into their nature and self-identification processes this recognition of social acceptance.

Although stigmas vary in visibility, they often result in social isolation. Goffman provides the example of an individual with a physically obvious disability, such as an amputated limb, where the stigma is visually immediate. However, divorced individuals or those who identify as homosexual, carry a stigma that is less obvious upon immediate attention. Although different in their cues, all three types of stigma are clarified in their relationship to "'us;'" Goffman uses 'us' to define the non-stigmatised, which he also labels the "'normals'" (p.15). In addition, each stigma, regardless of type or performance, finds their home in an individual body or group body who possess a "trait that can obtrude itself upon attention" and as a result "turn those of us whom he meets away from him" (Ibid). The term 'us,' can be read in a similar understanding of Stuart Hall's "Us vs Them" reasoning, where Hall finds that the identity of the 'us' group or the 'normal' group is further clarified in the presence of the contrasting 'Other'— the socially stigmatised and excluded group, because of their identity's' failure to adhere to the collective (Hall 1997, p.236).

Symbols of Stigma

In his analysis on identity, Goffman includes “stigma symbols” to define the processes of social information; social agents use these symbols to understand and recognise others (Goffman 1963, p.59). Stigma symbols can take the form an object such as a beer can, for example. Other symbols are embedded within the physical body itself, such as an individual’s skin colour, disability aid, dirtiness, or outward attribute of an illness. Stigmatised people, use symbols as “misidentities,” they try to utilise the social meaning of the symbol to manipulate a characteristic in hopes of appearing as a ‘normal’ (p.66). For example, an individual with a shaved head due to an illness may use wigs in their stigma management to convey that they are among the normals of society (p.59). These decisions to hide and transfigure stigma have potential consequences, however. When a stigmatised person tries to conceal their stigma, even if they do appear as a “normal,” they must refrain from trusting relationships, because such intimacies would require a disclosure of truth about not only the stigma, but the deception that occurred in the concealing of it.

The stigmatised can never fully be “themselves” then, in that they are always manipulating their bodies or performance— constantly on watch for when instances of stigmatisation might mistakenly appear. Therefore, they never inhabit an authentic state of self. In such situations, they are not themselves, but themselves concealing a stigma. Moreover, the stigmatised develop schemes on how to act around ‘normals.’ These are rules that stigmatised people follow to adapt to not only the ‘normals,’ but also the co-presence between stigmatised persons and the non-stigmatised. The following section demonstrates how similar cases of stigma occur in representations of beneficiaries in the Third Sector; they are often depicted as ‘the Other’ in charity adverts through the models of: poverty porn, photogenic poverty, and the empowerment narrative.

Part IV: Representations of 'the Other' in the Third Sector

Poverty Porn

One such way of representing the stigmatised, or 'the Other,' in Third Sector adverts is framing the beneficiary as 'the suffering Other' in order to seduce the emotions of donors (Lissner 1977). Such a practice, referred to as "poverty porn," depicts the "graphic qualities of a [vulnerable] human being…for the sole purpose of eliciting an emotional experience and ultimately, money" (Roenigk 2014 in Lentfer 2014). Poverty porn illustrates severe instances of beneficiaries' suffering, and commonly occurs when the Developed World describes countries of the Majority World. "Poverty porn," a term coined by Jorgen Lissner in 1977, has traditionally been used to catalogue this type of representation in international aid and humanitarian charity fundraising. Development imagery theorists such as Maggie Black (1992), Stanley Cohen (2001), and Nandita Dogra (2012) determine charity adverts "poverty porn adverts" when fundraisers publish scenes of impoverishment as unchangeable situations of intense suffering, relying on the emotionally and visually stimulating image of the injured body to frame charity work in Majority World countries. Most imagery stemming from poverty porn features donors as saviours, helping victims in times of need, showcasing beneficiaries as malnourished and desperate. These adverts focus on the beneficiary body in its experience of pain, while neglecting context that gave rise to such destitution in the first place (Roenigk 2014 in Lentfer 2014). Drawing an analogy to sexual pornography, where the display of the body is presented for viewers to elicit sexual arousal, charity campaigns documenting poverty porn publish the body of the beneficiary in the context of pity to emotionally arouse donors.

Like sexual pornography, poverty porn constructs a narrative between the subject of the ad and the viewer of the ad; it communicates through its drama, treating the beneficiary body as a 'spectacular image' that emotionally triggers viewers (Williams

1989, p.78). In pornography, the viewer cannot simply observe the image outside his/her emotions; similarly, it is difficult for potential donors to witness the suffering body and remain indifferent to its communicated states of need (p.93). Poverty porn taps into instinctual, empathetic understandings of universal suffering and intrinsic emotions, navigating the visual experience to heighten its portrayals of pain. In this way, ads reduce the beneficiary from his/her personhood to a re-characterisation of his/her need, resulting in the published spectacular image of destitution.

Poverty porn remains controversial because of the worldview it reinforces; poverty porn perpetuates ideologies that frame the poor as helpless beneficiaries, while also communicating to financially secure donors that they are saviours and the only ones with the ability to make a difference (O'Flaherty 2004, p.13). Thus, by emotionally placing the donor as a saviour and removing poverty from its social and historical origins, poverty porn is a visual representation of the power imbalance between donor and beneficiary (p.10). Authors such as Lidchi Henrietta (1999) and Teddy Ruge (2015) find that pictorially framing donors as saviours and beneficiaries in perpetual states of need also has social ramifications— because donors apply these attitudes beyond the ad and into their social perceptions of beneficiaries (Henrietta 1999, p.90; Ruge 2015). Poverty porn also allows donors to believe that simply donating to a charity can solve poverty; it does not raise awareness in donors that other avenues of change that must occur in community, culture, and society to alleviate impoverishment through sustainable means. As a result, poverty porn communicates a story of need where donors fail to consider historical influences that lead to those conditions or how to prevent them (Lindenmeier 2008, p.45).

Photogenic Poverty

However, not all fundraising is supposed to inspire poverty porn's shock and awe. On the contrary, development theorists such as Hutnyk (2004) and Lutz and Collins (1993) find that some adverts are intended to elicit notions of sadness while also instilling feelings hope. This combination is an attempt to invoke donors' confidence in charities that, although the social issue of poverty exists (sadness) donor involvement can help to end this issue (hope). Such messaging is accomplished through what John Hutnyk calls the "humanity narrative of photogenic poverty" (Dogra 2011, Dogra 2012, Hutnyk 2004, p.81).

John Hutnyk's photogenic poverty argument states that charities tend to publish in their fundraising literature depictions of poverty that are not devastating, but attractive, offering donors the emotional value-ad of hope. Photogenic poverty showcases healthy and happy beneficiaries in adverts, and they experience such states of wellness because of donations. Counter to poverty porn, this humanity narrative expresses that, although donors and beneficiaries may come from different backgrounds— both in their physical-geographical location and Edward Said's' "imagined geographies" location— regardless of these differing personal histories, their "shared humanity" can connect them beyond such separations (Hutnyk 2004, p.60). Additionally, in the realm of international aid, photogenic poverty commonly features children and single women because they align with Western conceptualisation of marginalised and vulnerable populations. Thus, their presence remains effective because these identities remain ideologically coherent with the way Developed World donors understand innocence. Nandita Dogra finds that 42% of photogenic poverty ads contain images of children, and 30% contain women; their presence is designed to invoke notions of "hope, vulnerability, universal appeal, and infantilization" (Dogra 2012, p.44).

Bennetta Jules-Rosette (1984) and Dean MacCannell (1992) find photogenic poverty problematic from an ethical standpoint because, like poverty porn, it neglects the causes of poverty, and in most cases, justifies poverty as a natural occurrence (MacCannell 1992, p.44). In addition, the increasing negligence of history and reliance on images of needy women and children frames the presence of poverty as a devastation specific to a population that looks a certain way (Dogra 2012, p.67). Through this photogenic model, poverty appears inherent to the Majority World country itself rather than because of economic exploitation or natural disaster. Like their character foil poverty porn, these images do not provide background knowledge of social issues or systematic conflicts that lead to poverty, nor does photogenic poverty connect potential Western donors to its causes and extent (p.72).

Although more optimistic, such circulations also ignore beneficiary agency and identity outside of need. Jennifer Lentfer (2014) argues that "challenging people in wealthy countries to reflect on their relative good fortune and combat existing stereotypes…doesn't have to mean always painting a rosy picture of life in developing countries…There's no need to show a mother's smiling face when publishing a story on a crisis…such oversimplification can further alienate" (Lentfer 2014). Additionally, although there are no startling images, photogenic poverty continues to engage a lens operant in Stuart Hall's "Us vs. Them" binary because women and children immediately tap into inherent Western paternalisation, causing donors to see beneficiaries as 'the Other' through their weakness, vulnerability, and victimhood. Therefore, without directly referencing an instance of pity through the image of the suffering body, photogenic poverty subtly invokes Western pity, puncturing emotions to motivate individuals to donate.

Empowerment Narrative

"There should be nothing communicated about us, without us."
(Anderson, Brown, and Jean 2012)

It is evident that there is a gap in the fundraising scholarship between simplified images that are too devastating and others that are too cheerful. According to the views outlined above, neither the shocking "flies in the eyes" imagery of poverty porn, nor the overly-optimistic narratives of photogenic poverty, prove adequate means of fundraising. Rhian Richards (2004) reveals this gap in the literature, stating that misleading representations "calls into question not only the approach taken by charities but also the effectiveness of advertising as a medium" (Richards 2004, p.1) Lentfer also calls for a attitudinal shift of charity advertising, because in an "over-informed world where organisations are competing with cat videos for people's attention, standing out and delivering striking, yet relevant messages about global development is ultimately a balancing act" (Lentfer 2014, p.4). To address this gap in representation, "a new comprehensive strategy encompassing a variety of mediums may be necessary to publicise charitable appeals" (Ibid). Such a strategy is a more empowering framing of beneficiaries in their states of need.

As Journalist Malaka Gharib (2015) describes, the empowerment model of representation portrays subjects as "self-sufficient and dignified" (Gharib 2015). The empowering narrative refrains from using emotive images that allow shock to overpower the ad (poverty porn), while also refusing to publish misleading, overly positive representations of poverty (photogenic poverty). Instead, empowerment imagery frames poverty within a larger storyline of the cause, its present state, and its potential temporality. This model has been found to be just as effective as poverty porn and photogenic poverty as well. Kate Boocock and Anke Schwittaya (2015) confirmed that empowering imagery is successful not only in raising donations, but in inspiring social justice-oriented action, finding it as an "effective recruitment tool that mobilises participants by generating a sense of unfairness and instrumentalizing their desire to do something" (Boocock and Schwittaya 2015, p.302) Including "participants as an integral part of the awareness-raising aspect of the campaign" allows for donors to interpret an experience of the need from the perspectives from those in need (Ibid).

Harkening back to Stuart Halls' discussion of 'the Other,' empowerment imagery emphasises the importance of bridging the "'us vs. them' divide" by being progressive in fundraising, such as avoiding publishing "stereotypes, generalizations, and victimizations" (Lentfer 2014, p.4). Lentfer claims empowering imagery respects beneficiary agency and their suffering by addressing their voice, choice, and impendence. She recommends layering information, motivating donors to "dig deeper" and better understand the causes of social inequality, by including more background information about the sources of impoverishment (Ibid). Most notably, throughout empowerment imagery, the subjects of the ad — the beneficiaries —should speak for themselves about the situation they are in. Rather than having the ad speak for the subject, such as describing the situation to the donor, the beneficiary remains the storyteller, addressing the donor directly.

However, although the empowering model is successful from an ethical standpoint, it may not be as plausible from a marketing one. Disability Development Worker Weh Yeoh (2012) notes that even if a charity is highly aware of the histories that give rise to the social issues that inspire its organisational work, these implications "matter little to the public" because donors draw satisfaction from solving problems rather than learning what gives rise to them (Yeoh 2012). For example, the goal of advertisements for human-need charities is to evoke emotions of sympathy to frame their call for donations. Deborah Small and Nicole Verrochi's (2009) analysis on facial expression in charity advertisements support this observation, finding that people feel sadness when viewing adverts of a beneficiary expressing sorrow; this is transfer of emotion remains "automatic and not driven by inferential thinking" (Bhati and Eikenberry 2016, p.785). Thus, beneficiary sadness influences donor behaviour because sadness is a universally shared experience that supports viewers' relation to suffering. However, when charity advertisements use more context, such as figures, statistics, and background information, this text engages viewers' "deliberative system, which lessens the impact of the emotion expression" (p.788). Concerning charity adverts, then, emotional expression is the most lucrative element of fundraising, and "matters most when people are thinking with their hearts and not scrutinizing information" (p.783). These findings support prior research on "the victim effect" (p.786). The victim effect sates that showing emotionally charged suffering triggers excessive sympathy because it requires people to comprehend information through their feelings; however, when they read highly informative text, a common trait among empowering ads, viewers scrutinise outside of emotional investment (Ibid).

This observation, that too much information can deter donors away from giving, is a noteworthy trend in donor engagement, and also highlights the transactional model of giving in the Third Sector. In for-profit and commercial marketing, often it is the *benefit* of the product— not just the product itself— that advertisers showcase in their campaigns. Unlike the for-profit sector, where the consumer receives the product's benefit upon purchase and can experience immediate satisfaction, in a Third Sector transaction, the paying customer is the donor, but the person receiving the benefit is the beneficiary. Other than feelings of doing social good, gratification on behalf of the charity and beneficiaries, or the financial rewards such as tax benefits, donors do not receive immediate satisfaction in the same way they would from spending money to purchase the benefit of a product.

As a result, the donors are presented with different incentives for spending money, and the ability to effectively and immediately alleviate suffering becomes this new form of satisfaction. The charity advert now solicits the donor by showcasing the power of giving. However, "this creates a power imbalance" Yeoh notices, "because the person paying becomes the boss, not the person receiving the benefits" (Yeoh 2012). Thus, when charities present suffering in their adverts in a decontextualised space, it may be the result of fundraisers catering to what donors want to feel upon their transaction of giving: immediate gratification that their donation will alleviate need. Reintroducing money as a motivating factor for charities aligns with Jorgen Lissner's earlier observations about poverty porn's exploitation of the suffering body. Lissner insists that "a distorted view of reality is presented" in charity advertising "because the primary objective is not to tell the truth but to sell a product" (Lissner 1977). So too, fundraising ads "oversimplify the message to pander to the needs of potential donors" and the ads remain donor-driven (Yeoh 2012). By evaluating beneficiaries' responses to such representations of transactional giving, this research project highlights larger social issues of power and inequality witnessed in the donor-beneficiary model (Ibid).

Part V: Representations of Homelessness

Empathy vs. Disdain

Concerning homelessness in fundraising media, Kim Hopper (1988) and Leonard Feldman (2004) outlined two presiding stereotypes fundraisers cast homeless people in throughout adverts. The first type represents those experiencing homelessness "as victims of circumstances beyond their own control who need and deserve help" (Feldman, 2004, p. 6). Feldman notices that media opinions of homelessness fluctuate between extreme empathy and extreme disdain. For example, while some society members request more services for the homeless, others call for more penalisation of those living on the streets (p.10). This second cast, which often intertwines with the first, shows the homeless as individuals who have chosen to commit a series of bad decisions that resulted in their poor situations, therefore framing homeless as those who "do not deserve help and are a social evil needing to be controlled and even punished…they are 'matter out of place'" (p.94).

In this way, the homeless poor are simplified to identities such as “passive victims, unscrupulous cheats, or hapless casualties of deinstitutionalisation or alcoholism” (Hopper 1988, p.164). Moreover, consistent with Hall’s observations, the choices, decisions, and motivations of the homeless are commonly accredited to their stereotypical depictions (Hall 1997, p.257). These depictions are also reminiscent of Goffman’s stigma, such as: lacking in their morals or character, suffering from a disease or untreated mental illness, or permanently living on the streets (Goffman 1963, p.22). Such assumptions remain problematic because it encourages individuals whom are not homeless to reduce local poverty to “travails and gambits of its constituent populations” (Hopper 1988, p.165). Furthermore, responses to these attitudes remain concerned with attempts to contain and control the homeless as "problem" populations (Feldman 2004, p.95). Rather than working alongside the homeless, these provisions discipline them as populations of ‘the Other,’ and organise them into subgroupings (Ibid). As Hopper notes, relief efforts are divided and geared toward correction “for the afflicted, asylum; for the able-bodied idle, forced work programmes; for the redundant, elemental shelter” where further isolation is accepted as proper treatment (Hopper 1988, p.165).

It is important to note that, beyond street homelessness, varying forms of homelessness exist, such as statutory homelessness, single homelessness, sofa surfing, rough sleeping, and hidden homelessness. However, media channels overuse stereotypes of street homelessness, overshadowing the multiple types of poverty. As a result, Hopper finds that public concern seems to solidify identities of the homeless poor as street dwellers who are “both different and strange” (p.164). Hopper also argues that majority of the homeless population are thought of in terms of "impaired capacity;” this “disaffiliation” is a common determinate of the group today, and serves as its “distinctive feature” that can be traced back to the 1960s (p.159). Lastly, as more youth, African

Americans, and Latinos are becoming homelessness, homeless men are increasingly judged by communities as dangerous. “In a word, homelessness remains locked with the conceptual brace of ‘deviancy’” Hopper concludes (p.164).

As this review has demonstrated, current research on poverty representations are measured mostly towards international humanitarian aid rather than local impoverishment such as homelessness (Black 1992, Cohen 2001, Dogra 2012, Hutnyk 2004, Lissner 1977, Lutz and Collins 1993). Although Beth Breeze and Jon Dean (2012) examined poverty representation by looking at homelessness, they conducted focus groups with youth homeless to measure their attitudes towards charity ads. In addition, their study surveyed charity ads depicting only photogenic poverty and poverty porn images, without evaluating the attitudes of ads with empowering narratives, or including theories of ad representation or reception. My work expands on such discussions by integrating models of illustration with theoretical understandings about them. Furthermore, rather than group interviews, I individually interview beneficiaries about all three narratives of poverty, and these individuals have experiences of different types of homelessness beyond the streets.

As mentioned, poverty porn, photogenic poverty, and the empowerment narrative apply ‘the Other’ and ‘the Orient’ to international poverty, and focus on ad creators (charity staff) and intended audiences of the ads (donor), rather than the represented (beneficiaries). There are two major problems with these types of evaluation. Firstly, it involves everyone but those represented in the discussion of self-representation, isolating the beneficiary further while also solidifying power inequalities between those who serve and are served (Yeoh 2012). Secondly, by consolidating their critiques of fundraising to international poverty, these studies conceptualise the issue poverty representation through Said’s ‘imagined geography,” understanding this as a fundraising issue occurring ‘out there' in the realm of 'the Orient,' but never 'here' in the realm of the West. These findings border beneficiary representation as a predicament that only happens countries different than Western donors. Thus, current literature interlocks these conflicts in representation as situations only worth assessing at an international scale. My project addresses this gap by directly engaging the local 'Other.' Accordingly, my research proves significant to surrounding development literature because it highlights the presentation of poverty as an issue that occurs within Developed World countries—as well countries who, are primarily assumed as donors to international aid—exhibiting how these issues can also occur in countries at domestic levels of poverty.

Chapter II: Methodology and Research Limitations

Part I: Data Collection and Analysis

Qualitative methods of data collection and analysis allow me to gather primary data (interviews) through an interpretative approach of constructionism. As David Silverman (2006) recommends, "constructionism" treats interview data itself as the focus of methodical attention, and I collected such data through a series of semi-structured and expert interviews (Silverman 2006, p.129). Qualitative interviewing combines several specialisations that allow me to address my social research question, "How do beneficiaries perceive the presentation of stigma in published fundraising media?" For example, interviews permit my project to engage with those who are experts within their fields, yielding narrated accounts of experiences along with their social meanings (p.113). While beneficiaries hold an in-depth understanding about the realities homelessness and its different types, causes, and experiences, charity staff hold expert knowledge in addressing these concerns from a management and fundraising perspective. Additionally, because I am studying such charity work from two sets of views, qualitative interviews also grant me comparative data across these groups and contexts.

Semi-Structured Interviews with Beneficiaries

The first portion of data collection took place throughout February and March 2017. Upon receiving permissions from the Ethics Review Board in January 2017, I conducted 31 individual interviews with beneficiaries of local Cambridge homeless shelters; each interview was in-person, and lasted between 30-60 minutes. The sample I interviewed were adult individuals who identify as "beneficiaries"—those currently experiencing homelessness/had previous experiences of homelessness, and currently receiving aid from a homelessness or social welfare service (Third Sector 2017). The non-probability sampling method of purposive sampling was used for both experts and beneficiaries. Because I studied a subset of a larger population of the homeless—those currently receiving aid from a homelessness or social welfare service—purposive sampling best supported my research goal; although it does not produce a sample representative of a larger population, it was useful when studying a limited group such as homeless individuals receiving aid (Bryman 2008). Purposive sampling also granted me access to study characteristics of each respondent group, beneficiaries and staff, clarifying their perceptions and strengthening my examination. I used an interview guide of open-ended questions during all (beneficiary and staff) interviews, and all respondents were informed of the option to refuse questions or expand upon them. This allowed participants' freedom to "engage in topical trajectories in the conversation that may stray from the guide when he/she feels this is appropriate" (Cohen and Crabtree 2006). Because the interview style for these meetings were semi-structured, participants also had discussion space to reflect and develop answers about their experiences of homelessness. This highlights another area of strength in my research design because it promotes an in-depth look at beneficiary perception of fundraising imagery and the experiences that inform those perceptions.

Semi-structured interviews also stand as the best practice for formal interviews with individuals from vulnerable populations. Since homeless individuals may not have permanent states of residence, it was unlikely that I would have more than one opportunity to interview them. Semi-structured interviews addressed this limitation by allowing me to conduct multiple interviews, and collect data from a variety of respondents within a larger population (Bernard 1988). For both beneficiaries and experts, I recorded all interviews with an audio recorder, and throughout each interview I took handwritten notes. Upon conclusion of every meeting I transcribed each interview. Unless beneficiary respondents felt more comfortable proceeding with focus groups, I proceeded with the individual semi-structured interviews (Littig 2013).

Interview Format

The interview format consists of the following for both groups: after explaining directions and purpose of the study, I asked interviewees to share their background, personal knowledges, and experiences, and then showed them three adverts from widely-recognised charities (see Appendix). Then, I presented one ad at a time and asked the same questions per ad using my interview guide, allowing participants to share thoughts about each advert separately. Both semi-structured and expert interviews followed this sequence, whereby I showed the respondent an individual ad, refraining from describing to them the purpose of the ad, so that they could reveal to me what they believed the ad's intent was. All respondents remained aware that the ad was published by a homeless charity. It is important to note that, outside of asking clarifying questions, I refrained from guiding or prompting any response from interviewees. Rather, I asked questions that tapped into experience-based opinions, and allowed respondents to expand upon topics of their choice.

Each advert surveyed in this project represents a specific type of representation currently circulated throughout charity fundraising (the poverty porn, photogenic poverty, and empowerment narratives). Below is the table of characteristics that I used when choosing each ad to survey in this study as a type of representation:

Table 1: Ad Characteristics

Poverty Porn	Exploiting people in need to raise money Oversimplifying or trivializing people's realities Dictating or prescribing a solution Showing people without a sense of agency
Photogenic Poverty	Sugar-coating poverty Uplifting image of poverty Showcasing a woman or child without the presence of a male figure More emphasis on the human-ness of the individual
Empowerment Narrative	Telling compelling stories Highlighting a problem that needs to be addressed Portraying a "pathway" out of poverty Bridge the "Us Vs Them" Divide

Nandita Dogra (2012) John Hutnyk (2004) Malaka Gharib (2015) (Lentfer 2004)

I chose print, magazine, and newspaper ads as units of analysis because of their historically high viewership and readability (Dogra 2012, p.78). I concluded all interviews by asking participants to describe their idea of the best ad that would raise funds for homelessness. Because I asked respondents about distinct preferences, such as likes and dislikes, I also offered them options to use sensory aids to discuss complex or emotional responses. I found that participants felt it easier to communicate emotive-driven knowledges through this method. For example, when interviewees were describing their ideal ad, some found it easier to draw their response rather than verbally articulate it.

Expert Interviews with Charity Staff

For the scope of this research, charities are defined as organisations that serve homeless beneficiaries, meeting immediate needs and supporting them through long-term programmes. The Third Sector, or the Charity Sector, refers to the non-profit, voluntary, community, civic, and social sector (Third Sector 2017). Advertising/advertisers and fundraising/fundraisers are used interchangeably to express all charities' publications of ads to recruit money or services from donors. I used an expert interview framework to question those who work with and create fundraising adverts: charity fundraising and management staff.

I organised 11 expert interviews throughout the months of February and March 2017 as well. These interviews addressed how organisational issues effect and inform fundraising imagery, providing insight into the decision-making processes that influence advert creation. It is important to note that beneficiaries remained the central focus to this research, while expert interviews provided comparative and contextual information that clarified my findings of beneficiaries' responses. Expert interviews lasted between 60-90 minutes, and took place over the phone as well as in-person (Cohen and Crabtree 2006). Because some expert interviewees were from the US, 5 interviews were held by either Skype, Skype Audio, or phone call. To ensure that they remained as similar to in-person interviews as possible, for Phone/Skype interviews, I emailed each ad individually, and only when it came time to discuss it.

The expert-styled interviews followed Beate Littig's (2013) model, whereby data collection concentrates on interviewees' "special knowledge and experiences which result from the actions, responsibilities, and obligations of the specific functional status within an organisation/institution" (Littig 2013). Including experts granted me access to the charity field from the perspectives of "decision-making structures" (Ibid). By permitting me access to "process-related knowledge about interactions, decision-making, and organisational constellations," these meetings strengthened my data collection because they clarified concepts addressed throughout my research study (Ibid). This implicit knowledge proved crucial to a construction of a well-rounded research narrative; this data form could only be collected by speaking with experts active the sector rather than researching the publications of their organisations (Ibid). Expert interviews also enabled me to uncover policy-driven decisions as well as the more nuanced, smaller decisions that makeup day-to-day advertising and marketing decisions.

Participant Demographics

I conducted 31 semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries and 11 expert interviews with charity staff, totalling 42 interviews overall. 26 semi-structured interview respondents were from the UK, and 6 were from countries outside of the UK. All beneficiary respondents resided in the city of Cambridge at the time of our interview. 8 beneficiaries identified as female, and 23 identified as male. Concerning the 11 expert interviews, 6 participants were from the UK and 5 participants were from the US. 4 expert interviewees identified as male, and 7 identified as female. All interviewees were over the age of 18. Although no respondents had ever seen the ads discussed in the interviews, 6 beneficiaries claimed that Ad 2 was familiar, or reminded them of an ad they had seen in their personal experience.

I assessed the type of homelessness each beneficiary reported experiencing in accordance with the Framework Housing Association (FHA 2017):

Statutory Homelessness

They have reported to their local authorities, where they are then assessed and determined if they qualify for legal support from the county or state. Such determinations are made from requirements of vulnerability that individuals must meet in their applications for full support to be issued.

Non-statutory Homelessness/Single Homeless

Often referred to as single homeless, refers to those who are not eligible to receive legal support and turn to services from the Third Sector, voluntary organisations, and other charities who work with local officials to ensure that there are enough services provided.

Sofa Surfing

Sofa Surfing consists of people who, although may be seeking help through other organisations, have no permeant residence and stay in hostels, night shelters, or "on a night-by-night basis with friends or family—with no security of tenure" and are therefore still classified as a vulnerable population (FHA 2017).

Rough Sleepers

Rough sleepers are those who neither stay in non-statutory services or use temporary housing solutions such as sofa surfing. Rather these individuals, occupy public space such as pavements, doorways, parks, bus shelters, buildings and other locations not originally intended for habitation.

Hidden Homeless

This term refers to those who are homeless but their presence is not included in official figures or state reports because "they have not asked for help or don't know where to find it," meaning that they have not reported to statuary or non-statutory support services (FHA 2017).

According to this assessment set forth by FHA, 3 beneficiaries would have been classified as "statutory homeless" when I interviewed them, 25 participants would have been accounted as "non-statutory homelessness," and 3 were "rough sleeping" at the time of our interview. Before finding support channels, 7 interviewees also "sofa surfed." Lastly, 24 respondents reported that they had experience on the streets as rough sleepers before or during their use of a charity's services (FHA 2017).

Table 2: Beneficiaries' Type of Homelessness During Time of Interview

Statutory Homelessness	3
Non-statutory homelessness	25
Of those 25 Non-statutory homelessness:	
-Currently Rough Sleeping	3
-Past Sofa Surfers	7
-Past Rough Sleepers	24

Grounded Theory

This project also employs a grounded theory approach, inductively finding theories from collected data. As an exploratory method, grounded theory is appropriate for investigating people's social experiences and the experiences of themselves. Through this scheme, I am also able to include sociological literature, applying theories that currently exist but were not originally intended to examine groups such as the homeless, in the ways my assessment does (Glaser in Walsh, Holton et al 2015 and Zainal 2007). Although I originally considered collecting data through a case study or ethnography, I found that focusing on adverts of only one charity would prevent me from surveying all three models of poverty, as there are limited number of organisations who collectively employ them in their fundraising within the same fiscal year (Third Sector 2017).

The form of data collection recommended in grounded theory occurs through open-ended interview questions, mirroring my chosen expert and semi-structured interview styles as well. Moreover, the number of interviews conducted until saturation in the grounded theory framework is 20 to 30 interviews, supporting my total of 42 conducted interviews with beneficiaries and experts (Charmaz 2006, p.97). Lastly, grounded theory's recruitment processes support this project's purposive sampling and data analysis of coding—where I seek to reveal emerging trends in the data and any theories that may arise from it (Glaser and Strauss 1992). Most importantly, however, this approach matches my data collection intention: to consider responses beyond presuppositions, highlighting underlying logic that motivates such responses in the data (Charmaz 2001 in Gubrium and Holstein 2001).

Access and Ethics

To find and interview beneficiaries, I partnered with four local homeless shelters in the city of Cambridge. To avoid ethical issues and guarantee access, I immediately established safeguards with all shelters to protect them and their clients. These safeguards include: sending staffs of each shelter copies of the consent forms, adverts, and interview questions for approval, and ensuring that all data collected from interviews—this includes both expert and semi-structured interviews—were backed up electronically, kept confidential, and password protected. Furthermore, all identities reported in this research remain anonymous: the charity whose ads are studied, the four homeless shelters and their beneficiaries, as well as the expert-interview respondents. All information that could reveal any participants' identification throughout this project were anonymised using pseudonyms; these pseudonyms were developed during the interview transcription phase of my research.

Since homeless individuals classify as populations living in vulnerable conditions (e.g., low income, disabilities, refugees, health issues) they experience varying levels of stress that can negatively impact their lives (Anderson and Hatton 2000). As such, researcher Holly Stack-Cutler Harkness (2017) from the Best Practices for Conducting Community-Based Research with Vulnerable Populations, recommends semi-structured interviews lasting between 30-60 minutes, and that was the chosen time frame for beneficiary interviews (Stack-Cutler Harkness 2017). Finally, as a recognition of beneficiary agency and value of their time, I raised enough funds to provide 15 respondents with compensation in the form of a £5 food voucher, a tool also advocated by Stack-Cutler Harkness. However, it can still be argued that the researcher is the only one who benefits from these interactions. For example, I approached these meetings from the positon of a student researcher, from an institution of power within the academic field, and entered marginalised communities of the homeless. Thus, I found offering a gratuity an action of importance. Because, as Stack-Cutler Harkness claims, it allows the interviewer to provide something of legitimate value to participants while securing a recognition of mutual respect (Ibid).

Data Analysis

Concerning interpretation and analysis of the transcribed interviews, I used the socio-cultural research software Dedoose to sort and code data. As Johnny Saldana (2009) recommends, I employed codes that summarised collected data, and these coding schemes were not prescriptive, but exploratory (Saldana 2009, p.137). They allowed me to link findings to ideas, and categorise these trends to find emerging theories. In these coding procedures of interview analysis, I decided what interview material to report in this dissertation, and evaluated data's significance based upon its relevance to developing trends in evidence.

Coding analysis occurred through two phases. During the first phrase, I performed "in vivo and open coding;" during the second, I focused on securing more thematic findings (p.46). These 'second cycle' codes allowed me to confirm larger conceptual categories. Continuing the recommendations set forth by Saldana, I listed no less than 28 varieties of codes in these two cycles. Saldana's coding manual recommended, 80-100 codes, 15-20 categories, and 5-7 major concepts (Ibid).

The major concepts of my research are:

Ad(s) is/are inaccurate
Ad(s) is/are inauthentic
Ad(s) serve(s) the donor
Ad(s) show stereotypical depiction(s) of homelessness
Ad(s) lack context

Quality and Evaluation

I organised each phase of this project in accordance to the National Centre for Social Research Quality in Qualitative Evaluation Framework (2003) so that readers can use four measures to determine the quality of data, and evaluate the validity of my findings: 1) my project must add understanding to a topic of sociology and 2) remain "defensible in design" by offering an achievable research strategy for the time and scope of this MPhil programme (Spencer et al. 2003, p. 7). 3) I ensured all collection and interpretation of data was thorough; and lastly, 4) conclusions drawn from this study remain grounded in well-researched claims based on the information produced.

Part II: Research Limitations

It is necessary to outline potential weaknesses in my project because of their potential to affect interpretations of my research findings. I anticipated such limitations and modified my research design in accordance to them.

Sampling

Due to time and resource constraints, I used purposive sampling, focusing only on a select group of individuals chosen for their status of having a profile consistent with beneficiaries of national charities. As mentioned, because beneficiaries do not have permanent homes, follow-up contact would have proven difficult. In addition, I am selecting a group of individuals based on criteria grounded in my judgements as a researcher, and this limits the generalizability of my findings. Because researcher judgement informs these purposive samples as well, this style of data collection is also subject to researcher bias. For example, the three adverts I chose, although informed by scholarship from Dogra (2012), Hutnyk (2004), Gharib (2015), and Lentfer (2004), were ultimately defined by my judgments as a researcher. Thus, my sample limits this project regarding the number of participants studied and how representative this sample is. I remained cautious of these limitations throughout my study, continually documenting a comparison of sources and abiding by the guidelines set forth in “Methods to Reduce Bias in Self Report Measures of Sensitive Constructs” (Dalal 2012).

Bias: Data Collection

Concerning data collection, disadvantages of qualitative research also includes interviewer bias, volunteer bias, and distortion from participants during interviews. For example, subjects willing to discuss certain topics may answer interview questions differently than those unwilling to discuss. I am subject to bias as well because I may have held expectations or preconceived ideas approaching interviewees. Additionally, as Silverman suggests, qualitative interviews do not provide "direct access to facts" or events, nor do they "tell us directly people's experiences;” rather, interviews "offer indirect 'representations' of those experiences” (Silverman 2007, p.117). As the data recorder, I remained aware that I was logging not simply facts, but respondents' perceptions about facts (p.380). In other words, what I heard as an interviewer is only what participants chose to tell me, and this remained subject to their memory, how they remembered it, and how/if they chose to disclose this information me in a research context.

Brinkman and Kvale (2009) note “live social interaction with verbal and nonverbal communication and understandings is often ‘lost in transcription…The interview is an evolving face-to-face conversation between two persons; in a transcription, the conversational interaction between two physically present persons becomes abstracted and fixed in a written form” (Brinkman and Kvale 2009, p.178). Likewise, it is possible that I did not understand or transcribe interviewees’ attitudes correctly. Moreover, the in-person interview styles also provided possibilities for distortion to occur because if interviewees understood my facial gestures or unintentional motions as social cues, it could have influenced their responses and prevented honest answers. Respondents could have also held prior knowledge about the national charities whose adverts were presented during interviews. I controlled for these biases by offering interviewees opportunities to review transcriptions, maintained professionality in interview performance, and kept the organisation name on the adverts concealed during all interviews.

Bias: Viewing Images

Bias remained plausible in interviews during the ad-viewing portion of my meetings. Showing respondents single adverts without their usual context, such as a magazine publication, could have effected respondents’ interpretations. For example, Ad 3 was originally published on a website, however it was the summarizing advert of the campaign idea that made it so well known. Although the online campaign is no longer active, I showed all interviewees the campaign advert that was widely circulated and used itself as a fundraising tactic. This offers an area of limitation because, although my interviewees saw the advert in the form that the public saw it, they did not see the ad in its original website form.

Furthermore, participants viewed images through different media depending upon their location. For expert interviewees that lived in the US, I conducted a phone/Skype interview. When showing them an image, and I emailed them a single image, mirroring to the best of my ability the arrangement of an in-person session. However, the perceived distance between the phone interviewee and I could affect how comfortable they felt expressing opinions. Conversely, for in-person interviews, subjects could have felt pressured or motivated to share opinions in a certain way because of the intimacy of the meeting. In a similar vein, the interviews locations could have impacted responses. However, when organisations in which I interviewed beneficiaries were busy with a loud environment, I re-located meetings to a quite space within the site to ensure minimal distraction.

Positionality

My positionality as a researcher effects this project as well, as Hewitt (2007) finds "research outcomes, at best, represent only a version of the truth, but cannot be said to describe the lived experience of another" (Hewitt, 2007 p. 153). As an interviewer approaching individuals from vulnerable populations or from disenfranchised communities, I interpreted our interactions through my identity in relation to theirs. However, I remained cognizant of any power imbalance that could have occurred in the field, or biased claims that could have been made from my positon. I also ensured that, in my attempt to gather sound data, I was not inappropriately making use of people's sensitive experiences. I refrained from simplifying interviewees' histories as 'interesting' accounts for the sake of research—fetishizing the experience of homelessness further (Stuart Hall 1997).

Time Constraints and Ethics

When applying the data, I faced project limitations regarding longitudinal effects. Because this MPhil study is a nine-month programme, I did not have years to study this topic. Consequently, this time constraint prevented me from measuring my research question by change or stability over time. I accounted for time constraints by speaking with my advisor and researchers in the field of market research and strategy; I ensured an achievable research question with enough time and resources to complete the dissertation, apply the methodology, collect, and interpret data.

Ethics relate to the psychological or emotional harm that participants were subject to by taking part in my study. I discussed with Cambridge's Ethics Review Board in February 2017 areas of ethical concern, ensuring that all interviews would not cause unnecessary pain, stress, or humiliation. Significant harm is experienced when a failure in respect for privacy occurs (Gunn, Gunn Huebner, Rikabi 2013, p.3). I avoided breaching this trust by ensuring interview questions were not too prying, would not violate confidentiality, did not procure a misrepresentation of ideas, or would have treated sensitive topics inappropriately (Ibid). For example, I provided each interviewee an opportunity to read interview transcripts and offered them the opportunity to contact me at any time if there was a discussion they felt uncomfortable with.

However, ethical issues could still occur because I am speaking to interviewees about sensitive topics of personal experiences; participants may not always tell me the truth, feel embarrassed, or have to reflect on traumatic experiences. In addition, providing compensation to members of vulnerable populations introduces an ethical issue of coercion because "the person, who is hungry or cold, may be willing to exchange personal dignity for food or shelter" (Ibid). To avoid such coercion, research participants were fully informed about procedures and risks involved, and provided signed consent to participate. Additionally, I also shaped the compensation amount in alignment with The

SAGE Handbook of Innovation in Social Research Methods (Williams and Vogt 2011, p.476). The size of the incentive, a £5 food voucher, is enough to “encourage participation by respondent group members, but not so large to encourage participation by impostors” (Ibid). In this regard, I avoided rewarding respondents with an excessive amount to control for further limitations and avoid coercive recruitment.

Chapter III: Findings and Discussion

This chapter examines responses to each advert (Ads 1-3), noting trends of evidence and theories that emerged from them. Findings support my argument that beneficiaries feel that they are represented as ‘the Other’ separate from the donor experience, and that adverts use stigma symbols to tell their stories. These findings also reveal various aspects of the reviewed literature and theories. Firstly, it clarifies how poverty porn, photogenic poverty, and the empowerment narrative serve as storylines, carrying depictions of not only international poverty, but local poverty as well. Secondly, Hall and Said’s critiques of social identity are not only applicable to international representations in the news media and commercial sectors, but can also be applied locally, applied outside their intended scope to include the Third Sector. Lastly, these findings continue to demonstrate how Goffman’s analysis on stigma appear in fundraising adverts but also serve as emotional triggers of Barthes’ punctum. Such results emphasise the importance of including studium and punctum into an evaluation of how fundraising ads are acknowledged differently by those who create, receive, and are represented in them.

Ad 1 Responses

Ad 1 was voted “the worst ad” among beneficiaries and experts. Both groups felt that the ad’s portrayal of death communicated that the "story had already been told" and there were no opportunities for viewers to help. Both groups called for more information regarding the purpose of the advert, and how viewers could provide support. Beneficiaries felt the ad not only emphasised stigma symbols that made the homeless look “scary,” and entirely different than the non-homeless, but that these symbols were inaccurately portrayed throughout the image. Such details of inaccuracy served as punctum for beneficiaries, and studium for experts. In addition, Ad 1 showcased the homeless stigma through the poverty porn narrative, over-accentuating notions of extreme circumstance and separation.

‘The Other’ at the Local Level

“Is there anything I like about the ad? Not really, no.” This was the consensus among beneficiary and charity staff interviewees when discussing Ad 1. Like poverty porn’s reliance on overly-simplified representations to motivate emotion, the stereotyped man in Ad 1 was a common issue brought forward during most interviews. The dead body served as the “spectacular image” of the ad (Williams 1989, p.78). As Charles said, “Maybe I read a little too much into it, but the fact that it's just one person in that situation, it makes me think that all homeless is somehow the same. But it's not like that. Everyone has a history, everyone comes from different situations.” Overall, both respondent groups reported feeling shocked and horrified when first viewing this image. Such reactions are reminiscent of Lissner’s interpretations of poverty porn imagery, which, like Ad 1, also showcases extreme death and suffering in a decontextualised space (Lissner 1977). Beneficiaries perceived themselves as ‘the Other’ through a “scary” representation of their social stigma; as Hailey commented “Ad 1 looks very scary like from scary movie” another beneficiary simply stated “It's terrible. I know what I see, but it's a shock for me.”

Most beneficiaries commented on the graffiti and the isolated location as well, feeling that the ad portrayed a city area that appeared foreign in its abandonment. This perceived difference in geographical location harkens back to Said’s “imagined geography” concept. The graffiti led beneficiaries to believe that this was “not a good part of town,” making them feel like ‘the Orient’ in their very own city, completely alien to the non-homeless (Said 1978, p.58). Unlike expert staff interviewees who were concerned with sadness of the image, beneficiaries remained concerned about the lack of authenticity within the image. Beneficiaries found the graffiti inaccurate; it contradicted their experiences in Cambridge, because "a city like Cambridge is so picturesque and so beautiful where one would not expect to see so many [homeless people]."

In addition to the physical separation communicated between the homeless and non-homeless in Ad 1, beneficiaries continued to notice "imagined geographies" on the mental landscape because of the ad's use of stigma symbols. These stigma symbols, such as the man's clothing and belongings, emphasised the dissimilarity of 'the Other,' and this "us vs. them" theme solidifies the poverty porn narrative of the ad. Beneficiaries frequently stated that the man's pitch (a pitch refers to the homeless person's arrangement of belongings) does not follow the order in which beneficiaries organise their own pitches. According to beneficiaries, the ad's pitch was "too messy," showed too many open bottles and trash, and there were not enough "shopping bags of items." They identified these as markings of 'the Other' because they highlighted their "spoiled identities" of alcoholism and substance abuse on the street, as most reported: "it's implying the stereotype of 'the drinking homeless man.'"

By reflecting how recognitions of 'the Other' are reliant upon stereotypical depictions communicated through stigma symbols, beneficiaries' responses help to answer my research question "How do beneficiaries perceive the presentation of stigma in published fundraising media?" For example, the man's clothing, pitch, and facial hair served as symbols informing viewers of his social identity. However, beneficiaries continued to deem these details as inaccurate as well, saying they misaligned with their experiences. They commented that the man appeared to be a "well-dressed homeless man;" as one interviewee noticed, "To be fair, I'd say he was a particularly well-dressed for a homeless person. He's got on pretty nice shoes or they look like they could've been good shoes." Christopher, another beneficiary agreed, "He seems to be reasonably dressed. His shoes are okay, they look okay." Furthermore, the man did not have a sleeping bag with him, and this detail concerned almost every beneficiary interviewed because they felt that this this took away from the images authenticity. Showing the man with a sleeping bag would have increased the 'realness' of the ad, because, as Stephen discussed "you don't get anybody whose homeless without a sleeping bag. Because the nights get really cold."

Beneficiaries expressed frustration, not that the ad employed stereotypes, for that they were accustomed to seeing. Beneficiaries were upset that the ad relied on inaccurate demonstrations of these stereotypes, because for them, these incorrectly represented stigma symbols have severe consequences when living on the streets. When I asked Benedict what he disliked about the ad, he mentioned that this style of street living would not work on the streets of Cambridge, as homeless individuals make a point to throw away waste so they do not upset shop owners and get "kicked off the property" by local enforcement. The rubbish, Benedict notes, "gives people the wrong name" and directly impacts how non-homeless treat the street homeless. When I asked Arthur what he disliked about the ad, he said the same: "Well this is something I've noticed where I've been around. A lot of people who are homeless are aware of rubbish and put it away in the right bins. And wherever they've been they tend to keep it clean."

These notes continue to reveal findings in the literature as well. For example, Feldman concludes in his arguments of homeless identity that misrepresentations such as those in Ad 1 have "real-life" repercussions, often resulting in community members treating the homeless with "disdain," further increasing their social rejection (Feldman 2004, p.6). As one beneficiary discussed, "It's their pitch. Because they know if someone picks up on it, they won't be allowed back there… I mean you do have a very small minority who will leave rubbish behind but that's probably 1 in 5 if that." These comments reflect Hopper's observations on homelessness treatment as well. The stigma symbols Ad 1 publishes result in the homeless being labelled as 'different.' Thus, similar to poverty porn's framing of global poverty, these interviews demonstrate how representations of 'the Other' and 'the Orient' also occur at local social divides. As Hopper finds, the homeless are often seen as 'the Other' and through their "orientalisms" because their presence on the street is regarded as "deviant" and "different and strange" regarding where and how they live (Hopper 1988, p.164 and 167). Although the homeless and non-homeless reside within the same city, Ad 1 shows the homeless as 'the Other' on a physical geographical plane as well as within the mental region.

The Specific Punctum of Ad 1

As Barthes claims, punctum is magnified in certain contexts for some, while remaining completely unidentifiable by others. Because Ad 1 emerges from an experience of homelessness to speak to both homeless and non-homeless, it creates different emotions depending upon its recipient. Throughout interviews, I found that, while Ad 1's punctum of death produced shock among both groups, only the stigma symbols emotionally wounded beneficiaries; the symbols remained invisible to expert interviewees. These symbols, particularly the man's pitch and the bottle, "pricked" beneficiaries because it was a visual representation of their public rejection, markings of their "spoiled indefinites" and confirmation of their refusal (Goffman 1963, p.22). Thus, these findings are also consistent with the works of Goffman and Hall; certain details, "struck" beneficiaries because they were improperly represented in the ad to communicate stereotypical associations of homelessness.

Furthermore, rather than discuss the details of inauthenticity in the ad, trying to 'de-bunk' the scene, experts focused on stylistic choices, remarking on how visually dark the image was, or how the font was "too hard to read." As Barthes' punctum theory suggests, beneficiaries most likely noted areas of punctum unrecognised by experts because they had emotionally-specific connections reliant upon personal histories, whereas staff have eyes trained towards aesthetic presentation. The arrangement of one's pitch when rough sleeping, then, yields most influence on those from similar backgrounds, or from cultures with intimate experiences of life on the streets (Barthes 1980, p.28).

These inconsistencies in punctum recognition also introduce inequalities between charity staff and beneficiaries regarding who decides how others are represented. Apart from two staff members, during interviews with experts, it was rare that staff had any direct experiences of the social issue their organisation sought to alleviate, which could explain why some stigma symbols remained of little importance to them. I also noticed a certain power imbalance that separates experts and beneficiaries. Experts have the comfort of viewing the same stigma symbols as beneficiaries, but through the lens of the studium; experts are not emotionally triggered, but simply informed of a stereotypical homeless man. Conversely, beneficiaries are offended and distracted by these symbols in their reading of the image. As a result, beneficiaries recognise important aspects of charity advertisements that can remain totally unidentified by donors and advertisers— the two groups commonly involved in the production and reception of adverts (Herman and Renz 2010, p.695, Lewis Faulk 2011). Such findings are significant, because it demonstrates that not only do some beneficiaries feel they unable to support themselves financially, but unable to support themselves in areas of representation as well. While Ad 1 attempts to use shock to persuade non-homeless into support, it does so at the expense of further isolating the beneficiary from interaction with the donor.

The Studium: Why Beneficiaries Became Angry

Harlem Renaissance photographer James Vander Zee (1978) once noted that, "the studium exemplifies the evils of war and the punctum reveals our flaws" (Vander Zee

1978). Ad 1's punctum plays a similar role because it brings to light social standards that allow the non-homeless to ignore the existence of the homeless in everyday life. Interviews revealed that beneficiaries feel that they exist in the realm of the studium when living on the streets, and their pain is only worth noticing when communicated as stigma symbols to serve as an advert's punctum. Thus, beneficiaries understand that their presence on the streets is adopted as the usual and even expected, which is why, they argue, people find it so easy to ignore them. This desensitisation to social ills is visualised in Ad 1 and operative in the Cambridge community. Goffman summarises a similar social cognition that is shared, whereby the non-stigmatised accept certain "spoiled identities" as social norms, saying "the routines of social intercourse in established settings allow us to deal with anticipated others without special attention or thought" (Goffman 1963, p.2).

Supporting beneficiaries' observations further, by inserting a punctum of death, Ad 1 highlights the larger social expectations of street begging. As *Garfunkel and Ethnomethodology's* (1984) breaching experiment demonstrates, when individuals abide by rules of society, they remain unaware of their presence. However, it is precisely in the breaching of their social expectations that reveal their social norms (Heritage 1984, p.221). Similarly, for photos, a prior knowledge must be in viewers' social schema so that it appears understandable in the image. Photographs appear clear to viewers because of socially shared knowledges, where cultural truths assist viewers in their reading of a photograph's rhetoric. As a result, because studium is recognition, it translates not only the interest viewers have in photos, but areas in viewers' life that are socially accepted as tolerable, highlighting the norms that cultivated those familiarities (Barthes 1980, p.26). Ad 1's punctum similarly reveals how the non-homeless perceive the homeless in their social milieu. Because they are accustomed to seeing individuals on the street in the 'real-world;' the non-homeless accept their suffering as a social norm. It is only in an isolated and highly dramatic context of poverty porn that the non-homeless notice the homeless, and this contrast in compassion angered beneficiaries during interviews. Goffman's theories echo throughout beneficiaries' observations, highlighting that when identities are brought to the fore, individuals better understand the social contours that define them:

> We lean on these anticipations that we have, transforming them into normative expectations, into righteously presented demands. Typically, we do not become aware that we have made these demands or aware of what they are until an active question arises as to whether they will be fulfilled. It is then that we are likely to realise that all along we have been making certain assumptions as to what the individual before us ought to be (Ibid).

Beneficiaries would often ask questions like "How are people even okay with seeing people on the street to begin with?" or "It shouldn't have to get to that stage now should it?" They wanted the non-homeless to see the homeless in the realm of the punctum outside the context of these ads. According to beneficiaries, Ad 1's punctum should be everyone's punctum. Of course, a dead man on the street is going to shock everyone, but shouldn't a man begging to stay alive on the streets shock everyone too? In an emotional interview with one beneficiary interviewee, he explained that when living on the streets he felt "invisible." This was a common description I heard among rough sleepers; the homeless feel like they become part of the background of Cambridge and an unengaging image in the scenery, rather than people worth noticing in that scenery. Beneficiaries' descriptions of rough sleeping resonate with Barthes' evaluation of studium; they feel belittled from a person to a hardship, regarded as a detail in the cityscape, and an extension of the visual where people pass by disinterested and emotionally unmoved (Barthes 1980, p.20). This, I found, is why beneficiaries were shocked that these experiences of street living—what they called their "darkest moments"—lived in the realm of the studium in the 'real-world' but inhabited the punctum in realm of adverts. Furthermore, when homeless individuals are finally recognised in adverts, it is through inaccurate stigma symbols in the context of poverty porn's pity.

Ad 2 Responses

> "What's engaging about Ad 2 is the person's face. It's the look. As if it's saying: 'I've had a good life.' Because that's what she's thinking about. She's not there. She's thinking about what was. Anything to get away from that moment. I know I've sat and done that. I know I have. Many a time."
>
> Thomas, an interviewed beneficiary

Ad 2 was voted the best ad among beneficiaries and experts. Although both groups believed this ad to the most positive ad, beneficiaries felt that it still used stereotypes to frame the homeless as "entirely different" than non-homeless. Fulfilling my research question, Ad 2 demonstrates 'the Other,' however at the domestic level in the narrative of positive, photogenic poverty, rather than through the lens of abrasive poverty porn (Ad 1). Both groups resonated with Ad 2's punctum of noeme and eidos, which reminded them of the passing of time and death.

Stigma Symbols and Stereotypes

Although Ad 2 was voted "the best," there were still attributes of the ad that disturbed beneficiaries, particularly the use of stereotypes and how it made beneficiaries look distinctive from non-homeless. For example, although Ad 2 narrated a more hopeful scene, the woman's identity was still communicated as 'the Other' because it remained dependent upon the viewer's understanding of homeless stereotypes. For example, beneficiaries Keith and Walter found it alarming that viewers were immediately supposed to know that the woman was homeless solely because of the way she was dressed in the photograph, saying:

> Keith: It doesn't give us a full picture of what homelessness is.
> Walter: Why do people think that homelessness must look like that? That's what pisses me off—that this is what they think homelessness is.
> Keith: I am just supposed to know he's homeless.
> Walter: It's very stigmatised. It's a lie actually.

Keith and Walter, both of whom have experiences of street homelessness, sofa surfing, and statutory homeless, were upset that Ad 2 showed homelessness as restricted to rough sleeping, dirty clothes, and loneliness. Keith and Walter felt that their experiences of homelessness are "Living proof that that's not what homelessness is. We got cleaned up, sorted out, went out the door, and no one would know we were homeless." Their discussion on the interplay between stigma and stereotype mirrors Goffman's perspectives on the relationship between the two notions as well, where he claims: "a stigma, then, is really a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype…there are important attributes that almost everywhere in our society are discrediting" (Goffman, 1963 p.4). Keith and Walter's interpretations continue to support previous literature conducted in the field of homelessness and the media. Eosin Devereux's (2015) study of homelessness found that the most commonly circulated images about local poverty in advertising "repeatedly use a very narrow framing of homelessness" (Devereux 2015, p.270). Keith and Walter's critique of Ad 1 is consistent with Devereux's findings:

> Keith: The thing is you've got categories of people—
> Walter [interrupting]: But we are all stigmatised as one.
> Keith: When we come in through this charity's front door, I came in looking just like Ad 2. Having nothing for 10 days, but as soon as I had a shower and could get dressed and went back out that door, no one knew. So, the thing is, you must be given an opportunity to clean up and be treated like a human being and a person.

Images that showcase the facial expressions of homelessness, which Ad 2 does, have also been evaluated by Anderson and Valentine (2014) throughout development imagery literature. They claim such imagery is exploitative, serving to "decontextualise, and depoliticise homelessness" (Anderson and Valentine 2014 in Devereux 2015, p.271) Rather than simply showing a one-dimensional portrayal of homelessness, majority of beneficiaries called for ads that show circumstances that gave rise to the person's poverty, such as loss, calling for context to inspire the donor rather than stereotypes to motivate the donor. As beneficiary Ryan notes:

> The thing is, we have had to build our life from the ground up. One step at a time, from scratch you know. The loss needs to be communicated, because we have all had

> lives. *If you don't show the loss, you're going to carry on with this stigma with how this homeless person is, or how this homeless person is perceived to be.*

By providing such a context, the donor knows the individual is homeless because of his/her experience of loss, not because he/she looks "sad and poorly dressed."

Punctum of Photogenic Poverty

In Ad 1, the punctum is embodied in the dead male body. In Ad 2, the punctum of noeme and eidos is communicated through vulnerability, operationalising innocence the woman's body. This observation is synonymous with John Hutnyk 's argument, in which he states that in the photogenic poverty narrative, women and children are often used to communicate deeper, emotional, experiences of poverty, because women and children's identities align with Western sympathies of vulnerability (Hutnyk 2004, p.81). As Nandita Dogra explains, charity fundraisers rely on the bodies of women and children in certain campaigns to communicate moving notions of "hope, vulnerability, universal appeal, and infantilization," emphasizing ideas of shared humanity and suffering (Dogra 2012, p.44). However, beneficiaries felt that the stigmatisation of the female body worked against this notion of universalism because it isolated her experience as one specific to 'the Other.' Like observations made in Ad 1, men are depicted in visually harsher depictions of poverty. This also brings to light beneficiaries' interview discussions about the gender binary they have witnessed within the homeless populations. When street begging, beneficiaries often reported that women were understood to be more vulnerable by non-homeless individuals; as a result, women received more money than men when they asked for money on the streets. Contrastingly, men were regarded as less vulnerable, and reported more instances of violence reminiscent of Ad 1during our interviews. Thus, do these observations prove relevant, showing that noeme and eidos of vulnerability can be read as punctum existing not only in ads, but in the presentation of self in ‘the real-world.’

Ad 2’s emotional depiction relates to Feldman’s study as well, in that the homeless can be rendered as helpless, “victims of circumstances beyond their own control who need and deserve help” in one ad (Ad 2), but a scary “social evil” in another (Ad 1) (Feldman, 2004, p. 6 and p.94). These observations continue in research on “the victim effect” by Bhati and Eikenberry (2016), where emotionally emphasised ads elicit more empathy and result in more effective fundraising campaigns. Thus, fundraisers’ decision to showcase the emotional expression of a woman rather than a man, and using the dead body of a man in Ad 1 rather than a woman’s body, supports characteristics of photogenic poverty and the gendered roles of pity.

Noeme and Eidos of Ad 2

The woman’s facial expression, especially her eyes, can further be considered as the punctum that “pierces,” communicated through a narrative of photogenic poverty (Barthes 1980, p.26). Her eyes capture a nature of hopefulness that both expert and beneficiaries resonated with, bespeaking qualities of photogenic poverty, while at the same time showcasing how fundraisers stimulate emotions of Western pity. The ad’s medium continues this theme as well. As one beneficiary remarked “the first ad is, I think, slightly fake, it reminds me of street animation.” Unlike Ad 1, which appears as a photo-shopped iconic image, Ad 2 presents itself more as a photograph. In addition, Ad 2 shows the woman in a lens of perceived isolation in her state of impoverishment, generating notions of innocence, death, and suffering that harken back to noeme and eidos (Hutnyk 2014 in Dogra 2012, p.44). The ad’s intentional use of a photograph also communicates innocence that redefines the photo, engaging viewers through the pathos of punctum.

The appreciation for Ad 2’s emotional rawness is also telling of why both groups agreed that it was "the most realistic" ad, and relates to Barthes' study of noeme and eidos as the "certificate of presence" (Barthes 1980, p.87). As Barthes demonstrates, photography is not something to which a sign refers to, but the "necessarily real thing which has been placed before the lens" and charity fundraisers also capitalise on this quality (Barthes 1980, p.76). Ad 2's photography preserves a history of the present. Through Ad 2's use of a photograph, it communicates the power of innocence and authenticity, so that it appears "somehow co-natural with its referent… The truth of the image" (Ibid). Ad 2's noeme and eidos offers viewers a "unique emotion" that heightens photography's nature and the essence of the photo itself (Ibid). As Sontag states, "photographs state the innocence, the vulnerability of lives heading toward their own destruction, and this link between photography and Death haunts all photographs of people," and these feelings of exposure elevate the Ad 2's punctum that in both experts and beneficiaries (Sontag 1977, p.70). Beneficiaries constantly equated emotionality with authenticity throughout interviews, and expert and beneficiary interviewees voted Ad 2 as the best ad because it "felt the most real" and was "easiest to empathise with." Beneficiaries wanted to include more emotional weight to Ad 1 and Ad 3 as well, they believed that not allowing viewers to have an emotional connection with the homeless created an "empty ad." Thus, recommendations on improving ads leaned toward making adverts more emotionally tangible rather than gruesome (Ad 1) or performative (Ad 3). In other words, both beneficiaries and experts called for more characterisations of emotional intensity, expressing a unified preference for the punctum of noeme and eidos.

Ad 3 Responses

Contradictory to its intent, Ad 3 was found by beneficiaries as disempowering, equated to being "just as bad as Ad 1." Although Ad 3 was supposed to be the most empowering of the three chosen ads, while experts thought it empowered the homeless, beneficiaries felt that it "otherised" them more. Like "imagined geography," Ad 3 showcased street homeless lifestyles as a performative reality separate from donors. Like Ads 1 and 2, Ad 3 relied of stigma symbols to communicate the identity of the homeless, but did so in an attempted empowerment narrative. Ad 3 was received by experts as studium, but regarded as punctum by beneficiaries because its pictorial details emotionally triggered their memories of poverty.

Spectating 'the Other'

"It is upsetting because they are throwing the gentlemen in and using him as a guinea pig really. Like they are throwing him into a huge cage or tank and studying him basically." As Mitchell notes, beneficiaries took issue with the idea of Ad 3 because it made them feel that homelessness was a foreign predicament to be studied, objectified, and prodded, similar to characteristics of 'the Other.' By observing the homeless man as one would a subject in a lab, to beneficiaries, Ad 3 implied a fetishist tone that made them feel similar to the Hottentot Venus, a spectacle completely remote from viewers (Gilman 1985, p.146). Beneficiaries felt that advertisers were using the homeless as a prop, like Ad 1, treating him like an instrument to record experiences, saying: "It shouldn't be something that should be put out you know, glamorising it. Glamorising isn't the right word, but making a show of it, you know." They also found that the ad continued to allow the non-homeless to spectate rather than converse with the homeless, objecting that spectating is not the same as experiencing. Beneficiaries thought Ad 3 was shallow rather than informative, saying it is an impossible goal to tell the life of a homeless person in only 24 hours. As Theo said angrily during a focus group "You can't do that!" Others agreed, saying "To be honest that guy would need more than 24 hours to live the 10 days that I went through." Conversely, expert interviewees thought that Ad 3 was more informative and interesting, claiming that it would succeed in explaining the realities of homelessness on the street. They believed the homeless man adopted an empowering role, with the ability to show a story of the streets. Beneficiaries disagreed completely, feeling insulted at the attempt to use such a short amount of time (24 hours) to explain a reality for so many, saying “You have to actually experience it to understand it.”

Stereotypes

Like Ad 1, beneficiaries were greatly disappointed to find a man drinking in Ad 3, as this stigma symbol referenced street drinking and reflected deep-rooted stereotypes that fundraisers still abide by when telling the homeless story. As one beneficiary observed: "I don’t like how it points out to all the and things. The drinkers, the smokers, the strangers. There's no connection to the person at all. I don't feel a connection to the ad." Similar to Ad 1, beneficiaries did not appreciate the references to alcohol because it is an aspect of street life they find overplayed and inaccurate, with actual ramifications. For example, substance use actually disqualifies most beneficiaries from accessing certain charity services. For expert interviewees, however, they did not notice the street drinking or smoking references. Concerning dislikes, rather than de-bunk stereotypes, beneficiaries found that Ad 3 confirmed a common misconception: that all homelessness exists on the streets. In this regard, beneficiaries felt that the ad served donors more than beneficiaries, especially because it plays off the public’s superficial understandings of homelessness. As Mick commented “It's not changing nothing in his life. There's nothing good for him.” Sam agreed, noting:

> Well that doesn’t show. I mean, well to me that seems empty. Very empty. It just shows what anyone can see walking on the street anywhere. It doesn't give a picture of what that person is thinking or feeling or how he's being looked upon… not all homeless people do the same things the same way…You can’t generalise that to everybody… I don’t want it to be generalised to a whole population by looking through one homeless person's eyes.

Beneficiaries wanted to explain that this is not the only type of homelessness that exists, nor is it the most dangerous; there are different types of homelessness that are just as difficult to leave. In fact, most beneficiaries I interviewed chose to avoid the streets all together. For example, before embarking on the street or begging, they considered living on the countryside, in abandoned sheds, sofa surfing, or turning to churches. “You don’t try and see anyone when you're living on the street” Craig informed me. “I, um, hid in some woods because when I became homeless I just went to the wilderness. When/if the homeless do choose to stay on the streets, they do so out of absolute necessity. Additionally, they are usually in the process of finding housing from City Council and see the streets as a phase of “in-between.” Contrastingly, fundraising ads concerning local poverty, such as Ad 3, showcase poverty on the streets in a concrete form. Such a finding is significant because this is the exact presentation of self that the homeless try to prevent people from seeing, as Craig describes “I wanted to hide from everyone. I don't tell anybody I'm homeless, I tend to lie about what I'm doing, except for the community I'm with.”

The Punctum of Ad 3

When Barthes viewed a photo of extreme suffering and death, he commented that, although it was overflowing with devastation, he remained emotionally unmoved by the gruesome scene. According to Barthes, although the image portrayed a bleakness, its impact occurred as only “‘scenes,’ rather `a la Grease, had it not been for the harshness of the subject” (Barthes 1980, p.25). In other words, Barthes, a viewer with no cultural or personal connection to the photo, understood the suffering as he would a history painting. Barthes’ theory could also explain why Ad 3 disturbed beneficiaries to such an extent, but uplifted expert interviewees whom found it informative. As discussed, each understanding of an image is culturally informed (studium) yet personally specific (punctum). As Barthes argues, when individuals share backgrounds with those suffering, it frames a punctum that is culturally shaped and emotionally suited to arouse them (p.27). Viewers observing images of people from different backgrounds, such as the experts viewing the homeless in Ad 3, are more likely to experience the image in the realm of the studium. This held true throughout interviews, as experts thought it would be interesting to experience the life of a homeless individual. Imagery from the campaign held no emotional cue that wounded experts' visual experience, nor did experts voice any details that reminded them of an impactful moment from the past. The living conditions portrayed in Ad 3 still express poignancy, but it speaks first and it speaks loudest to those who share the reality of experience: the beneficiaries.

Dignity and Pain

Although both groups agreed that Ad 1 was the worst ad, when I asked each group how they would improve Ad 1, they provided different recommendations. Expert interviewees called for a complete removal of the man from the grave; most stated that they would prefer to see the man alive and actively begging on the streets rather than dead on the streets. The homeless wanted to see the man alive as well, but they wanted to see the man leaving the grave based on his own decision and agency. In other words, where the experts wanted to see the homeless miraculously alive and out of the pit, most beneficiaries wanted to show someone supporting the man *as he chooses* to leave the pit. What beneficiary Bobby termed "Dignity and Pain," this option emphasises beneficiaries' choice to leave the scene of pain while still showing their dignity. Beneficiaries' description of this occurred in many different forms, however, all wanted to show the man making both choices: to change the situation and the decision to receive help. In this way does their choice reflect their agency.

The best visual and literal description of this new scene of agency comes from a currently homeless man named Bryan. He commented on Ad 1, saying "There's no other people there trying to pull him out [of] this pit he is in. He needs some help, but true help...Yes, he can receive help but he must work for this. Give him some power or some tools to do something or to change something. So, he can work in this house, but he must work for the house." He described to me the idea of "The Ladder," and it was a metaphor expressed by many other beneficiaries as well. He descried The Ladder as having a non-homeless person helping the homeless man in Ad 1 by offering him a ladder— not a hand. Confused, I asked, “But Mr. Bryan, why a ladder?” He preferred the ladder rather than a hand because the ladder requires the homeless man to choose aid and get out the grave himself, expressing agency in conjunction with the helper’s intervention. The hand, Bryan explained, puts most of the weight on the helper; additionally, there are no resources for the homeless man to use to support others once he leaves the grave. With The Ladder, Bryan argues, assistance is still provided, but also allows the homeless to help themselves and others in similar situations.

The Ladder mirror the empowering imagery guidelines as well, where subjects as presented as “self-sufficient and dignified” (Gharib 2015). It simultaneously shows an option to help and the homeless choosing the receive that help demonstrating both donor and beneficiary empowerment. Bryan’s ad is a visual summary of how most beneficiaries want to be presented in adverts: just like donors, temporarily in a time of pain, but dignified in their action to receive help during their experience of pain. This idea of allowing the homeless man to show himself utilizing support offered (the ladder) without expecting the helper to take on most of the burden (such as offering a hand), directly reflects beneficiaries distrusted Ads 1-3— because it does not let the homeless exhibit their agency in speaking for themselves through a specific action: the choice to receive help as they leave poverty. The Ladder also reflects beneficiaries’ collective idea that "we are just like everybody else," and, is why beneficiaries resonate so strongly against representations of ‘the Other’ in the adverts: the ads represented them as entirely different from donors, populations they wanted most to connect with. For those who begged on the streets, most preferred conversations with donors in addition to pocket change, because it “makes us feel normal.”

In fact, when asked how they would like to be represented in charity adverts, beneficiaries' responses reflected traits of Goffman's "Rules for Handling Normals;" the stigmatised should see oneself as "normal" to make "normals" feel comfortable (Goffman 1963, p.116). When describing how they would present themselves in publications, for example, seeing oneself as "normal" was a common recommendation, expressed through responses such as "let people know that I am a human being. I am just down on my luck," "Homelessness could happen to anyone," and "We're human too." Beneficiaries wanted fundraisers to show that homelessness could happen to a 'normal' just as easily as it could happen to a stigmatised person, as Joshua states: "It could happen to anyone. I think that's the important factor. It is not just the drunk. I mean that's the one who everyone sees, but there are decent guys out there who are homeless." Clarence, another beneficiary also agreed in his response, saying, "The contributors of homelessness are changing as well. We are all 2 paycheques away from being homeless, I know most of us are… no one is more than 3 steps away from homeless. You lose your job, you lose your house because you can't pay your rent. You have a relationship break up. Your partner gets the flat. Where do you go? You don't go straight to the street. You could go sofa surfing, but you're homeless." Rather than fetishizing the homeless as 'the Other' through iconic depictions (Ad 1), stereotypes (Ad 2), or their performance (Ad 3) Bryan's rendition shows an underlying humanism and interconnectivity between donors and beneficiaries.

Conclusion

> "We are all individuals, and we all have different backgrounds, and we are all here for different reasons. But because of this stigma, how can you advertise us? How can you advertise what a homeless person is? Because whatever you advertise, that's what you are showing what homeless people are. But homeless people are very diverse."
> Bryan, an interviewed beneficiary

This research provides insights on the topic of fundraising, its use of imagery, and its impact on larger representation models. In this dissertation, I argue that beneficiaries are represented as 'the Other' in fundraising imagery, simultaneously depicted as individuals in need, and socially different from those who can support their needs. By conducting a series of expert and semi-structured interviews, I gathered a purposive sample of beneficiaries and charity staff members whose perspectives contribute to a larger discussion of literature surrounding advertising and representation. This project provides insights into discussions of poverty porn, photogenic poverty, and the empowerment framework from a local perspective rather than the international perspective from which it is traditionally engaged. Intertwining qualitative procedures with a theoretical examination, my research prompts an engagement of specialised knowledge that both beneficiaries of the Third Sector, and experts in the Third Sector, provide. Theories of stigma, studium and punctum, and 'the Other' were inferred from these findings and prove relevant today. Beneficiaries expressed concern that, although they are largely ignored as the studium when homeless outside of advertising, it is only in fundraising adverts that they are regarded as punctum, serving as emotional interest to those whom are not homeless.

Both respondent groups found that poverty porn (Ad 1) as the worst ad. The punctum of the photo, the dead man in the grave, violates larger, collectively held notions of human suffering. Experts communicated more emotions of pity whereas beneficiaries communicated frustration because the ad erroneously placed stigma symbols of homelessness, and framed the population as the “scary” ‘Other.’ Concerning Ad 2, both groups voted this sample as the best ad. Respondents’ reasoning mirrored details of photogenic poverty, such as the woman's face emotionally connecting viewers to the advert’s undertones of optimism, hope, and sadness. Ad 2 continued to disclose poverty by using photography and facial expression, activating the intensities of “memento mori,” noeme, and eidos (Sontag 1977, p.15). However, beneficiaries also expressed concern that the woman was used as a stigma symbol to visualise all of homelessness, and that the ad did not communicate causes of homelessness through the context of loss. Ad 3 remained largely unfavourable among beneficiaries as well, but highly favoured among charity staff. Beneficiaries found Ad 3 shallow, and that it restricts homelessness to street begging, disregarding the various episodes of local poverty of hidden homelessness. However, experts found Ad 3 informative and engaging. Such contrasting observations underscore how homeless beneficiaries’ experiences remain in the realm of the studium for the non-homeless outside of fundraising, but in the light of punctum within it.

Beyond this case of research, my argument proves relevant regarding power relations between those who provide service and those who receive service. Fundraising’s intention is to recruits funds for organisations that support those in need, seeking to empower its beneficiaries (Third Sector 2017). However, without adequate means to express choice in this representation, majority of interviewed beneficiaries feel disempowered by the chosen ads in this research. In this study, beneficiaries felt that, although they were the ones enduring the struggle, they were not the ones communicating the struggle and its sensitive topics that structure their lives. Thus, this research sheds light on fundraising intention versus its effects on beneficiaries. Lastly, beyond contributing to existing literature, this research also supplies data grounded in a qualitative and theoretical framework that articulates how fundraising adverts bespeak underlying social values, demonstrating that, to some extent, causal links exist between representation and treatment.

Although this research illustrates how studium and punctum utilise images' structural tension to expose social conditions that appear 'normal' inside and outside publications, it does not study how variations in an image's medium can affect such interpretations. Future studies could consider how images circulated on social media platforms either weaken or strengthen an image's studium and punctum. Additional analysis could survey how punctum and studium occur in interactions between words and text sequences, expanding further upon Barthes' concepts (Greene 2017). Concerning homeless identities, other work could investigate gender differences among homelessness, especially in female's performances of vulnerability compared to those of male. By understanding the rhetoric of advertisements beyond their concentration in the for-profit sector, this research project extends representation and reception analysis to Third Sector fundraising practices and the undercurrents of social identities that shape them.

Appendix

Table 1: Ad Characteristics

Poverty Porn	Exploiting people in need to raise money Oversimplifying or trivializing people's realities Dictating or prescribing a solution Showing people without a sense of agency
Photogenic Poverty	Sugar-coating poverty Uplifting image of poverty Showcasing a woman or child without the presence of a male figure More emphasis on the human-ness of the individual
Empowerment Narrative	Telling compelling stories Highlighting a problem that needs to be addressed Portraying a "pathway" out of poverty Bridge the "Us Vs Them" Divide

Table 2: Beneficiary Participants' Type of Homelessness During Time of Interview

Statutory Homelessness	3
Non-statutory homelessness	25
Of those 25 Non-statutory homelessness:	
-Currently Rough Sleeping	3
-Past Sofa Surfers	7
-Past Rough Sleepers	24

Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Beneficiaries

1. If you feel comfortable, could you please share your background?
2. Have you seen ads for charity before? Where?
    a. What do you generally think of them?
    b. Do you relate to at all, see your own experience in them?
3. Have you ever seen this ad? If so, where?
4. Could you please describe this ad?
5. What is your general impression of this ad?
6. What features of the ad have the most impact on you (What sticks out to you the most)?
7. How does this ad make you feel?
8. What does this ad mean to you? *or* What three words would you use to describe this ad?
9. What do you think about the individual(s) depicted in the ad?
10. What features of the ad do you like/think is most effective? Why do you like them?
11. What features of the ad do dislike/think is least effective? Why do you dislike them?
12. Do you have any suggestions on how this ad could be improved?
13. If you could design your own an ad, how would you like to show the homeless? Would you like to be represented at all?
14. What do you think about fundraising? Is it appropriate to have ads for it?
15. Out of all three adverts you’ve seen today, which one do you think is the best? Which one is the worst? Can you explain details in the ad that helped you make those decisions?
16. Any closing thoughts about this ad or interview that you would like to express?

Expert Interview Guide: Charity Staff Members

1. How did you become involved with this organisation?
2. What are your annual goals, needs, and results?
3. What are the main obstacles that inhibit the fulfilment of your mission? How are you planning to overcome them?
4. Do you feel competition in this sector? Who are your main competitors?
5. What are your most urgent needs?
6. Describe your development strategy. What is the messaging you use with potential funders and those whom you target?
7. Take me through the process of brainstorming a fundraising campaign: Which staff members are responsible for fundraising design and imagery?
8. Are ads created by an in-house team or independent contractor?
9. When designing ads, how are decisions made concerning the representations of beneficiaries? Could you provide some examples?
10. How has this changed over time?
11. How do you try to make an impact on your audience?
12. How are you collaborating with similar organisations on a local, regional, or national level? Does this impact decisions about advertising?
13. What other members of your organisation contribute to this process? Board of Directors, Long-Time Donors, Volunteers?
14. Is there a “stamp of approval” or a final green light to confirm that the ad is ready for publishing? Who grants this permission?
15. How do ads vary by medium? (Direct mail, Newspaper/Magazine, Web and Digital Marketing)
16. Do you ever study your ads through focus groups? If so, with whom and how often?

Show Expert Interviewees Ads 1-3
Ask questions 3-16 from the Semi-Structured Interview Guide: Beneficiaries

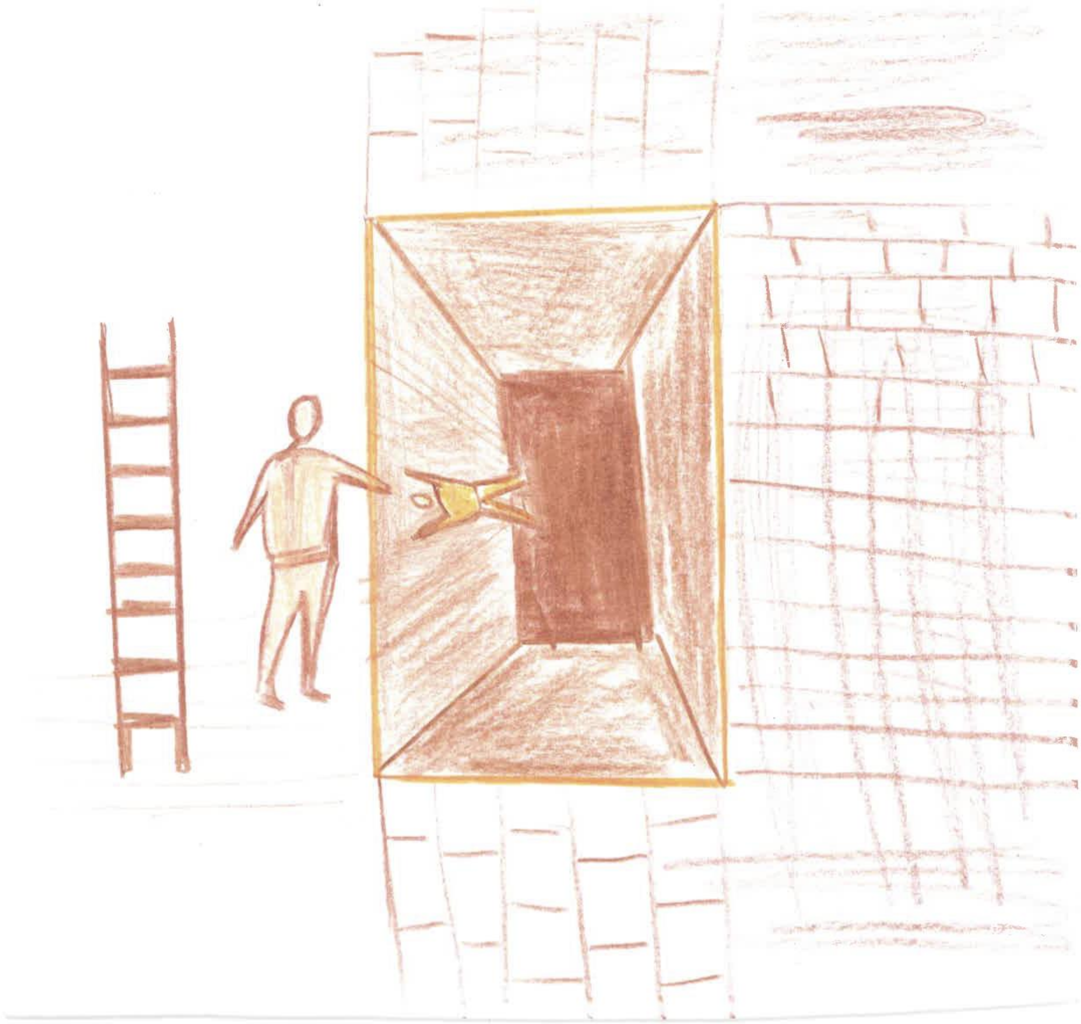
Surveyed Adverts 1-3 (Images 1-3)

Image 1: Ad 1, Poverty Porn Ad

Image 2: Ad 2, Photogenic Poverty Ad

Image 3: Ad 3, Empowerment Narrative

Image 4: "The Ladder"



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