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Human Rights: A New Frame for UK Public Engagement in Global Poverty

A critical analysis of Oxfam GB and Comic Relief's engagement with human rights

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers individual responsibility for the promotion of human rights and the potential of citizens to effect change within the global structures that cause poverty to persist. In reaction to the limited understanding of human rights and the low levels of engagement in global poverty among the UK public, critical analysis of Oxfam and Comic Relief's engagement with human rights was undertaken in order to ascertain what information is currently available to the UK public. The findings revealed divergent approaches, and subsequent consideration of values and frames theory found Oxfam's approach encouraged engagement with global poverty, whilst Comic Relief's approach encouraged values not congruent for public re-engagement in global poverty. Consequently the potential of human rights as a frame to increase UK public engagement with global poverty was proposed. This thesis further highlights the need for a cohesive approach across the third sector in order to create a shift in frames, which will allow for greater future engagement of the UK public in global poverty.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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List of Acronyms

CESCR – Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights

CRC – Convention on the Rights of the Child

HRBA – Human Rights Based Approach

ICCPR – International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR – International Covenant on Economic Social and Political Rights

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

OHCHR – Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights

UDHR – Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER 1

"Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration can be fully realized"[1] Article 28, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

"The 85 richest people in the world have the same wealth as the 3.5 billion poorest people"[2] Human Development Report, 2014

1.1 Introduction

An estimated 3 billion people live in poverty, without access to health care, education, adequate food or shelter, living in poverty prevents living life with dignity.[3] In the decades since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirmed that "All human being are born free and equal in dignity and rights"[4], the basic rights necessary to a life in human dignity have been further established within international law, in both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights[5] and International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights[6], and several further UN Conventions[7]. The international community has been rallied by campaigns, agendas and common goals, most notably the UN Millennium Declaration where States affirmed "to create an environment – at the national and global levels alike – which is conducive to development and to the elimination of poverty"[8] and committed to the Millennium Development Goals. It remains today, however, that an estimated 842 million people

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[1] United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, *General Assembly Resolution 217 (A) (III)*, UN Doc. A/810, 10 December 1948, Article 28.
[2] UN Development Programme (UNDP*), Human Development Report 2014 – Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience*, 24 July 2014, p. 21.
[3] Khan, 2009, p. 9.
[4] UDHR, art. 1.
[5] UN General Assembly, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 16 December 1966, entered into force 28 March 1979.
[6] UN General Assembly, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,* 16 December 1966, entered into force 3 January 1976.
[7] Such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child.
[8] UN, *United Nations Millennium Declaration, General Assembly Resolution, A/RES/55/2,* 18 September 2000.

are undernourished[9], 61 million children (mainly girls) have no access to education[10], and the population of the world's slums is increasing by 65 million new people each year.[11] The reality presented by these statistics cannot be seen as anything but a tragedy of our times, particularly when considering the abundance of wealth and its evident unfair distribution. Inequality is not inevitable, but rather constructed, a product of conscious policy choices and political and social struggle.[12]

Despite human rights being established within international law, and in spite of global efforts for development, poverty persists and basic rights are not being realized. Nor are they likely to be, whilst the global economic, trade and political systems remain vastly unequal. There is a certain irony behind States and international organizations, such as the World Bank and IMF, which preach to end global poverty, yet in their actions uphold it.[13] Poverty alleviation has been the concern of development NGOs for decades, but has only recently begun to frame poverty in human rights terms and adjusting their approaches accordingly, but there remains a gap in consensus on them providing a basis for fighting poverty.[14]

Reconsidering the UDHR offers an interesting opportunity for future approaches to poverty reduction. Turning back to the preamble of the UDHR:

> "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that *every individual* and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms"[15] (italics added)

The importance given to the role of individuals had grown in development discourse in recent years. It has, however, been focused on the voices of those living in poverty. The importance of participation of the poor in development policy and programming has been emphasized, and this has become prevalent rhetoric among development practitioners. Undoubtedly, the role of those living in poverty is a crucial component

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[9] https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/living-in-dignity/ (consulted on 30 May 15)
[10] ibidem.
[11] Khan, 2009, p. 149.
[12] Darrow & Tomas, 2005, p. 475.
[13] Schicho, 2007.
[14] Khan, 2009, p. 16.
[15] UDHR, Preamble.

in poverty reduction strategy. However, other individuals, those not living in poverty, also have a voice, and with that voice a degree of responsibility. It is a voice that can hold western governments to account, in their economic, trade and aid policies. As consumers this is a voice based in purchasing power, for example in ethical products like fairtrade and in considering the environmental footprint.

Individual responsibility has entered human rights discourse. Thomas Pogge highlights that citizens of rich countries are "conditioned to downplay the severity and persistence of world poverty and to think of it as an occasion for minor charitable assistance"[16], adding, "few realize that severe poverty is an ongoing harm we inflict upon the global poor. If more of us understood the true magnitude of the problem of poverty and of our causal involvement in it, we might do what is necessary to eradicate it."[17] Peter Singer interprets individual responsibility as moral obligation. In that affluent persons are morally obligated to contribute income or part of their time to the alleviation of hunger.[18] Both scholars provide challenging thought yet offer few tangible ways to move forward. Much as human rights have failed to become prevalent in international consensus, so to have notions of individual responsibility failed to really enter the development field.

Greater attention is needed of the role of individuals in both sustaining global inequality on the one hand, and tackling poverty on the other. A recent study into the engagement of the public in the United Kingdom with poverty has found that "the public as a whole remain uninterested and ill-informed"[19] and those who are engaged "can't sustain a conversation about debt, trade or aid for long"[20]. The study further reveals that "there is a lack of understanding of human rights and the legislation which surrounds these"[21], with an overwhelming 58% of those asked considering that they "don't know very much or anything at all", whilst only 4% claim to "know a

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[16] Pogge, 2005, p. 1.
[17] ibidem, p. 1.
[18] Singer, 1972.
[19] Darnton & Kirk, p. 6.
[20] ibidem. p. 6.
[21]OHCHR, Public perceptions of human rights, 2009, p. 8, available at
http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Disability/PoliticalParticipation/Individuals/ResponseRosyln
Band2.pdf (consulted on 14 May 2015)

great deal"[22]. The UK public evidently has low levels of engagement with poverty and little understanding of human rights.

Turning to Tom Crompton's *Common Cause* provides an interesting launch pad for further thought. Crompton proposes the potential of third-sector organizations to bring about a values change in society, which can motivate people to tackle 'bigger than self' problems, like global poverty.[23] Furthermore, with poverty now considered a human rights problem, and considering that the Vienna Declaration (1993) "recognizes the important role on non-governmental organizations in the promotion of all human rights"[24], alongside assuming the potential Crompton places on the third sector in influencing the public, the role of development NGOs and their approach to poverty reduction becomes of central importance.

This thesis starts with the understanding that human rights are an essential tool for poverty reduction, and it is driven by a concern for public apathy for the persistence of poverty. In framing poverty as a violation of human rights, it will consider individual responsibility and the potential of citizens to effect change to global structures that cause poverty to persist. First, this thesis will discuss the introduction of human rights to development discourse; culminating in the now predominant Human rights based approach to development. It will then consider current engagement among the UK public with poverty. In recognition of the influential role development NGOs have in framing public understanding of poverty, this thesis will critically analyse discourse from Comic Relief and Oxfam GB, two organizations based in the UK that seek to tackle poverty. Through assessment of how the organisations engage with human rights, this thesis hopes to draw conclusions first on Oxfam and Comic Relief's approach to poverty reduction, and second, to highlight current information accessible to the public regarding poverty. Finally it will consider the potential role of human rights in achieving the goal of elimination of extreme poverty within this framework.

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[22] Cfr. supra footnote 21, p. 17.
[23] Crompton, 2011, p. 32.
[24] UN, *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*, A/CONF.157/23, 12 July 1993, para. 38.

1.2 Human Rights and Development

The Charter of the United Nations (1945) states that the people of the United Nations shall "… employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples."[25] The economists, social scientists and policy makers, that have dominated the development field, have typically seen development in terms of economic and social progress. However, this progress is usually quantified into statistics, the crucial 'all peoples' replaced with adequate percentages. Despite the UDHR and subsequent Covenants and Conventions, human rights have historically not been considered the concern of development policy, or at best given secondary importance. Human rights and development have evolved on distinct, yet somewhat parallel, paths. Parallel in the sense that economic and social improvements are undoubtedly tied to human rights, hitherto distinct in their approach and ends. Moreover, economic and social progress under the premise of development quickly superseded human rights themselves. Whilst the political nature of rights saw them contested and marginalized, development gained increasing resources and attention. Goal oriented and technical in nature, development became a shared objective among the international community. [26]

Development emerged during the decolonization period, in response to concerns about the economic prospects of newly independent countries. Since this time development has had a dual focus, of raising production whilst also raising living standards of people regarded as underdeveloped.[27] Policies have been influenced by Adam Smith's free market economics, his idea of unlimited and universal progress through different stages of human economic activity.[28] More recently, Jeffrey Sachs' *The End of Poverty* (2005) talks of a 'poverty trap', which can be solved by getting those living in poverty onto the economic ladder, using foreign aid, after which "the tremendous dynamism of self-sustaining economic growth can take hold" [29]. With enough investment, poor people can then help themselves out of poverty. Economics

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[25] UN, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, 1 UNTS XVI.
[26] Uvin, 2004, pp. 12-13.
[27] Hodge & Hödl, 2014, p.2.
[28] ibidem, p.2.
[29] Sachs, 2005.

has been seen to hold the answer to development and in recent years to ending extreme poverty.

The framework for development has evolved through different schools of thought; the 1960s saw a drive for infrastructure, basic needs dominated the 1970s, moving to structural adjustment in the 1980s and human resource development in the 1990s.[30] Though the frame of reference has been adjusted, it is clear that from the outset power and politics has been central drivers of development policy, and that it has been 'top down' in direction. Human wellbeing and local needs considered of lesser importance than global politics, evidenced by donor funding during the Cold War where aid was given to strategically important recipient countries. Furthermore, policy conditions associated with development aid have meant that "donors led by the IMF and World Bank have effectively decided key recipient government policies for decades."[31] Conditions agreed to in order to receive Structural Adjustment Programme loans included the reduction of the state, privatization, and deregulation and to open to foreign investments.[32] Privatization made essential needs like healthcare a commodity, resulting in those who are too poor being unable to access such a basic necessity. A clear example of how development policy has not only not concerned itself with human rights, but has *caused* human rights violations. Furthermore, motivations behind donor focus on aid lie in aid providing an easy way for politicians to be seen to be doing something about poverty whilst also securing economic advantage and political support from receiving countries, in the most cost-efficient way.[33]

The development field has, since its origin, involved more than government donors and multilateral international organizations. NGOs play a crucial role within the development model, their presence found at the local, national and international level. With so many development NGOs, a variety of aims and approaches are apparent, from delivery of basic services to political campaigning. However, trends can be identified. First, despite many development NGOs recognising the importance of political lobbying from the late 1960s and 1970s[34], it is apparent that more NGOs feel

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[30] Uvin, 2004, p. 13.
[31] Glennie, 2008, p. 36.
[32] Chabal & Daloz, 1999, p.120.
[33] Glennie, 2008, p. 104.
[34] Hilton, 2012, p. 545.

compelled to remain politically neutral in order to receive donor funds, their own ethos prioritising alleviation of basic suffering over tackling the root causes of poverty. Second, critics of development NGOs contend that they have weak roots in the civil societies in which they work, often replacing functions of the state. Third, they are increasingly technocratic.[35] Despite alluding to local level engagement, many remain fundamentally top down in their policy approach. What is evident is that development NGOs and other development actors have failed to see the correspondence between wealth creation and the causes of poverty, with Uma Kothari highlighting, "there is a focus on 'the poor' as the problem, positioned in abstraction from the rich, as though the causes, dynamics and consequences of their poverty take place outside of structural inequalities."[36]

There has been a series of divides, between basic needs and democracy, economic and social rights which remain weak in international law and civil and political rights, development NGOs and human rights NGOs. Amartya Sen, himself an economist, has highlighted in *Development as Freedom* (1999), the importance of not seeing them as separate fields, but rather that a holistic approach is needed. One that involves "taking note of extensive interconnections between political freedoms and the understanding and fulfilment of economic needs."[37] He has stressed the importance of moving away from narrow models of measuring development, from income poverty and GNP growth, to deprivation of basic capabilities and the fulfilment of human freedoms.[38] Reflecting the universal notion of human rights. Sen states,

> "The case *for* basic freedoms and for the associated formulations in terms of rights rest on:
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> 1) their *intrinsic* importance;
> 2) their *consequential* role in providing political incentives for economic security;
> 3) their *constructive* role in the genesis of values and priorities."[39]

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[35] Banks, Humle & Edwards, 1997, p. 708.
[36] Kothari, 2007, p. 8.
[37] Sen, 1999. p. 147.
[38] ibidem, p. 20.
[39] ibidem, p. 246.

Political and civil freedoms thus play an essential role in development, not only for enhancing the ability to be heard, but also in the conceptualization of economic needs.[40]

Attempts have been made by the international community to bridge the gap between development and human rights. The Declaration on the Right to Development 1986 states:

> " The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized" A1.1

However, the right to development has been critiqued as too vague and lacking in legal obligation.[41] Greater incorporation of human rights and development emerged during the 1990s. The development goals at that time, human resource development and good governance, implied that state intervention was necessary, which saw the agenda become less market oriented and more political thus creating a place for human rights.[42] As human rights entered the field, it was the development community's constant need to regain the moral high ground that saw them utilise human rights in order to mobilize resources and avert criticism.[43] Often this saw NGOs interpret human rights in such a way as to bring it in line with their existing work, rather than reforming their approaches in order to address human rights.[44] The language of rights within development evolved, nearly a decade later, into human rights based approaches, which marked a fundamental shift in development practice.

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[40] Sen, 1999, p. 154.
[41] Hamm, 2001, p. 1010.
[42] Sano, 2000, p. 741.
[43] Uvin, 2004, p.53.
[44] ibidem, p. 51.

1.3 Human Rights Based Approach

A human rights based approach to development is fast becoming the norm within the field of development. Using the language of rights, it creates a shift away from charity to claims, where passive recipients of aid become empowered rights holders.[45] In order to overcome relations of dependency, HRBA promotes development policy driven 'from below', guided by local demands rather than external donor led initiatives.[46] Employing the international human rights framework implies obligations of duty bearers; the achievement of internationally set development goals is no longer of sole concern, but also the processes in which to achieve them. Human rights were mainstreamed into UN agencies involved with development with the adoption of *The Common Understanding on HRBA to Development Cooperation and Programming* in 2003.[47] A human rights based approach requires human rights to be the driving force in development, this not only impacts development practitioners and aid providers, but extends to international politics and global governance more broadly, encompassing decisions on trade, finance and natural resources.[48]

The OHCHR's *Principles and Guidelines for a Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Strategies* identifies the benefits of using HRBA regarding poverty:

> " (a) by urging speedy adoption of poverty reduction strategy, underpinned by human rights; (b) by broadening the scope of poverty reduction strategies so as to address the structures of discrimination that generate and sustain poverty; (c) by urging the expansion of civil and political rights, which can play a crucial instrumental role in advancing the cause of poverty reduction; (d) by confirming that economic, social and cultural rights are binding international human rights, not just programmatic aspirations; (e) by cautioning against retrogression and non-fulfilment of minimum core obligations in the name of making trade-offs; (f) by adding legitimacy to the demand for ensuring meaningful participation of the poor in decision-making

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[45] Schmitz, 2012, p.525.
[46] ibidem, p.541.
[47] ibidem, p. 524.
[48] Nelson, 2003, p. 2024.

processes; and (g) by creating and strengthening the institutions through which policy-makers can be held accountable for their actions."[49]

The use of language within HRBA is of particular importance. A common language is essential to bridge the gap between development NGOs and human rights NGOs.[50] Furthermore, the use of explicit human rights language within development is important so that the approach cannot be weakened to some implicit measures.[51]

1.4 Oxfam Introduction

Oxfam GB is a large UK based charity fighting global poverty.[52] Established in Oxford, UK, in 1942 in response to the Greek famine caused by allied blockades during World War Two[53], it has since grown and now forms part of Oxfam International, alongside 16 other organizations.[54] Oxfam's vision of a "just world without poverty" is summarised as "a world in which people can influence decisions that affect their lives, enjoy their rights, and assume their responsibilities as full citizens of a world in which all human beings are treated equally."[55] Justice is emphasised as a means for poverty reduction, through "fair use of the world's natural resources", "a global economy that reduces inequality" and "a world that does not discriminate against women or minorities".[56]

Oxfam work in three main areas, "we respond fast in emergencies, and stay to help people rebuild their lives", "we work on long-term projects with communities determined to shape a better future for themselves", and "we campaign for genuine,

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[49] UN Office for the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR), *Principles and Guidelines for A Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Stratagies, HR/PUB/06/12,* 2006, para .28.
[50] Schmitz, 2012, p. 529.
[51] Hamm, 2001, p. 1022.
[52] http://www.oxfam.org.uk (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[53] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/about-us/history-of-oxfam (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[54] Oxfam America, Oxfam Australia, Oxfam in Belgium, Oxfam Canada, Oxfam France, Oxfam Germany, Oxfam Hong Kong, Oxfam India, Oxfam Intermón, Oxfam Ireland, Oxfam Italy, Oxfam Japan, Oxfam Mexico, Oxfam New Zealand, Oxfam Novib (Netherlands) & Oxfam Quebec
[55] Oxfam, Oxfam Strategic Plan: The Power of People against Poverty, 2013-2019, p. 6, available at https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/story/oxfam-strategic-plan-2013-2019_0.pdf (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[56] ibidem, p. 7.

lasting change"[57]; development, humanitarian and lobbying. Oxfam further state, "We're a world expert in providing water and sanitation, and emergency response"[58].

Oxfam adopted a Human Rights Based Approach in its 2000-2004 strategic plan; it was one of the leading organisations to adopt such an approach.[59] Their 2013-19 strategic plan *The Power Of People Against Poverty*, explains of their approach "increasingly the focus has shifted with the understanding that exclusion, inequality and injustice are the real target, more than simply a lack of income"[60] and that "development is about power and its progressive redistribution from the haves to the have-nots. This touches on the deepest structures that underlie society, politics and the economy"[61]. Furthermore, "in all Oxfam's programming, campaigning and humanitarian relief efforts, we support people to claim and exercise their basic rights, to life and security, a sustainable livelihood, and the most essential services to sustain life such as health and education. The right to be heard and to have a recognized identity are also a fundamental part of human wellbeing. These rights are explicitly grounded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, and the relevant Treaties and Covenants"[62].

Oxfam has 99% brand recognition among the UK public, and its Oxfam Shops, which sell second hand items, have a strong high street presence.[63] Oxfam has launched global campaigns Make Trade Fair and was a leading agency within Make Poverty History.

1.5 Comic Relief Introduction

Comic Relief is a UK based charity, which has a "vision of a just world, free from poverty"[64]. Founded in 1985 in response to the famine in Ethiopia, the organization launched on Christmas Day of that year, live on the TV network BBC One, from a

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[57] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[58] http://www.oxfam.org.uk (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[59] Hilton, 2012, p. 449.
[60] Cfr. supra footnote 55, p. 7.
[61] ibidem, p. 11.
[62] Cfr. supra footnote 55, p. 7.
[63] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p. 105.
[64] http://www.comicrelief.com/about-us (consulted on 7 June 2015)

refugee camp in Sudan during a popular breakfast show.[65] Since that time, Comic Relief's tripartite approach to poverty reduction includes raising money through its fundraising campaigns Red Nose Day and Sport Relief, spending that money to tackle the root causes of poverty, and raising awareness to issues where they feel will make the biggest impact through lending the power and influence of their brand.[66] Comic Relief's mission statement is to "drive positive change through the power of entertainment"[67].

Comic Relief considers that its biannual telethon Red Nose Day has "become something of a British institution"[68], a sentiment echoed by the UK media, which acknowledge that it "is as much part of the calendar as Christmas and Easter"[69]. Comic Relief explain, "It's the day, every two years, when people across the land can get together and do something funny for money at home, school and work". Adding, "there's a fantastic night of TV on the BBC, with comedy and entertainment to inspire the nation to give generously. Comic Relief spends the money raised by Red Nose Day to help people living tough lives across the UK and Africa"[70]. Over the years countless celebrities have been involved in both comedic entertainment, and trips to Africa to highlight poverty. The campaign includes a charity single, One Direction's 2013 single *One Way or Another* reached number one in 63 countries[71]. Public engagement has been consistently high, with 72% of people in the UK taking part in Red Nose Day in 1993[72] and viewing figures for its 2013 telethon reaching 10,280,000.[73] Merchandise for the campaign include Red Noses, a new design created for each Red Nose Day campaign, and T-shirts designed and promoted by celebrities. On alternate years, Comic Relief's Sport Relief campaign invites the public to "get active, have fun and raise cash", encouraged by celebrities doing extreme athletic challenges, like swimming the length of the river Thames or completing 43 marathons in 52 days. Again, this culminates in a telethon event. Red Nose Day and Sport Relief

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[65] http://www.comicrelief.com/about-us/our-history/timeline (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[66] http://www.comicrelief.com/about-us (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[67] ibidem.
[68] http://www.comicrelief.com/rednoseday (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[69] http://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/2015/mar/13/the-secret-of-comic-reliefs-enduring-success (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[70] http://www.comicrelief.com/rednoseday (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[71] ibidem.
[72] ibidem.
[73] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comic_Relief (consulted on 7 June 2015)

have a strong presence in schools, with a host of educational resources and fundraising ideas available online.

During both the Red Nose Day and Sport Relief telethon, the format includes "entertainment" broken up my short films highlighting poverty. The biggest spikes in donations are in response to these 'appeal' films that trigger strong emotional responses.[74] In Comic Relief's 2010 Sport Relief broadcast, donations peaked after an appeal film featuring Chris Moyles, then a BBC Radio 1 DJ, witnessing a child die of Malaria in Uganda.[75] The focus of film, narrated by Moyles, is of the child dying and the celebrity's response to it. Little context of the wider situation is given, instead the problem and solution simplified by the celebrity's claim "I know a £5 mosquito net could have protected" the child, followed by a tearful plea for donations which will "make a difference".[76]

On Red Nose Day in March 2015 a total of £78, 082,988 was raised, pushing the overall amount raised by Comic Relief since its origin to reach £1billion. Founder and producer Richard Curtis conveyed of this landmark, "this is a genuinely moving moment for me. When a bunch of comedians got together all those years ago we never imagined the extent to which the British public would embrace the idea of helping millions of others who they will never meet. It's an extraordinary thing that we do in Britain and I'm enormously proud to be a part of it"[77] adding " thank you to every single person who has ever done their bit over the last 30 years. And thank you from all those people who will never have the chance to thank you themselves."[78]

Comic Relief has lent its support to several campaigns including the Jubilee 2000, Make Poverty History, Education for All and Enough Food for Everyone. Within the public realm however, huge emphasis is placed on celebrity, comedy and celebration of public participation.

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[74] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p. 30.
[75] ibidem, p. 30.
[76] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oBxxBlvCOyk (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[77] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/comic-relief-hits-£1-billion-live-red-nose-day-night-tv (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[78] ibidem.

1.6 UK public engagement with Poverty

A 2011 report from a six-month study initiated by Oxfam and supported by DFID, *Finding Frames: New ways to engage the UK public in global poverty,* identifies that despite advances in the development field "people in the UK understand and relate to global poverty no differently now than they did in the 1980s"[79] and "low levels of public understanding are apparent in relation to debt, trade and aid – the three pillars of international action to tackle global poverty"[80]. This is despite the creation of the Internet, the origin of social media and advances in digital communication techniques, and in spite of internationally set targets, MDGs, and campaigns such as Make Poverty History.

The report identifies that "the public as a whole remain uninterested and ill-informed"[81] and even those that are engaged "can't sustain a conversation about debt, trade or aid for long"[82]. The report discusses 'The Live Aid Legacy', a position first put forward by VSO in 2002 which notes "when respondents were asked to make spontaneous associations with the 'developing world' or 'third world', 80% of their answers related to war, famine, debt, starving people, natural disasters, poverty and corruption. Through holding these views that attribute to internal causes, the majority of people are excluded from active engagement with global poverty. We could say that they effectively exclude themselves"[83]. A major campaign since that time Make Poverty History, highlighted the factors contributing to the persistence of poverty; a global trade system that is "glaringly unjust", debts "so great that it suffocates any chance of recovery" and "inadequate and ineffective" aid.[84] The campaign was able to mobilize huge numbers of the public and awareness of the campaign itself was near universal.[85] However, the perception of poverty was changed little, "the transformative potential offered by the rallying cry of 'justice not charity' went

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[79] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p. 5.
[80] ibidem, p. 19.
[81] ibidem, p. 6.
[82] ibidem, p. 6.
[83] ibidem, p. 23.
[84] http://www.makepovertyhistory.org/whatwewant/index.shtml (consulted on 11 June 2015)
[85] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p. 6.

unheard, in part because it was unfamiliar and hard to comprehend, and also because it was drowned out by the noise of celebrities, white wristbands and pop concerts"[86]

Public engagement with poverty is of crucial importance. Whilst governments determine public spending on overseas aid, it is the public that provides the mandate.[87] Foreign aid was a central component of Party manifestos in the recent General Election in May 2015. Policies ranged UKIP calling to cut overseas aid from 0.7% to 0.2% of GDP[88], to the Green Party calling to increase it from 0.7% to 1.0%, with an added pledge to fight for the writing-off of international debts for the poorest countries.[89] The UK public also impacts Civil Society Organisations as many limit their objectives, aware of the need to retain public support.[90] The wider public is important at an individual level, as an individual's action has a direct impact on global poverty.[91] This goes beyond support of development NGOs, to include purchasing power, for example the purchase of ethical products like fairtrade.[92] Crucially, public engagement with global poverty has the ability to create space for political, socio-economic and pro-environmental change.[93] This is not limited to pressurising the government through campaigning, but rather creating conditions within political and societal spheres where deeper change is possible, because "it is only with deeper change that we can build new institutions and societal norms, which in turn will enable different models of development, and more effective results."[94]

Public engagement with poverty is evidently important for global attempts to eradicate poverty, prevalent apathy for global poverty among the UK public can but hinder attempts for its alleviation.

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[86] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p. 6.
[87] ibidem, p. 13.
[88] http://www.ukip.org/ukip_manifesto_summary (consulted on 11 June 2015)
[89] https://www.greenparty.org.uk/assets/files/manifesto/Green_Party_2015_General_Election_Manifesto_Searchable.pdf (consulted on 11 June 2015)
[90] Crompton, 2010, p. 18.
[91] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p. 13.
[92] ibidem, p. 13.
[93] ibidem, p. 14.
[94] ibidem, p. 14.

1.7 Methodology

Existing qualitative and quantitative research has drawn the conclusion that the UK public is disengaged with global poverty and has low understanding of human rights. The importance of considering poverty as a violation of human rights having been established, this thesis will use qualitative analysis in the form of content analysis to evaluate and compare Oxfam and Comic Relief's engagement with human rights. Oxfam and Comic Relief have been selected for their presence among the UK public. A qualitative approach will be taken as a qualitative paradigm is interpretation, and whilst acknowledging the role of the researcher, it seeks to understand human behaviours and attitudes.

Weber states "Content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. These inferences are about the sender(s) of the message, the message itself, or the audience of the message. The rules of this inferential process vary with the theoretical and substantive interests of the investigator"[95]. This thesis seeks to understand how Oxfam and Comic Relief engage with human rights, and to draw subsequent conclusions about the subtext of this engagement and how this influences public engagement with global poverty.

Concerned with how each organisation presents its aims and work in relation to human rights, rather than how human rights are engaged in practice, the sources used will be public facing. For consistency and the accessibility of resources, focus is concentrated to online content, from both the organisations' websites and Youtube channels. The collection of material follows a user journey; how an individual is most likely to research the organisations work in relation to health, education, work, food and housing using their websites. The research is not limited to explicit reference to human rights, but also implicit. The procedure to qualify what data should be collected is thus broader and expands to include issues relating to the rights. For example, both "every child has the right to education" and "every child should have access to education". An objective approach will be taken in the collection of resources, to best avoid bias; being mindful of seeking 'truth' in the analysis and thus actively accessing a wide range of published data by both organisations.

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[95] Weber, 1990, p. 9.

This thesis will then engage with research by cognitive scientists, linguists and psychologists concerned with values and frames theory. It will consider the findings of the content analysis in light of this existing literature, drawing further analysis on Oxfam and Comic Relief's approaches to engaging the UK public with global poverty and consider the potential role for human rights in relation to values and frames.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Human Rights and Poverty

A human rights based approach to development focuses on rights conducive to poverty reduction. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (1993) affirms that the "existence of widespread extreme poverty inhibits the full and effective enjoyment of human rights"[96] and that "extreme poverty and social exclusion constitute a violation of human dignity"[97]. The Office for the High Commissioner for Human Rights' *Principles and Guidelines for a Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Strategies* reiterates the basic principles of human rights established in the UDHR, the duty of States to respect, protect and fulfil, the principle of equality and non-discrimination, and adding in relation to poverty, the importance of the participation of the poor. The *Principles and Guidelines* stress a HRBA "demands that civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural rights are integral components of poverty reduction strategies."[98] With the interdependence of rights constantly in mind, a collection of rights can be identified in relation to more immediate poverty reduction, through which other human rights can then be realized. For the purpose of this thesis, these are identified as, right to health, right to education, right to adequate food, right to work, and right to adequate housing.

2.1.1 Right to Health

The right to health is central to poverty reduction, whilst ill health is both a cause and consequence of poverty; good health is not only an outcome of development, but also a means for development.[99] Ill health limits the capabilities of poor people needed to escape poverty, hindering activity both at work and school, leading to the destruction

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[96] A/CONF.157/23, 12 July 1993, para.14.
[97] ibidem, para. 25.
[98] UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), *Principles and Guidelines for a Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Strategies*, HR/PUB/06/12, 2006, para. 27.
[99] ibidem, para. 172.

of livelihoods.[100] In many cases ill health results from conditions of poverty, such as limited access to healthcare, increased vulnerability to environmental risks and the negative impact malnutrition has on health.[101] It is evident that measures to specifically address health needs of the poor must be central in poverty reduction strategies.[102] According to Article 12 of the ICESCR "The States Parties to the present Covenant recognise the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health"[103], steps taken by states will include "the provision for the reduction of the stillbirth rate and of infant mortality and for the healthy development of the child", "the improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene", and "the creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness"[104].

The Alma-Ata Declaration (1978) affirms "the existing gross inequality in the health status of the people particularly between developed and developing countries as well as within countries is politically, socially and economically unacceptable and is, therefore, of common concern to all countries"[105]. A General Comment made by CESCR further holds "States parties which are members of international financial institutions, notably the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and regional development banks, should pay greater attention to the protection of the right to health in influencing the lending policies, credit agreements an international measures of these institutions"[106]. The general comment further expands on who is responsible for the realisation of the right to health, stating "while only States are parties to the Covenant and thus ultimately accountable for compliance with it, all members of society – individuals, including health professionals, families, local communities, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, civil society organizations, as

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[100] Cfr. supra footnote 98, para. 171.
[101] ibidem, para. 171.
[102] Bloom & Lucas, 2003 p. 3.
[103] ICESCR, art. 12.1.
[104] ICESCR, art.12.2.
[105] WHO, Alma-Ata Declaration, September 1978, para. 2, available at http://www.who.int/publications/almaata_declaration_en.pdf (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[106] UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), *General Comment No. 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Art. 12 of the Covenant)*, E/C.12/2000/4, 11 August 2000, para. 39.

well as the private business sector – have responsibilities regarding the realization of the right to health."[107]

The right to health is thus of fundamental importance to poverty discourse and development practice. Ultimately, "Health is a fundamental human right indispensible for the exercise of other human rights. Every human being is entitled to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health conducive to living a life in dignity"[108].

2.1.2 Right to Education

Education is the primary vehicle for economic and social mobility, allowing adults and children to lift themselves out of poverty.[109] Instrumental for the enjoyment of other rights, such as the right to health and to work, exercise of the right to education is also of crucial importance for participation in communities, central to the realization of the right of political participation.[110]

Article 13 of the ICESCR provides "The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education", directed to "the full development of human personality and the sense of its dignity", working to "enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society" and to be directed to "promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups".[111] In order to achieve the realization of this right "Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all"[112]. The *progressive* realization of the right to education is provided in Article 14 of the ICESCR, that those States unable to provide free primary education for all, must "adopt a detailed plan of action for the progressive implementation, within a reasonable number of years, to be fixed in the plan, of the principle of compulsory education free of charge for all"[113]. However, the CESCR's General Comment No.11 affirms, "it needs to be stressed in this regard that the state party's other obligations, such as non-discrimination are required to be

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[107] Cfr. supra footnote 106, para. 42.
[108] ibidem, para. 1.
[109] HR/PUB/06/12, 2006, para. 184.
[110] ibidem, para. 184.
[111] ICESCR, art. 13.1.
[112] ICESCR, art. 13.2.
[113] ICESCR, art. 14.

implemented fully and immediately”[114]. Furthermore, the CESCR's General Comment No.13 states "the importance of education is not just practical: a well-educated, enlightened and active mind, able to wander freely and widely, is one of the joys of human existence.”[115]

2.1.3 Right to Adequate Food

Of the current global population it is estimated that over one billion people are overweight, whilst a billion people go hungry every day.[116] The vast majority of the latter billion does not go hungry as a result of war or natural disasters, but are living in normal situations, yet subject to social, economic, cultural and political exclusions. It is not that there is a lack *of* food, but a lack of *access* to food.[117] According to Article 11 of the ICESCR "The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food”[118], in "recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger" each state will "individually and through international co-operation" take measures needed to "improve methods of production, conservation and distribution of food”[119]. This includes the use of "technical and scientific knowledge", the dissemination of information "of the principles of nutrition", and by reforming agrarian systems in order to achieve "the most efficient development and utilization of natural resources”[120]. This needs to be done "to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need”[121].

Not only does chronic hunger and malnutrition violate the inherent dignity of a person, but also access to adequate food is essential for the fulfilment of other rights, like the right to health. The long term effects of under nutrition include stunted

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[114] CESCR, *General Comment No. 11: Plans of Action for Primary Education (Art. 14 of the Covenant)*, E/1992/23, 10 May 1999, para. 2.
[115] CESCR, *General Comment No. 13: The Right to Education (Art. 13 of the Covenant)*, E/C.12/1999/10, 8 December 1999, para. 1.
[116] Khan, 2009, p. 73.
[117] CESCR *General Comment No. 12: The Right to Adequate Food (Art. 11 of the Covenant)*, 12 May 1999, para. 8.
[118] ICESCR, art. 11.
[119] ibidem.
[120] ibidem.
[121] ibidem.

growth, brain cells not developing and diseases becoming abundant.[122] The right to adequate food does not constitute the right to be fed, but rather the right to feed oneself.[123] States are obligated to realize this right *progressively*. General Comment No. 12 of the CESCR elaborates that the right to food requires every person to have physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement.[124] The General Comment further holds that it should be understood that "while only States are parties to the Covenant and are thus ultimately accountable for compliance with it, all members of society – individuals, families, local communities, non-governmental organizations, civil society organizations, as well as the private business sector – have responsibilities in the realization of the right to adequate food"[125].

2.1.4 Right to Work

Insecure livelihoods keep poor people in a cycle of poverty, and unemployment, poverty wages and unsafe working conditions are common experiences for people living in poverty, as such the right to work is thus of vital importance for secure livelihoods in both cities and the countryside.[126] Primary factors experienced by those living in poverty connected to work, are "inadequate access to land and irrigation, lack of seeds and fertilizers, deficiencies of transport, and the overexploitation of common resources such as pastureland, forests and fish."[127] These factors mean many struggle to diversify sources of income and food, which further causes problems regarding poverty.[128]

Article 6 of the ICESCR provides "The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right"[129]. These steps shall include "technical and vocational

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[122] HR/PUB/06/12, 2006, para. 129.
[123] ibidem, para. 132.
[124] Cfr. supra footnote 117, para. 6.
[125] ibidem, para. 20.
[126] HR/PUB/06/12, 2006, para. 108.
[127] ibidem, para. 108.
[128] ibidem, para. 109.
[129] ICESCR, art. 6.

guidance and training programmes", "policies and techniques to achieve steady economic, social and cultural development and full and productive employment", whilst "safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms" of individuals.[130]

The right to work should be understood as the right to *decent work*. Article 7 of the ICESCR provides "the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work", which includes "fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind" and "safe and healthy working conditions"[131]. Those living in poverty are susceptible to "suffer from harassment and corruption by officials" and "mistreatment by employers, with no form of redress"[132]. An additional consequence of the limited opportunities available to those living in poverty mean many are "drawn into work that is anti-social, dangerous and illegal, such as sex work, child labour, bonded labour and other slavery like practices." Article 8 ICCPR provides "No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour".[133]

Furthermore, the right to work is of instrumental relevance for poverty, in that its realization will help fulfil other human rights, including health, food and housing.[134]

2.1.5 Right to Adequate Housing

Over a billion people are not adequately housed, with an estimated 863 million living in slum conditions, and many millions are forcibly evicted or are threatened with forcible eviction each year.[135] The physical conditions in which poor people live deepen their deprivation and limit their enjoyment of other economic, social and cultural rights.[136] Problems related to overcrowding, pollution, inadequate infrastructure, remoteness and seasonal exposure to the worst conditions are common challenges.[137] According to Article 11 of the ICESCR "The State Parties to the

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[130] ICESCR, art. 6.
[131] ICSECR art. 7.
[132] HR/PUB/06/12, 2006, para. 109.
[133] ICESCR art.8.3.
[134] HR/PUB/06/12, 2006, para. 110.
[135] https://www.cordaid.org/en/news/un-habitat-number-slum-dwellers-grows-863-million/ (consulted on May 18 2015)
[136] HR/PUB/06/12, 2006, para. 153.
[137] HR/PUB/06/12, 2006, para. 153.

present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including… housing, and to continuous improvement of living conditions"[138]. The CESCR's General Comment No.4 elaborates that reference to housing in the above mentioned article must be read as adequate housing, it should be understood beyond the material commodity of have a roof over ones head to mean a right to live somewhere in security, peace and dignity.[139] Furthermore it should be interpreted as adequate privacy, adequate space, adequate security, adequate lighting and ventilation, adequate basic infrastructure and adequate location with regard to work and basic facilities, and all at a reasonable cost.[140]

General Comment No.4 addresses further components on the right to adequate housing, including *Legal Security of Tenure;* legal protection against forced evictions, harassment and other threats, *Habitability*; adequate space, protection from the elements and other threats to health, and *Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure*; sustainable access to natural and common resources, safe drinking water, energy for cooking, heating and lighting, sanitation and washing facilities, refuse disposal and site drainage, more broadly facilities essential for health, security, comfort and nutrition.[141] CESCR's General Comment No.7 defines forced evictions as "a permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection"[142]. The comment determines that state obligations, not only must they refrain from forced evictions, states must also ensure that the law is enforced against state agents or third parties who carry out forced evictions.[143]

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[138] ICESCR, art. 11.

[139] CESCR, *General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11 (1) of the Covenant)*, 13 December 1991, E/1992/23, para . 7.

[140] E/1992/23, 13 December 1991, para. 8.

[141] E/1992/23, 13 December 1991, para 8 (a), (d), (b).

[142] CESCR, *General Comment No. 7: The right to adequate housing (Art.11.1): forced evictions*, 20 May 1997, E/1998/22, para. 3.

[143] ibidem, para. 8

2.2 Right to Health Analysis

2.2.1 Oxfam

Oxfam's 'commitment to human rights' presents the right to health, under the umbrella of basic services, as a principle guide to their work.[144] The universal nature of human rights and the principle of non-discrimination are echoed in their policy and practice pages, which state, "All people should have the right to equitable access to …health"[145]. Oxfam further engages with the right to health, both directly and indirectly, first, in relation to poverty, second, in recognition of the role of the government as a duty bearer and, finally, in connection to its own role within the realization of the right to health.

Oxfam identifies "being healthy… is an essential step along the route out of poverty"[146] and "being able to access basic services such as health… is essential to people's well-being and to human development."[147] Oxfam presents health, being healthy, and having access to basic services as imperative to overcoming poverty and enabling development. In calling for "better targeted money to go to basic development such as health… so that more women, men, girls and boys can participate fully in the economic, social and democratic life of their societies"[148], Oxfam connects improved health with the inclusion of individuals in society. Full participation in democratic societies can be realised through "basic development" using "better targeted" money. However, development precedes participation, the former a means to the latter rather than the latter an essential component of the former. Oxfam further states "free public health services in effect put money in the pockets of people living in poverty, enabling them to be healthy enough to contribute

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[144] https://www.oxfam.org/en/our-commitment-human-rights (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[145] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/water-health-education (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[146] https://www.oxfam.org/en/our-commitment-human-rights (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[147] https://www.oxfam.org/en/explore/how-oxfam-fights-poverty (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[148] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/about-us/how-we-work/our-goals-and-values (consulted on 14 May 2015)

to and benefit from economic growth"[149], the realisation of the right to health is thus presented as an essential component of the route out of poverty, a journey firmly rooted in the promises of economic development. Economic growth is presented as the ultimate vehicle out of poverty. Being healthy enables citizens to contribute to this growth, highlighting the concept that improving health improves the economy.

Under international law the primary duty bearer for the realisation of the right to health, as with all human rights, is the state.[150] Oxfam readily identifies this responsibility, "Governments should … ensure that adequate proportions of national budgets are allocated to public delivery of healthcare"[151], "Governments must develop long-term costed plans to build resilient health systems that can serve health needs and health security"[152], and "fair taxation is at the heart of the social contract between the state and its citizens. It provides universal provisions of essential services, health… (which are basic rights of all citizens) addresses inequality of providing resources indirectly to the poorest in communities and thereby increases their power"[153]. Oxfam stresses the responsibility of states in the provision of health services and in its 'expert' capacity recommends steps that Governments should take. Access to health services increases the "power" of poor communities. The role of fair taxation is identified in the provision of health services; however, Oxfam also calls for "sufficient and stable funding for government-delivered health… by increasing the quality and quantity of finance for development and by increasing the proportion of these funds allocated to public health"[154], showing continued support for external funding channels.

Oxfam places itself in a supporting role for existing civil society groups, "all people should have the right to equitable access to … health care… support rights holders to campaign for the provision of essential services by duty bearers in the long term, as

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[149] https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/a_long_way_to_go.pdf (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[150] OHCHR, FAQ on a HRBA to Development Cooperation, p. 4, available at http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FAQen.pdf (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[151] https://blogs.oxfam.org/en/blogs/14-04-11-universal-health-coverage-time-ambitious-call-equity-health (consulted on 13 May 2015)
[152] https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/a_long_way_to_go.pdf (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[153] Oxfam, Oxfam Strategic Plan: The Power of People against Poverty, 2013-2019, p. 19, available at https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/story/oxfam-strategic-plan-2013-2019_0.pdf (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[154] ibidem, p. 20.

well as working with other for more and better financing of essential services"[155], "we strengthen national coalitions and networks so that they ensure rights to essential services are being met and governments fulfil their duty to meet the needs of people living in poverty"[156], and they "support civil society to hold governments accountable for delivery of quality services which are free at the point of use and which ensure access for women and girls and other marginalized groups"[157]. Oxfam places itself within the established accountability framework, presenting its own work as 'strengthening' or 'supporting' existing channels. Oxfam presents the need for a holistic approach to achieve "increased access to free and public quality healthcare", which includes both "changing policy and practice of governments, institutions and corporations" and "citizens and civil society advocating for comprehensive, publicly financed national health… plans"[158]. Having identified that States have obligations to ensure the realisation of the right to health, Oxfam supports civil society in holding governments accountable. The practices of institutions and corporations are additionally related to access to health, whilst the role of citizens in advocating for their rights is addressed.

Oxfam states "we're working to ensure poor communities have access to quality healthcare"[159] and "we work at local, national, and global levels to help raise awareness about rights and responsibilities of the most vulnerable and strengthen civil society's ability to engage on issues of health"[160]. Oxfam works with "poor communities" and the "most vulnerable" to access healthcare, simultaneously raising awareness of the right to health. Whilst at a national level the organisation states, "Oxfam will support more low-income countries to remove fees and scale up access to health care, and to resist inappropriate health insurance schemes"[161], this is alongside its work on a global level where "Oxfam is against rich countries and the World Bank pushing risky and unproven private sector solutions to health"[162], and "we campaign internationally to make cheaper and better medicines available in

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[155] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/water-health-education (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[156] ibidem
[157] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 20.
[158] ibidem, p. 20.
[159] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/ghanaNEW.ashx (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[160] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/water-health-education (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[161] ibidem.
[162] ibidem.

developing countries, and for their governments to invest in health services, supported by rich countries"[163]. Oxfam publicly condemns the World Bank and rich countries development policies in the health sector whilst recognising international obligations of "rich countries" to support "developing countries" in the realisation of the right to health.

Of its work Oxfam states "the major aim is to improve the health of the most vulnerable people"[164], "to improve standards of healthcare"[165] and "facilitating campaigns and dialogue among stakeholders on measures to improve funding and to enhance access to healthcare"[166]. Further working to "improve people's ability to deal with public health emergencies"[167], "improving public health through better access to sustainable, safe and sufficient water sanitation and hygiene services"[168], and "improving access to people with HIV/AIDS to healthcare – our long term development projects are transforming lives"[169]. Oxfam's role in achieving the right to health is presented as an 'improver', seeking to improve the standards of healthcare and improve funding for healthcare, in order to improve the health of those living in poverty. Oxfam extends provisions of health care to include the ability to deal with public health emergencies, in connection to sanitation services and the provision of HIV/AIDS services. Additionally Oxfam states, "the focus for our longstanding role of providing essential services – such as health – is also shifting to encourage self-managed solutions"[170], marking a shift from external provision to internal support.

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[163] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/health-and-education (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[164] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/sierraleoneNEW.ashx (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[165] https://www.oxfam.org/en/longtermdevelopment (consulted on 14 May 2015)

[166] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/ghanaNEW.ashx (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[167] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/liberiaNEW.ashx (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[168] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/sierraleoneNEW.ashx (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[169] https://www.oxfam.org/en/longtermdevelopment (consulted on 14 May 2015)
[170] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 9.

2.2.2 Comic Relief

Comic Relief affirms "to make gains in addressing poverty, poor people's health must be improved"[171] and "everyone has a right to good quality healthcare and improving health contributes to economic development"[172]. A link is established between improving health and the alleviation of poverty, and its role in economic development. Comic Relief states "the government is the duty bearer in the provision of healthcare and articulation of health policy, and that resources and activities should complement rather than replace government service provision"[173], however, when further engaging with health in relation to poverty, reference to state responsibility is absent. Overwhelmingly, Comic Relief engages with the right to health in relation to the donor, the role of other actors is not articulated.

Comic Relief aims "to improve the health of the poorest and most marginalized"[174]. To achieve this "we will focus our investments on strengthening the systems to improve health"[175] and by "improving both the 'supply' of health services (the availability and quality of services) and the 'demand for' (uptake of) these services"[176]. A dual approach is highlighted to "strengthening the systems", both "supply" and "demand", provider and receiver, yet who those actors are is not further elaborated. Furthermore, Comic Relief will fund "improved quality of primary healthcare"[177] and projects to realise that "women ages 15-49 and children under five have improved health"[178], aims in line with Millennium Development Goals. Evidently, Comic Relief presents its work as an 'improver', improving the health itself of "poor" people and improving health services. Comic Relief states that since last Red Nose Day "2,419,439 insecticide-treated nets have been distributed to help protect people from Malaria", "4 million have been supported to access to health

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[171] Comic Relief, Comic Relief's International Grants Strategy, August 2013, p. 10, available at http://www.comicrelief.com/sites/comicrelief/files/INTERNATIONAL_withcover_WEBReduced _0.pdf (consulted on 18 May 2015)
[172] ibidem, p. 9.
[173] ibidem, p. 12.
[174] ibidem, p. 10.
[175] ibidem, p. 11.
[176] ibidem, p. 12.
[177] ibidem, p. 7.
[178] ibidem, p. 8.

care" and "1,020,027 vaccines have been purchased"[179], thus qualifying Comic Relief's "improvement" capabilities. The provision of mosquito nets and vaccines is presented as a central component of improving the right to health; materials that Comic Relief provides, not governments.

In their most recent Red Nose Day campaign Comic Relief affirms "we want to change thousands of lives by helping to improve healthcare for communities across Africa" [180] and that "Comic Relief will be raising money to continue to improve healthcare across Africa"[181]. "We", Comic Relief, want to "change lives", of poor Africans, and "help" to "improve healthcare" for "Africa". The role of donors is extended by Comic Relief to include individual donors, "your generosity will help to change and save hundreds of thousands of lives by improving healthcare for communities across Africa. Donate now"[182]. Lives are not only "changed" but "saved", and as a result of "your generosity" rather than improved health itself. The campaign included a specialized project, 'Operation Health', of which Comic Relief describes as "an ambitious mission which will see a rundown dilapidated clinic in Eastern Uganda renovated by a local team into a fully functioning healthcare facility during the Red Nose Day campaign"[183]. It further states "Comic Relief will be working with people in the local community to transform the clinic from somewhere people are scared to visit into a facility with running water, solar power, a stable structure and equipment that means people can be treated safely. Lenny will return to the clinic, along with other celebrities throughout the project, to witness the progress"[184]. Before the project "people are scared to visit", Comic Relief and the local community are able in one transformation turn the clinic into a space where "people can be treated safely". The transformation is viewed, its progress witnessed by celebrities. Comic Relief further states "this project aims to shine a spotlight on the issue, and in the process raise money to improve healthcare for communities across

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[179] http://www.comicrelief.com/sites/comicrelief.com/files/doc/pressrelease/red-nose-day-press-pack_0.pdf (consulted on 18 May 2015)

[180] ibidem.

[181] ibidem.

[182] http://www.rednoseday.com/operationhealth (consulted on 18 May 2015)

[183] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/comic-relief's-operation-health-launches (consulted on 14 May 2015)

[184] ibidem.

Africa, from training medical staff to providing life-saving vaccines and mosquito nets."[185]

A primary tool Comic Relief uses to communicate its work is through personal stories. Their press pack states "one child that is here today because of this incredible work is three-year-old Muzafulu. When he showed early signs of malaria, his neighbour, Immaculate, was able to administer immediate life-saving treatment, thanks to the basic medical training she received from a Comic Relief funded project"[186]. Comic Relief's educational materials suggest teachers in the UK should explain to students, "Matilda was born unable to move one side of her body and with one leg shorter than the other. But thanks to money raised on Red Nose Day, she was given physiotherapy and is now able to walk to school"[187], further clarifying that "although it was a teacher trained in physiotherapy who helped make Matilda's leg better, it was money raised by people in the UK that paid for the training and helped her get to school"[188]. Comic Relief choice of words sends a clear message to a young audience, it is "Comic Relief" and "people in the UK" that help individuals in Africa achieve better health. "We" give money to "them", and "they" should be thankful to "us". Money is consistently identified as necessary to "improve health" and this link is tied to the relationship between "donor" and "poor communities".

2.2.3 Conclusion

Oxfam consistently identifies the government as duty bearer regarding the realisation of the right to health. Civil society is further highlighted as the central actor for rights holders to ensure the right to health is being met. Comic Relief, on the other hand, make sparse reference to the role of government or civil society, with brief mention of the government's role as duty bearer, then vague comment on "strengthening the

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[185] http://d7ngcby7i6xlb.cloudfront.net/sites/comicrelief.com/files/doc/pressrelease/014rnd15-operation-health-day-1-final.pdf 19/05/2015

[186] http://www.comicrelief.com/sites/comicrelief.com/files/doc/pressrelease/red-nose-day-press-pack_0.pdf (consulted on 18 May 2015)

[187] https://d2dyoteyy20tli.cloudfront.net/sites/rednoseday.com/files/downloadables/rnd15_schools_nursery_challenges.pdf (consulted on 18 May 2015)

[188] ibidem.

systems" to improve health, without further elaboration and no mention of civil society.

Both Comic Relief and Oxfam link improving health to improving the economy, economic growth suggested as the underlying means for development and poverty reduction. Oxfam additionally links improved health to inclusion and participation within society, and to people's wellbeing and human development. There is a duality in Oxfam's understanding, that it will improve the economy on the one hand, and lead to greater civil and political participate.

Oxfam identifies that it is policy and practice of governments that needs to change in order the right to health to be realised. Oxfam uses the language of rights in advocacy at the local, national and global level. The organisation presents global factors, and highlight global actors like the World Bank and international governments. It does so in a way, which is critical of their intentions, and recognises the importance of also addressing the right to health at this level. Comic Relief highlights limitations to health care, but without clear communication of who is responsible for its provision. Instead focusing on its own role in providing and improving health care for "communities across Africa". Comic Relief focuses on Malaria and other diseases to frame the current inadequacies of healthcare, allowing Comic Relief then to provide mosquito nets and vaccines. Comic Relief identifies donor money as the primary mechanism to improve health. Oxfam does also state its work aims to 'improve' access and quality of health care, yet the organisation places itself within existing channels, supporting governments in the provision of healthcare and supporting civil society to hold governments accountable.

The choice of language by Comic Relief, entrenches an "us" and "them" dichotomy; "giver" and "receiver", "UK public" and "Africa". This is particularly apparent within its educational materials, where a clear message that "they" should be thankful to "us" is sent. Furthermore, Comic Relief uses celebrities to see the projects Comic Relief funds, acting as witnesses to progress, providing a connection between the viewer and celebrity, and in turn, a connection between the viewer/donor at home and, via the celebrity, the poor people in Africa.

2.3 Right to Education Analysis

2.3.1 Oxfam

The right to education is presented by Oxfam in their 'commitment to human rights', "we support people to claim their basic rights… most essential services to sustain life such as … education"[189]. Oxfam grounds its approach within international frameworks, "we're supporting the Government and civil society organizations to achieve the Millennium Development Goals on education, working in communities, and through advocacy at local, national and international levels"[190] and "Oxfam is guided by "universal and equitable access to quality education"… written into the Copenhagen Declaration"[191]. Oxfam further states, "we empower communities to claim and protect their rights to education and influence decisions that affect their lives"[192], and will "keep quality services at the heart of the development agenda by defining essential services as a right"[193]. Oxfam takes a clear rights based approach to education in development, and works at each level from community to international.

Oxfam's approach to the realization of the right to education is multifaceted; the organisation "help people build and equip schools", "train teachers to staff them and fight against attitudes and beliefs that prevent girls from completing their education" and "help lobby government support to get more children into local schools, and to hold governments accountable on the delivery of quality education".[194] Oxfam provides schools and trainings, but the Government is clearly recognised as being accountable and Oxfam will lobby them. Presenting how this is done in practice, Oxfam states, "we work with local parent/teacher associations around Kinshasa and Mbandaka to construct and renovate classrooms, train teachers, and provide equipment. We provide schools with clean running water and new latrines, to try and

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[189] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 7.
[190] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/maliNEW.ashx (consulted on 4 June 2015)
[191] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 19.
[192] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/nigerNEW.ashx (consulted on 4 June 2015)
[193] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 20.
[194] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/health-and-education (consulted on 4 June 2015)

ensure that children stay healthy to learn"[195], "our Health and Education campaign looks to provide 6 million more health workers and teachers and to make sure that, by 2015, every child has the chance of a good education" [196] and "Oxfam's programming on education…has directly benefited the people who are excluded from such services and also provided evidence to strengthen policy and campaigning work"[197]. Importance is given to both providing education and working towards policy change through campaigning. Oxfam works to ensure the government is held accountable, and at the same time facilitates the building of schools and training of teachers.

Oxfam identifies "all governments and international institutions need to guarantee free, high-quality public education for all citizens, removing fees and breaking down the financial barriers that may deny access for the poorest"[198], thus recognising governments as primary duty bearers, and also the role of wider international bodies. Oxfam holds that "a lack of investment in education and the Government's failure to deliver education in a universal, equitable and accountable manner continues to disadvantage the most vulnerable people in Niger. Access, quality and governance problems characterize the education system"[199]. A lack of access to education is directly linked to failures in government policy. Moreover governments, in their role as duty bearer, must be held accountable for their failures. In this light, "we aim to increase partners' capacity to hold the Government to account to deliver better and more relevant quality primary education to all children"[200].

Oxfam's work extends to support governments to fulfil their obligations, "Oxfam and our partners are working with the government to increase children's (mainly young girls') access and retention to school"[201], they "support campaigns for… education and support organizations that work with governments on innovative ways to reach

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[195]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in /New%20brand%20PDFs/drcNEW.ashx (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[196] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do-issues-we-work-on/health-and-education (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[197] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/water-health-education (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[198] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do-issues-we-work-on/health-and-education (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[199]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in /New%20brand%20PDFs/nigerNEW.ashx (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[200]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in /New%20brand%20PDFs/maliNEW.ashx (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[201]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in /New%20brand%20PDFs/nigerNEW.ashx (consulted on 4 June 2015)

women and girls"[202], "we're working … to increase access to quality basic education, particularly for girls and vulnerable children; to strengthen the Government and non-governmental groups' ability to address the country's education needs"[203], "we also help lobby government support to get more children into local schools, and to hold governments accountable on the delivery of quality education"[204]. Oxfam presents its work with governments in tandem to their work with civil society, in a supporting role to existing accountability structures that enable national bodies to address their countries own needs, rather than external responses.

Oxfam recognises gender discrimination within access to education. Oxfam states, "we help people build and equip schools. And we train teachers to staff them and fight against attitudes and beliefs that prevent girls from completing their education"[205], "we particularly emphasise girls' education, and address the challenges of gender inequalities in the education system and within society at large"[206] and "increased access to free and public… education… for the world's poorest and marginalized people, with no barriers for women and girls, by changing policy and practice of governments, institutions and corporations, and by citizens and civil society advocating for comprehensive, publically finances national … education plans"[207]. Gender discrimination is recognised as a challenge prevalent throughout society, evidenced by access to education. Oxfam works to change attitudes to both, training teachers to tackle attitudes at local level, and to tackle the system itself. In order for society to change was a whole, so that women and girls to not face barriers to education, or discrimination more broadly. "encouraging investment in universal education"[208]

Oxfam holds "education is essential to people's well-being and to human development"[209] and "is an essential step along the route out of poverty"[210]. The

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[202] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 20.

[203] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/mozambiqueNEW.ashx (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[204] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/health-and-education (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[205] ibidem.

[206] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/maliNEW.ashx (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[207] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 20.

[208] https://www.oxfam.org/en/explore/issues/inequality-and-essential-services (consulted on 20 May 2015)

[209] https://www.oxfam.org/en/explore/how-oxfam-fights-poverty (consulted on 20 May 2015)

organisation further states "more women and men, girls and boys will exercise their right to universal quality… education services, making them full participants in their communities and strengthening the economic, social and democratic fabric of their societies"[211]. Education is important for individual well-being, for engaged communities and for democratic society to function as a whole, each presenting a way out of poverty. Oxfam describes "one in three Congolese children don't get the chance to go to school – trapping future generations in the cycle of poverty"[212] and "lack of education…robs millions of people of their futures"[213], whilst "free quality…education services are vital to our fight against poverty, providing poor people with the foundations for a brighter future"[214] and "making education for all a reality would give a whole generation the skills they need to beat poverty"[215]. Oxfam chooses strong language in relation to poverty; without education, a generation is *trapped* in poverty, their futures *robbed*, whilst education is seen as crucial in order to *fight* and *beat* poverty. Within this fight, "Oxfam is working to make sure that the poor get a share of the power and resources that will help to reduce poverty and inequality"[216] and Oxfam further affirm, "Education is crucial. It enables marginalized people to take control of their lives and raise their living standards"[217]. Education is presented as a means for those living in poverty to have control over their own lives, and to gain power in relations to poverty reduction strategies.

2.3.2 Comic Relief

Comic Relief states "the number of children attending primary school in Africa has increased by over 60 million since 2000"[218], and places itself within this continuum of improvement, "further afield back when Comic Relief began only around 50% of

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[210] https://www.oxfam.org/en/our-commitment-human-rights (consulted on 20 May 2015)

[211] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 20.

[212] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/drcNEW.ashx (consulted on 20 May 2015)

[213] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/health-and-education (consulted on 4 June 2015)

[214] ibidem.

[215] ibidem.

[216] https://www.oxfam.org/en/explore/issues/inequality-and-essential-services (consulted on 5 June 2015)

[217] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/tanzaniaNEW1.ashx (consulted on 20 May 2015)

[218] http://www.comicrelief.com/how-we-help/the-difference-we-have-made (consulted on 5 June 2015)

children completed their primary school education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Today that figure stands at 70% and rising"[219]. However, Comic Relief highlights, "in sub-Saharan Africa approximately 30 million primary school age children are not in school, and many of those who are in school are not receiving the quality of teaching needed to develop basic reading, maths and critical thinking skills"[220]. Comic Relief presents first that many children do not have access to education and second that the quality of education is low, two focuses of its own work, "as well as enabling more children to go to school – giving them the education they crucially need – Comic Relief will also fund projects that work to improve the quality of the education that these children receive"[221].

Comic Relief draws attention to "the factors that contribute to deeply unequal educational quality and completion rates"[222] which include "children starting school when they're older, teacher absenteeism, poor teaching quality and resources, unaccountable schools and education authorities, the poor health and nutritional status of pupils, insufficient investment, and the distance to school"[223]. Multiple factors are identified, including "unaccountable schools and education authorities", however, mention is not made of government accountability. Comic Relief further states, "of those children who do attend primary school, only 69% complete it. Many drop out because their families are too poor to pay for the hidden costs of 'free' education, such as uniforms and school materials"[224] and, using a case study of education in Zambia, Comic Relief describe "for children in Grades 1-7 of the Zambian education system, attending school means paying an administration free, and for years 8-12 there are additional school fees. This, along with uniforms, books and shoes, is well outside the means of many families, and even more children who no longer have parents to support them"[225] as a consequence "without a caregiver to provide these school essentials, these children must earn their own money to cover the costs or else

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[219] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/david-walliams-visits-kenya-launch-red-nose-day-2015 (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[220] http://d25d9807baifhq.cloudfront.net/sites/rednoseday.com/files/downloadables/rnd15_schools_secondary_rabecca_tutor.pdf (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[221] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/government-gives-10million-comic-relief (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[222] Cpr. supra footnote 171, p. 14.
[223] ibidem, p. 14.
[224] http://d25d9807baifhq.cloudfront.net/sites/rednoseday.com/files/downloadables/rnd15_schools_secondary_rabecca_tutor.pdf (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[225] ibidem.

forgo their education"[226]. One of the main factors in not realising the right to education is thus presented as a lack of resources of individuals and the lack of a family's ability to pay "hidden costs" associated with education. In framing the issue in this way, Comic Relief is also able to present solutions, "£15 could buy a uniform for an orphaned child in Zambia"[227] and "£1200 could buy a clean water supply for a school in Uganda"[228]. Factors contributing to the inability to access education can be rectified by donor contributions.

Comic Relief states "education gives children more opportunity and more choice, which can hold the key to beating poverty"[229], "education can help to lift young people like Rabecca out of poverty"[230] and "for most children, education represents the only way out of a life of entrenched poverty… It plays a crucial role in promoting wellbeing into adulthood, and creating more cohesive communities and societies"[231]. Education is presented as a way out of poverty, creating "opportunity" and allowing "choice", encouraging more cohesive communities. Comic Relief describes of a celebrity trip to Uganda, "Louise visited the Jinja Women's Association where she met children and adults who are benefiting from Red Nose Day cash and was deeply moved by their stories and aspirations. At the project Louise met Dina, one of the 7,000 girls the project has helped to get an education. Dina is 12 years old and lives with her family in a slum, where every day is a constant struggle just to eat, but thanks to the project Dina is now getting an education which will give her opportunities for the future"[232]. "Red Nose Day cash" gives Dina "opportunities for the future". This experience "deeply moved" the visiting celebrity, and the issue is told through the celebrity experience.

Comic Relief recognises, "Girls in particular are often denied an education but by getting more girls into school, this can have a transformational effect on a whole

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[226]http://d25d9807baifhq.cloudfront.net/sites/rednoseday.com/files/downloadables/rnd15_schools_seco ndary_rabecca_tutor.pdf (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[227]http://d117yixffarstv.cloudfront.net/sites/rednoseday.com/files/downloadables/rnd15_schools_mone ybuyposter.pdf (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[228]ibidem.
[229] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/louise-redknapp-visits-uganda-see-red-nose-day-2011-cash-action (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[230]http://d25d9807baifhq.cloudfront.net/sites/rednoseday.com/files/downloadables/rnd15_schools_seco ndary_rabecca_tutor.pdf (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[231] Cpr. supra footnote 171, p. 14.
[232] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/louise-redknapp-visits-uganda-see-red-nose-day-2011-cash-action (consulted on 5 June 2015)

generation. The longer a girl stays in school, the more knowledge she has to help take good care of her family, to seek medical support when needed and to get a job that will help her support her family and send her own children to school"[233], for girls, education is framed in relation to providing for families. Emphasis is placed on inequality, discrimination and marginalization, "Comic Relief aims to tackle both access and quality with a special focus on reducing inequality of educational opportunities"[234], and Comic Relief is "aiming to reach and include those left out and/or disadvantaged, to enable them to access education and learn"[235]. Furthermore, "Comic Relief funds programmes which enable left out and marginalized children and young people in Zambia and around the world to get into, stay in and attain good quality, relevant basic education"[236], the organisations overarching aim that "disadvantaged children and adults gain access to and attain a good quality education"[237].

Comic Relief recounts, "we have helped over 1 million children in Africa and the world's poorest countries to get an education"[238] and "last year Comic Relief enabled almost 50,000 children and young people in Africa to access formal education"[239]. It funds projects to ensure "improved access to good quality basic education and increased retention and attainment"[240] and "improved access to good quality, relevant, non-formal education and training"[241]. Comic Relief aims to make "improvements in the quality of basic education, particularly in terms of teaching practice, learning resources, children's involvements, curriculum development and the school environment"[242], and seeks to improve learning "through approaches that link schools to communities and education to people's families, health and livelihoods"[243]. Comic Relief further states, "we want to help communities improve the uptake and quality of education in their local area, thereby empowering the community and strengthening

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[233] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/louise-redknapp-visits-uganda-see-red-nose-day-2011-cash-action (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[234] Cfr. supra footnote 171, p. 15.
[235] ibidem, p. 16.
[236] http://d25d9807baifhq.cloudfront.net/sites/rednoseday.com/files/downloadables/rnd15_schools_secondary_rabecca_tutor.pdf (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[237] Cpr. supra footnote 171, p. 9.
[238] http://www.comicrelief.com/how-we-help/the-difference-we-have-made (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[239] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/government-gives-10million-comic-relief (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[240] Cfr. supra footnote 171, p. 7.
[241] ibidem, p. 7.
[242] ibidem, p. 16.
[243] ibidem, p. 16.

children's learning"[244], by "investing in school management committees and civil society coalitions to ensure improvements in education services"[245], and "supporting evidence-based changes in education policy and policy implementation that contribute to better education outcomes for children"[246]. Comic Relief is presented as responsible to increased access, through improving schools in both access and quality. Whilst mentioning the role of civil society, community empowerment and education policy and policy implementation, the role of the government is distinctly absent.

Whilst the role of the government of "developing" country is not addressed, the role of the UK government is. The organisation states, "this year Comic Relief has committed to spend £10million to improve … education services across Africa. And the good news is that, in support of the public's outstanding contribution this Red Nose Day, the UK Government will match this with a further £10million to support Comic Relief's work in these areas… With this additional funding from the Government, Comic Relief can support many more projects like these across Africa to change, and save, lives"[247], "thanks to the generosity of the British public, Red Nose Day 2011 raised over £100 million. In response to the public's incredible support, the UK Government contribute £16 million to Comic Relief's work in improving health and education across Africa to match the £16 million Comic Relief has committed to these areas"[248] and "this is just one of the projects that is helping people across Africa and with the extra support from the UK Government, Comic Relief can help twice as many people benefit from better healthcare and education across Africa"[249]. The role of the UK Government is presented in conjunction with the role of the UK public. Public fundraising is incentivised by the promise that the Government will match funding, implying public responsibility to give money in order for the Government to give money, rather than the public holding its own government to account in its existing funding commitments, or disadvantageous trade rules. Furthermore, the

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[244] http://d25d9807baifhq.cloudfront.net/sites/rednoseday.com/files/downloadables/rnd15_schools_secondary_rabecca_tutor.pdf (consulted on 5 June 2015)

[245] Cfr. supra footnote 171, p. 16.

[246] ibidem, p. 16.

[247] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/government-gives-10million-comic-relief (consulted on 5 June 2015)

[248] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/louise-redknapp-visits-uganda-see-red-nose-day-2011-cash-action (consulted on 5 June 2015)

[249] ibidem.

"generosity" of the British public, in making an "outstanding" contribution, and lending "incredible support", "change, and save, lives" "across Africa".

2.3.3 Conclusion

Oxfam defines education as a right, and as such governments are consistently identified as duty bearers, and reference is made to civil society's role in holding governments accountable. It grounds its approach within the wider international framework, referencing international standards setting such as MDGs and the Copenhagen Declaration. Comic Relief makes brief reference to "school management committees", "civil society coalitions" and "unaccountable schools and education authorities", but primarily focuses on its own work funding projects and providing materials. Education is "crucially needed" but is not referred to explicitly as a right by Comic Relief.

The challenges to the right to education identified by each organisation vary markedly. Oxfam presents the main challenges to providing universal education, as the lack of access to and quality of education. Though its work includes both building schools and providing teacher training, the primary obstacle identified is at government level, with change needed within education policy. As such, Oxfam supports both government and civil society in order for this to be achieved. Comic Relief is also concerned with access and quality of education. The primary challenges identified are the "hidden costs" of education to poor families and orphaned children. Presented as monetary limitations, Comic Relief then use transaction models "£15 could buy a uniform for a child", which allows donors in the UK to have a 'direct' impact on education in Africa.

Furthermore, Comic Relief places huge emphasis on the role of the UK public and UK Government within improving access to education. References to the public fundraising include remarks of "generosity" and "incredible support", whilst the Government "supports" Comic Relief and "matches" public fundraising; which "helps" poor African communities. Comic Relief again, uses celebrities and personal stories to communicate these issues.

2.4 Right to Work Analysis

2.4.1 Oxfam

Oxfam's 'commitment to human rights' includes "Oxfam works at many levels with partners and communities in support of their right to a decent living" [250], a central aspect of this being the right to work. Assuming a tripartite approach, "we argue for better working conditions and better protection of the natural resources on which poor communities depend", "we campaign for fairer trade rules at the global level, and for better policies at the national level" and "we work with partners and communities to implement programs that lead to self-sustaining livelihoods, with a strong focus on women". [251] Within these approaches, Oxfam engages with right the right to work on different levels, first in promoting awareness and realization of the right itself, second in reference to their work with the private sector and third, in their role in providing technical support.

Oxfam's work aims to ensure "more women and men in vulnerable urban settings" will "claim their rights to decent work and build sustainable livelihoods, as workers and as entrepreneurs" [252], whilst also stating "we promote groups and associations to represent nomadic herders (pastoralists) and to speak up for their rights in the policy and planning processes that affect them" [253]. Oxfam highlights that rights are claimed by individuals, the organisation supporting those living in poverty, in both the city and countryside, in claiming the right to work. Oxfam brings to attention that "around the world, many workers aren't paid enough to live on. Others suffer dangerous, unhealthy working conditions. And many see their basic human rights either neglected or actively exploited on a daily basis" [254]. In reference to a specific case of Strawberry farmers in Morocco, Oxfam state "for these women workers, a lack of respect for their rights and a lack of equal opportunities are routine. Many are unable

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[250] https://www.oxfam.org/en/our-commitment-human-rights (consulted on 25 June 2015)
[251] ibidem.
[252] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 19.
[253] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/tanzaniaNEW1.ashx (consulted on 25 June 2015)
[254] https://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/businesses-and-poverty (consulted on 5 June 2015)

to formalize their work or register for social security, allowing some employers to pay meagre wages, well below the legal minimum, and to operate with poor health and safety standards and degrading transport conditions"[255]. Oxfam draws attention to the challenges to basic rights faced by workers living in poverty, then add "in 2012, women strawberry pickers came together with support from Oxfam and civil society partners. They undertook training on their rights as well as literacy classes, and they now help to enable other women to register for social security and to report problems at work"[256]. Oxfam highlight that access to work is an essential component for poor people to build sustainable livelihoods, yet many people living in poverty face challenges to their enjoyment of the right to decent work. Through the provision of human rights education, Oxfam supports individuals and individuals acting collectively to claim their right to decent work and seek redress where needed.

Oxfam state "the world's largest companies and corporations have an enormous impact on people in the developing world"[257]. As such, "they can be a powerful force for good. They invest far more than governments can ever deliver in overseas aid. They create job opportunities, give people the chance to learn new skills, and generate the wages communities desperately need to escape poverty", however Oxfam also warns "big businesses can also do more harm than good"[258]. Oxfam thus identifies the private sector as important actors in the enjoyment of the right to work. Oxfam identifies that "collaborations between a range of actors can accelerate positive change or can enable progress where change is absent, including internationally"[259], further explaining "in its work with strawberry workers to claim their rights, Oxfam has collaborated with the Ethical Trading Initiative and its British retailer members, as well as with the importers that provide retailers with the fruit. These organizations have encouraged Moroccan growers to comply with employment law and ensure that their workers have social security, and increasingly they are looking to engage with the government to support and bring about change"[260]. In tandem to Oxfam's work

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[255] Oxfam GB for Oxfam International, Women Strawberry Workers in Morocco: Accessing rights to secure and decent work, p. 1, available at http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/women-strawberry-workers-in-morocco-accessing-rights-to-secure-and-decent-work-334766 (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[256] ibidem, p. 1.
[257] https://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/businesses-and-poverty (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[258] ibidem.
[259] Cfr. supra footnote 255, p. 2.
[260] ibidem, p. 2.

supporting those living in poverty to claim their rights, the organisation engages with the private sector to ensure said rights are protected. This approach extends to "Support urban workers, co-operatives and entrepreneurs to work with others, including the Fair Trade movement, to improve their livelihoods"[261], as Oxfam itself works with a range of actors in the promotion of the right to work, the organisation further encourages interaction and cooperation among groups beyond itself.

Oxfam's engagement with the enjoyment of the right to work of those living in poverty extends to its role in the provision of training and materials. Oxfam state "we support farmers and small businesses, and provide equipment, such as nets for fishermen and animal vaccines for herders"[262] and "we're supporting another 100 of these women in tailoring, beekeeping, weaving and designing household materials. Since we supplied sewing machines to 30 women, they've set up small enterprises that are generating income for them and their families"[263]. Further illustrating "we've trained groups, particularly women, in business management and supported them with small grants to start income generation activities"[264] and "we also support livelihoods by distributing ox-ploughs, producing irrigated vegetables, training agricultural extension workers, training farmers on agricultural practices and introducing early maturing sorghum variety seeds and different drought resistant crops"[265] and "with loans, seeds, tools, better farming techniques and business training, more women will be able to grow more food, and sew, craft and make goods that they can market themselves"[266]. In the provision of equipment, Oxfam facilitates access to work and thus a means for income for those living in poverty. Particular focus is paid to agricultural training "we work to help rural men and women cotton producers diversify their crops, and promote alternative crops … which can help reduce farmers' vulnerability"[267] and "to create meaningful, sustainable jobs for poor people,

[261] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 19.
[262] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/drcNEW.ashx (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[263] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/liberiaNEW.ashx (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[264] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/southsudan1NEW.ashx (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[265] ibidem.
[266] https://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/womens-rights (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[267] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/maliNEW.ashx (consulted on 5 June 2015)

especially by finding ways for the growing agricultural sector to deliver higher returns for the poorest communities"[268].

Of the impact of their training Oxfam remark "in 2013/14, we helped 200,000 producers negotiate better prices for their goods in more markets"[269] and "with our support farmers' groups have begun to organise themselves into cooperatives to ensure collective participation and inclusion in the value chain"[270]. Farmers and workers are active participants in improving their lot. The importance of their work extends to consumers, as Oxfam state as a result of their campaigning "in 2009 nearly 100,000 people contacted Starbucks and persuaded them to pay Ethiopian farmers a fair price for their coffee beans"[271]. Consumer behaviour and activism are thus linked to the enjoyment of the right to work of those currently living in poverty.

2.4.2 Comic Relief

Comic Relief identifies that "poor people face many social, economic and environmental challenges when attempting to increase their incomes through trade, enterprise and employment"[272]. The organisation states it will fund "increased and more secure incomes"[273], "more secure tenure and management of land, housing and other assets"[274] and "better working conditions and pay"[275]. Comic Relief's engagement with the right to work is not perspicuous, yet access to work is identified as a central component of the route out of poverty.

Comic Relief presents that their work aims to "help create jobs, build businesses and increase trade in some of the poorest countries in the world, so people can lift

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[268]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/rwandaNEW.ashx (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[269] https://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/businesses-and-poverty (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[270]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/sierraleoneNEW.ashx (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[271] https://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/businesses-and-poverty (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[272] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 34.
[273] ibidem, p. 37.
[274] ibidem, p. 37.
[275] ibidem p. 37.

themselves out of poverty for good"[276]. It further states, "we know that trade is one of the best ways for people to work their way out of poverty"[277], "they can generate their own income to help lift themselves and their families out of poverty"[278] and that access to work means poor people are "given the chance to work their way out of poverty"[279]. Poor people can also "start their own businesses and break the cycle of poverty for a brighter, sustainable future for themselves and their families"[280]. Access to work provides a route out of poverty, importantly presented as a vehicle to work *themselves* out of poverty.

Adding wider context to the above statements provides a deeper understanding of Comic Relief's engagement; "Reflecting the UK public's generous support for Sport Relief, it has been announced today (Thursday 6th March) that the UK Government will match £10 million of public donations to *help create jobs, build businesses and increase trade in some of the poorest countries in the world, so people can lift themselves out of poverty for good*"[281], "*We know that trade is one of the best ways for people to work their way out of poverty*, but to do that, poor farmers need to belong to strong organizations, and to have access to markets, and the ability to challenge unfair trade restrictions. This is why Comic Relief has had a trade programme since 2004, supporting people to provide a better future for themselves and their families"[282]. During a celebrity trip to Tanzania, Comic Relief state "Kirstie saw the work of a project which helps women start new businesses so *they can generate their own income to help life themselves and their families out of poverty.*"[283] Later, the above-mentioned TV presenter Kirstie Allsop remarks, "It's a triumph for the human spirit that the British people give so generously in the first place and that women as inspiring as the ones I met are *given the chance to work their*

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[276] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/uk-government-matches-£10m-public-donations-sport-relief (consulted on 24 June 2015)

[277] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/it's-fairtrade-fortnight (consulted on 7 June 2015)

[278] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/kirstie-location-tanzania-see-red-nose-day-cash-action (consulted on 24 June 2015)

[279] ibidem.

[280] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/pixie-sees-lott-lives-changed-zambia (consulted on 24 June 2015)

[281] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/uk-government-matches-£10m-public-donations-sport-relief 24/06/2015

[282] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/it's-fairtrade-fortnight (consulted on 07 June 2015)

[283] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/kirstie-location-tanzania-see-red-nose-day-cash-action (consulted on 24 June 2015)

way out of poverty as a result"[284]. Of another celebrity trip, this time pop singer Pixie Lott visits Zambia, Comic Relief recount "Pixie met a group of inspirational women who have joined forces to run small savings schemes with the help of a project supported by money raised through Sport Relief. The project has given the women access to small affordable loans which they have used to *start their own businesses and break the cycle of poverty for a brighter, sustainable future for themselves and their families*"[285]. Although access to work is presented as a vehicle for individuals to move themselves out of poverty, each time this is evidenced it is in the context of Comic Relief projects. These are funded by the "UK public's generous support" which is understood as a "triumph of the human spirit".

Comic Relief states "we will support not for profit and for profit organizations that provide enterprise development services and vocational skills training to people from poor communities who are running their own enterprises or working as employees"[286] and "we also fund small scale fair trade farmers throughout Africa to diversify what they grow as some traditional fair trade crops in their area are no longer growing so well"[287]. Comic Relief further states, "in addition to providing funds for training for individuals, we will also consider supporting the development of enterprises in Africa that have a focus on trading or employing people from poor communities"[288] and "we will prioritise support for women and young people engaged in trade and enterprise or seeking employment. These groups are often responsible for carrying our a significant proportion of productive activities but, due to a variety of reasons, lack access to gainful employment, finance, training, market information and to productive assets such as land"[289]. Comic Relief seeks to provide employment to marginalised groups, through funding organisations that provide employment, and also organisations that provide trainings for employment. Furthermore, "we will support initiatives that improve the lives of poor people in trade, enterprise and employment through influencing government and private sector policies"[290]. Comic Relief introduces that

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[284] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/kirstie-location-tanzania-see-red-nose-day-cash-action (consulted on 24 June 2015)
[285] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/pixie-sees-lott-lives-changed-zambia (consulted on 24 June 2015)
[286] Cfr. supra footnote 171, p. 34.
[287] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/tackling-climate-change (consulted on 24 June 2015)
[288] Cfr. supra footnote 171, p. 35.
[289] ibidem, p. 34.
[290] ibidem, p. 35.

access to work is influenced by government and the private sector, and Comic Relief will support groups that work with them.

Reflecting on the provision of training, Comic Relief state "just a small amount of money may be all that's needed to help people in unimaginably tough situations turn their lives around. It can train people who can then pass on their skills to others… It can be used as a loan to help a woman start her own business before repaying the loan so that the same money can be used again and again to help more women stand on their own two feet"[291]. Training is important for its ripple effect among communities. Furthermore, TV personality Caroline Flack tells of her experience visiting a project in Rwanda, "but thanks to the support from the project, their lives are now changing for the better. They are learning how to grow crops and sell their produce, providing a better livelihood not just for themselves, but also their families and even the wider community. It's all about giving people a leg-up rather than a hand-out. The work that the project is doing is brilliant and so inspiring – it really is transforming lives"[292]. The potential of work is presented as lifting families and communities out of poverty. The project is "transforming lives"; lives are "changing for the better". Comic Relief further state "TV presenter Kirstie Allsop made east Africa her location to see how Red Nose Day cash was helping women get their first crucial foot on the business ladder…The Tanzania Gatsby Trust (TGT), a project supported by money raised through Red Nose Day, provides special training to women wanting to start a business who otherwise would find it almost impossible to get their ideas off the ground" [293]. Comic Relief funding makes business possible.

Drawing attention to the consequence of their work, Comic Relief state "since last Sport Relief, money raised has helped more that 157,800 women increase their incomes so that they can provide crucial support to their families" [294], "by creating a regular income, the women in the savings group can now afford to properly feed and clothe their families, and are able to send their children to school to get an education

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[291] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/uk-government-matches-£10m-public-donations-sport-relief (consulted on 24 June 2015)
[292] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/caroline-flack-visits-rwanda-see-sport-relief-cash-action (consulted on 24 June 2015)
[293] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/kirstie-location-tanzania-see-red-nose-day-cash-action (consulted on 24 June 2015)
[294] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/uk-government-matches-£10m-public-donations-sport-relief (consulted on 24 June 2015)

that will dramatically improve their life chances"[295]. Access to work enables individuals to provide for their families. Comic Relief provides access to work. Comic Relief supports families. Furthermore, Comic Relief state "we have worked with the Fairtrade Foundation on the issue, and since the project in 2007, 10 new producer groups representing 20,000 producers across four countries have got Fairtrade certified, giving all these people a real chance to work their way out of poverty… We also work with both producers and those in power, to make sure everyone profits"[296]. Regarding fair trade, Comic Relief recognises the importance of both producers and "those in power" alluding to private sector and government, but does not mention the consumer dimension to the fair trade line.

2.4.3 Conclusion

Oxfam and Comic Relief both engage with the right to work in regard to access to work, with Oxfam further concerned with the protection of rights once in work. Oxfam consistently uses the language of rights, whilst Comic Relief instead refer to creating jobs as a necessary means to "work themselves" out of poverty.

Oxfam stresses that individuals have a right to work and rights at work. Knowledge of rights related to work is considered of central importance in tackling global poverty, as a means of empowerment of workers and to create better business practices. Oxfam thus engages both with workers and producers, so they know and can demand protection of their rights, whilst also recognising the central role of the private sector. Recognising the potential of the private sector to create job opportunities and the importance of educating business on rights is stressed, as often businesses can do more harm than good. Oxfam also identifies the need for fairer trade rules at the global level and better policies at the national level. Oxfam provides training, both in rights themselves and technical expertise for income generating activities.

Comic Relief highlights the challenges posed access to work as economic, social and environmental, but does not elaborate on these challenges or from what they amount

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[295] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/pixie-sees-lott-lives-changed-zambia (consulted on 24 June 2015)
[296] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/it's-fairtrade-fortnight (Consulted on 07 June 2014)

from, nor does it mention politics or wider trade related causes and consequences. Work allows those living in poverty, to work themselves out of poverty. The financial support provided by Comic Relief through its partners, in the provision of materials and training, is presented as the small amount necessary to turn the lives of those living in poverty around. Donor funding is again presented as the primary means for alleviation of poverty. Poor people are able to generate an income through work, as a result of the generosity of the British public. Celebrities see and confirm the life changing effect of this work, acting as 'experts' reporting on what "they" are learning, seeing how cash is "helping".

Consumer behaviour is seen by Oxfam in connection to the right to work, evidencing purchasing power and consumer activism as features of the fair trade movement. Comic Relief makes reference to producers and those in power regarding fair trade, without reference to consumer behaviour.

2.5 Right to Adequate Food Analysis

2.5.1 Oxfam

Oxfam identifies that to "facilitate the right to food and enable agricultural growth in the face of climate change"[297] is one of their key strategies. Recognising the "deep injustice in the way the food system works"[298], "Oxfam is working towards a world where everyone has enough to eat"[299], their work "aims to address the huge inequalities that exist in the food system"[300], through "demanding a fairer and sustainable global food system"[301]. As a result of this work, Oxfam hope "more people who live in rural poverty will enjoy greater food security, income, prosperity and resilience through significantly more equitable sustainable food systems"[302]. The right to adequate food is thus engaged with in reference to the global food system, with focus given to Oxfam's work to make it fairer, sustainable and more equitable.

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[297] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[298] https://www.oxfam.org/en/explore/how-oxfam-fights-poverty (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[299] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/food (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[300] ibidem.
[301] https://www.oxfam.org/en/explore/issues/sustainable-food (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[302] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 18.

In reference to the organisations own work, Oxfam "seeks to bring about a shift in global government attitudes to food trade and finance"[303], with "global campaigning to fix our broken food systems"[304], "campaigning against global trade rules that keep people in poverty"[305], and further stating "we also campaign to transform the policies, power relations and politics that drive hunger, poverty and vulnerability"[306]. The current "broken" global system causes hunger and poverty, and trade, power and politics are identified as primary factors in the persistence of poverty. In light of the fact that "currently the world produces more food than we need – but nearly one billion people go without"[307], Oxfam affirm, "we must build a new global governance to avert food crises"[308]. "We" the people of the world, have a stake in building a more equitable system of global governance. In order to meet the challenge of "feeding 9 billion people by 2050, faced with increasing resource scarcity and without wrecking the planet"[309], Oxfam stress the need to "work together to manage risks in a more fragile and volatile food system"[310], and to address "the appalling inequalities that exist in the food system at all levels"[311]. Having recognised the primary factors in the persistence of food inequality, trade, economic and political policies, and the primary actors, states and global governance, Oxfam puts its own campaigning role within the wider need for change. Additionally, Oxfam highlight connections between access to food, natural resources and environmental consequences.

Oxfam addresses the requirements of different actors within the global food system. At a national level, Oxfam hold "Governments' top priority must be to tackle hunger and reduce vulnerability"[312], stating that this must be done by "creating jobs and investing in climate adaptation, disaster risk reduction and social protection"[313] whilst more broadly calling "for governments to cut excessive resource consumption and

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[303] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/food (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[304] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[305] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/food (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[306] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[307] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods#621a5b4f-5332-4d36-8d3a-0c1fe97392a4 (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[308] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[309] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods#621a5b4f-5332-4d36-8d3a-0c1fe97392a4 (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[310] ibidem.
[311] ibidem.
[312] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[313] ibidem.

protect low-income consumers"[314]. At a global level, Oxfam holds that international governance of "trade, food aid, financial markets and climate finance", "must be transformed to reduce the risks of future shocks and respond more effectively when they occur"[315]. Additionally, Oxfam will "press governments and companies to reform unjust policies, to preserve scarce resources and to share them fairly – in favour of small holder farmers and women"[316]; further stating "we must reverse the gross misallocation of resources, which sees the vast majority of public money for agriculture flow to agro-industrial farms in the north"[317]. Governments at the national and international level must focus on tackling hunger. Presently, "unjust policies", of governments and among governments, sees the "misallocation of resources" which must be reformed and reversed in order for the fair share of scarce resources. To reach this end, importance is given to the role of the private sector, when stating, "we must build the architecture of a new ecological future, mobilizing investment and shifting the behaviours of businesses and consumer, while crafting global agreements for the equitable distribution of scarce resources"[318]. Having identified States as primary actors in the existence of food inequality and the subsequent persistence of hunger, Oxfam identify that both businesses and consumers must be incorporated into approaches moving forward. Consumer behaviour is identified as a factor within access to food.

Oxfam state of their local endeavours, "we work with farmers and fishers to defend their right to life-sustaining resources"[319] and "we promote the rights of pastoralist communities that suffer from chronic droughts and food insecurity"[320], identifying that "smallholder farmers, who comprise the majority of food producers, are denied the resources they need to thrive – water, land, technology and investment"[321]. Oxfam support the rights of those living in poverty to resources needed for sustainable livelihoods, whether that be for food itself, or to generate an income in order for economic access to food. Beyond this Oxfam communicate, "we provide a number of

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[314] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 19.

[315] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods (consulted on 20 May 2015)

[316] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/ghanaNEW.ashx (consulted on 20 May 2015)

[317] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods (consulted on 20 May 2015)

[318] ibidem.

[319] https://www.oxfam.org/en/explore/issues/natural-resources (consulted on 20 May 2015)

[320] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in/New%20brand%20PDFs/ugandaNEW1.ashx (consulted on 20 May 2015)

[321] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/food (consulted on 20 May 2015)

farmers' associations across the region with the seeds, tools and technical advice they need"[322], "we support poor farmers to improve their access to food by using different agricultural methods and diversifying their crops"[323], reaching "in 2013/14, 400,000 people benefited from support to improve their crops, their goods or their services"[324]. They explain "support for poor communities during this economic crisis includes helping farmers get a fair price for their produce"[325], which includes working to "empower small-scale producers to improve trade regulation"[326], and "we train livestock producers, to strengthen their economic and political power and their influence in cross border trade markets"[327]. Oxfam work to empower producers and highlight the important role producers have within the trade system.

2.5.2 Comic Relief

Access to food does not fall directly within the scope of Comic Reliefs objectives, yet some broader engagement with the right to food can be found, on the one hand in reference to climate change, and also in relation to other rights.

Comic Relief's "Voices from Copenhagen", at the time of the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen in 2009, Comic Relief posed the question, "What are the biggest impacts climate change has had in Africa over the last 10 years?"[328], with responses including "the biggest impacts I've seen over the last ten years is an increase in short and heavy rains which cause floods and drought which disrupts food production"[329], and "hunger, poverty and disease"[330]. Responses to an additional question, "What effect is climate change having on the average Zambian family?"[331], included "climate change is bringing devastation on livelihoods. 70% of Zambians

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[322]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in /New%20brand%20PDFs/drcNEW.ashx (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[323]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in /New%20brand%20PDFs/mozambiqueNEW.ashx (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[324] http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/issues-we-work-on/food (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[325] ibidem.
[326] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 18.
[327]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in /New%20brand%20PDFs/nigerNEW.ashx (consulted on 20 May 2015)
[328] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/voices-copenhagen (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[329] ibidem.
[330] ibidem.
[331] ibidem.

live on what they grow. If there are constant floods and droughts then there is no food. This causes price rises on the foods that are available. In Zambia we spend 60% of our income on food, either growing or buying it. Inflated prices means there will be a lot of malnutrition"[332], "we are prone to major flood and drought, and as a consequence lead to the death of our community members, animals and loss of our possessions. This affects our food and water – often there just isn't enough for us or the animals"[333], and "as the rain is unpredictable the farmers end up losing so many crops as they cannot plan around the seasons any more. This leads to food insecurity and has massive impacts on livelihoods and the whole community"[334]. Limited access to food is seen in relation to, and as a consequence of, climate change. Environmental repercussions attributed to global warming cause "devastation to livelihoods", leading to "food insecurity" and at worse "no food".

Lack of access to food is presented by Comic Relief during celebrity visits to Africa. When Simon Cowell visits the "biggest rubbish dump" in Nairobi, Kenya, which he describes as being "quite literally hell on earth", he explains that "the kids spend all day every day picking through the filth for food to eat or plastic bottles they can sell hoping to get enough cash for one meal". He goes on to explain "but there is a way out of this hell", as he describes "I met up with a brilliant group who help these kids get away from the dump to somewhere safe outside the city". Once at this safe place, Cowell observes "they even took time to say grace before their first decent meals in months… not only do they get good food here, and a safe place to sleep, they also get an education"[335]. A lack of access to food is highlighted by this story, tied to an environment described as "hell". The solution presented is to remove the children from the situation to a "safe place" that provides not only food, but also shelter and education.

Another video sees Darcey Bussell dishing up bowls of rice and beans at the HOVIC centre, a shelter in Kenya funded by Comic Relief for boys who live on the street. The centre is a place "they come for breakfast, lunch time meals and then they shower… it's a place they can feel safe". Darcey narrates "Peter is 12, he's just started coming to HOVIC this week, he's been on the streets for over a year", she asks him "could

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[332] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/voices-copenhagen (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[333] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/how-climate-change-affects-me (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[334] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/africa-speak-copenhagen (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[335] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GkggK8DWpYo (consulted on 5 June 2015)

you tell me what makes you feel sad?" and he responds "I have no one to call a mother, father, brother or sister on the streets or someone to give me love". Cut to a shot of Peter collecting rubbish on the street, Darcey recounts, "During the day Peter finds whatever he can to sell for food, and at night he sleeps here under a shop"[336]. Lack of access to adequate food, is tied to an existence without a family, on the street. In their educational materials for schools in the UK, a "Meet Ngosa" clip sees Ngosa, aged 9, explain "it's not nice the way we live, it's hard, we get very hungry and sometimes don't have enough food to eat… I like to eat maize and chicken but the last time we ate that was when mum and dad were around"[337]. Comic Relief focuses specifically on children without a parents or guardians, having to provide food for themselves in difficult situations.

Furthermore John Bishop visits a slum in Kenya, where poor people "scavenge food leftovers", Bishop further describes "one of the children working on the dump is 10 year old Margaret", later asking her "what's the best thing you've ever found?", she replies "rice", disbelieving Bishop asks again, "rice? That's the best thing you've ever found", "yes". Bishop goes on to conclude "Margaret shouldn't have to eat leftovers on a rubbish dump", "she should be in school, and it's your donations that can make that happen"[338]. The celebrity states what shouldn't be happening, but without any explanation on why this is the situation. Comic Relief presents only the consequence and solution, without highlighting causes or underlying problems. Furthermore the solution presented is access to education, funded by Comic Relief. They simply present situations of challenges to food, and Comic Relief and the donor at home as providing solutions.

2.5.3 Conclusion

Oxfam directly addresses the right to adequate food, whilst Comic Relief engages with lack of access to food as a consequence of climate change and consequence of poverty.

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[336] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2taiTmFBJp0 (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[337] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y08RcHm0wLc (consulted on 5 June 2015)
[338] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eA3s3xi7Anc (consulted on 5 June 2015)

Oxfam considers access to food within the wider context of the global food system. It identifies global structures of trade, economics and politics at the root of inequality in the food system, which limits the enjoyment of the right to adequate food. Food inequality, which is a primary factor in the persistence of poverty, must be tackled at international, national and local levels. Oxfam call for governments and international governance to address the unjust policies of trade and aid, and also recognise the role of businesses in moving forward to address the vast inequalities in the food system through the fair share of natural resources. At local levels, Oxfam support producers to defend and promote their rights, and provide training to strengthen their ability to get a fair price for their produce.

Comic Relief instead refer to inadequate access to food as an additional challenge faced by those living in poverty, particularly in relation to children without parents. It is also considered a consequence of climate change. Oxfam also make reference to climate change, but in the context of what the world must do in light of it to ensure access to food. Comic Relief again uses personal stories, portrayed through a celebrity's interaction with the individual, using the lack of access to food as an added component of living in poverty, usually in reference to projects to provide shelter or education. The celebrity states what needs to be done, identifying the role of donors at home to contribute financially to ensure better lives of those children, and children like them, in Africa. Reference is not made to global structures, or systems of economics, politics and trade.

Oxfam's call for the need to change the global food system incorporates changes from the global to local. Inequality in access to food is presented as a global problem, not a problem of the poor. Oxfam states "we" need to change this, calling on a global community working to these ends. Comic Relief's "we" instead refers to the organisation itself and its donor's role in solving problems of poverty.

2.6 Right to Adequate Housing Analysis

2.6.1 Oxfam

Oxfam affirms it will "support urban dwellers living in poverty to develop solutions and gain recognition of their rights to decent natural resources, housing, WASH and adapt to climate change"[339], clearly identifying broad engagement of the right to adequate housing, including sanitation under its Water, Sanitation and Hygiene programme (WASH), and current environmental challenges posed by climate change. Oxfam considers the scale of the current situation "UN Habitat estimates that by 2030 about 3 billion people, or about 40 per cent of the world's population will need proper housing and access to basic infrastructure like water and sanitation systems", further stating "to achieve this, we'd need to build 96,150 new housing units per day on services and documented land starting right now" [340]. Ensuring the right to adequate housing is considered a global problem requiring global solutions.

Oxfam states "the majority of the urban poor in Kenya live in slums, or 'informal settlements'. Estimates suggest that in Nairobi, the fifth richest African city and home to around 5,000 millionaires, the slum population now makes up over 50% of the urban population of between roughly 3-5 million people"[341], drawing attention not only to the huge numbers of people living in slums but also to the vast inequality that this exists not only between 'north' and 'south', but within countries themselves. Conditions are presented, this time by an 'expert' visiting the slum, "with a lack of formal water supply, water cartels instead control unreliable and often polluted water pipelines"[342] consequently, those unable to pay markup prices "are forced to drink the piped water, teeming with bacteria and in worst cases, diseases like typhoid and cholera. In Mukuru, a glass of water can kill"[343], further stating "with no formal electricity providers, again, cartels step up to deliver. They tap electricity illegally from the factory buildings that rubs shoulders with the slum periphery. Mukuru us

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[339] Cfr. supra footnote 153, p. 19.
[340] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2014/05/mukuru-slum-a-lesson-in-inequality (consulted on 26 July 2015)
[341] ibidem.
[342] ibidem.
[343] ibidem.

criss-crossed with these lethal wires. They run between the one-bedroom shacks that are homes for an average of 5-6 people per household and the fire risk is horrific"[344]. Some realities of slum life presented as inadequate space and privacy, no access to safe drinking water, Oxfam highlights the extreme implications of lack of infrastructure. Of a recent fire within the slum, Oxfam's 'expert' further states "local grandmother Amina Choare told me what happened: "Over 100 people were killed, burned beyond recognition. Probably up to 1000 people had burns and many households lost everyone. It frightens me to live here knowing the risks that are around us, but it's because I do not have any means to live elsewhere. I cannot afford other places… I do not know if the government can help us in any way, because I hear the government tells us that we live in an illegal area""[345]. Oxfam presents the frightening and insecure reality of living in a slum, and the financial constraints that keep people there. Further highlighting the lack of clarity surrounding government responsibility among residents, and the illegality of their situation. One story is used to tell the story of many. Government neglect is more explicitly mentioned, by Oxfam itself "slums in Nairobi are well-known, named and measured. They can be seen from a plane, circumnavigated on foot and even appear on Google Earth map. Yet they slip of the radar as far as the government is concerned"[346], further stating, "Nairobi's slums form a near perfect case study of what can happen when there is an almost complete lack of basic services and investment"[347]. The dangers experienced by those living in slums are presented as problems of the lack of infrastructure and investment, consequences of government neglect.

Oxfam highlights that "lobbying the government for slum upgrading in Mukuru and the provisions of basic services is essential, but any development work must be done in a transparent way that genuinely works with local people, their needs and their views. Oxfam is now focused on making that a reality"[348]. Governments are recognised as duty bearers in the provision of basic services, with emphasis places on transparency of development and that local communities are included in this process. Oxfam further states, "along with local organizations, we've worked for years to

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[344] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2014/05/jaombi-a-school-on-the-edge-of-the-world 26/07/15
[345] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2014/05/mukuru-slum-a-lesson-in-inequality (consulted on 26 July 2015)
[346] ibidem.
[347] ibidem.
[348] ibidem.

convert abandoned buildings into houses of social interest. This fight led the government to drive a subsidized housing programme: buying abandoned buildings and remodelling them to make them available to the neediest population through fixed and accessible credit"[349], drawing attention to the potential of civil society to instigate change at government level.

Oxfam states of its WASH projects, "Oxfam believes everyone including the most marginalised have a right to safe water and sanitation as a basic essential service, and advocates for development of pro-poor policies that eliminate inequality that underlie the water management policies that exacerbate water scarcity"[350] this includes "water supply for human consumption and household needs" and "excreta disposal; solid waste management; drainage; vector control"[351]. Further stating of the slums in Nairobi, "most visible to visitors to Mukuru, is the near complete lack of formal sanitation. Raw sewage flows through many of the streets and some of the homes. Pit latrines are scarce, and those that exist are often filthy and terrifying places for children to go. It's understandable how the use of 'flying toilets' (where residents defecate in a plastic bag and then throw it) is still widespread despite a decline in the areas where Oxfam works with our Biocentre partners and Sanergy"[352]. Oxfam further states of its WASH programmes, "Oxfam uses livelihoods programme work to generate income and sanitation projects like Sanergy's to protect residents. But perhaps even more critically, we're also growing empowerment projects to raise the voices of residents and get them heard by those in power"[353]. Whilst income generation and improved sanitation are evidenced as crucial to the protection of residents, or primary importance are Oxfam's empowerment projects in order for slum residents to be heard.

[349]http://www.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/OGB/What%20we%20do/Countries%20we%20work%20in /New%20brand%20PDFs/brazilNEW.ashx (consulted on 26 July 2015)
[350] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/water-health-education/wash#contentprimary_0_ctl00_FirstTab (consulted on 26 July 2015)
[351] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/water-health-education/wash#00578a07-d9f6-4f27-ac56-8b23e5cf7758 (consulted on 26 July 2015)
[352] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2014/05/jaombi-a-school-on-the-edge-of-the-world (consulted on 26 July 2015)
[353] http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2014/05/mukuru-slum-a-lesson-in-inequality (consulted on 26 July 2015)

2.6.2 Comic Relief

Comic Relief's engagement with the right to adequate housing is focused on slums. It states "slum dwellers often struggle to get their voices heard"[354] and that it will fund projects that ensure "slum dwellers have an improved quality of life"[355], "better quality housing and access to affordable water and sanitation"[356], "more secure land tenure and management of land, housing and other assets"[357], and "greater resilience to environment risks and shocks"[358], each key components of the right to adequate housing.

Comic Relief describes, "every day across Africa, thousands of people desperate to escape poverty in rural areas move to the city hoping to find a job, but without the means to pay city rents. Most are forced to live in already overcrowded slums without access to even the most basic services"[359], rural poverty and city rents are presented as primary factors as to why people live in slums. Comic Relief further states "the money raised through Sport Relief and awarded by the UK Government will help thousands to escape the poverty they now face and will help future generations in these ahead"[360], "the UK Government has backed the public's incredible support for this year's Sport Relief fundraising campaign, organized by the national charity Comic Relief, with £10m towards the charity's work to improve the lives of a million people living in urban slums across Africa"[361], and "this money will help people living in grinding poverty in urban slums across Africa by helping to provide clean water, toilets and basic health care"[362]. Money is identified as the means to improve living conditions, by providing for basic facilities, which enable people to "escape" "grinding" poverty; money that is donated by the UK public and "awarded" by the UK Government.

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[354] Cfr. supra footnote 171, p. 22.

[355] ibidem, p. 9.

[356] ibidem, p. 25.

[357] ibidem, p. 25.

[358] ibidem. p. 25.

[359] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/government's-£10m-support-urban-slums (consulted on 7 June 2015)

[360] ibidem.

[361] ibidem.

[362] ibidem.

Comic Relief's objectives also include, "slum dwellers will also get the legal rights they need to build or rent their own stable houses instead of living in fragile tin shacks"[363], "building the capacity of people living in slums or informal settlements to represent their own needs and demands to landlords, service providers and councils, holding such authorities to account"[364], and "involving slum residents (especially women and young adults) in the delivery and management of services that affect them"[365]. Reference is made to legal rights needed for legal tenure, rather than human rights. Comic Relief does regard the need for slum dwellers to represent their own needs, yet this is done within a local setting, to landlords and local councils, without wider reference to governments as duty bearers. Comic Relief further states, "proper livelihoods and security of tenure give people the power to change their situation, and in turn are enabled to improve their living conditions"[366], power to change "their" situation suggests it is "their" problem, but one Comic Relief will "help" with.

Comic Relief states "we wish to help slum dwellers have more of a say in decisions affecting where they live and how they live. And we will support work that both protects people against injustice and promotes their rights"[367] and "ensuring greater legal protection for slum residents against unlawful evictions, with help to obtain legal title to land suited to their needs"[368]. Comic Relief "help" slum dwellers, and refers to protection and promotion of rights. Comic Relief states, "helping the urban poor to improve their earning potential and afford better housing"[369], "supporting slum dwellers to work together for greater impact, for example by setting up savings and credit groups, or running social enterprises for the benefit of the community"[370] and "Comic Relief will continue to be a leading grant maker, supporting the urban poor in Africa. We will focus on work that improves the dignity and economic prospects of people living in degrading slum environments"[371]. In presenting the solution to living in slums, as improving slum dwellers economic potential so that they can afford better housing, suggests again that it is a problem of the poor that

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[363] http://www.comicrelief.com/news/government's-£10m-support-urban-slums (consulted on 7 June 2015)
[364] Cfr. supra footnote 171, p. 24.
[365] ibidem, p. 24.
[366] ibidem, p. 23.
[367] Ibidem, p. 23.
[368] ibidem, p. 24.
[369] ibidem, p. 24.
[370] ibidem, , p. 24.
[371] ibidem, p. 23.

Comic Relief can assist, not that the problem is the lack of affordable housing in the first place. Furthermore, Comic Relief defines itself as a "leading" actor.

The perceived realities of living in a slum are presented by Comic Relief through a celebrity trip to Uganda. Miranda Hart narrates her visit to a slum in Kampala "all the human, animal and domestic waste ends up in open drains… in the rainy season this drain full of waste will overflow and flood everybody's houses… you can imagine that the consequences of that are dire". After meeting and talking to a family that lives in the slum, Miranda relays "Aisha's baby Christine died because raw sewage flooded her house because of lack of a draining system", she begins to cry alongside Aisha, before addressing the camera and the audience at home, "please, for them, pick up the phone"[372]. The celebrity portrays the tough conditions which face those living in slums, highlighting the "open drains" and "lack of a drainage system" as the problem, and the UK public "picking up the phone" to donate as the solution.

2.6.3 Conclusion

Both Oxfam and Comic Relief draw connections between slums and the need for provision basic services. Oxfam clearly identifies that government neglect causes the ongoing persistence of slum situations, which is characterised by a lack of basic infrastructure. Comic Relief also presents the lack of infrastructure, but does not say who is accountable. Further adding that by improving the economic prospects of slum dwellers will then allow them to be able to afford better housing.

Comic Relief focuses on the importance of legal tenure and rights promotion, yet this is done within a local context, rather than drawing attention to the wider responsibility of governments. Oxfam focuses itself of the provision of basic services, namely through its WASH campaign, and also highlights its work, and the need more widely to, lobby governments for change.

Both Oxfam and Comic Relief use personal stories to highlight the 'reality' of slum conditions, each using the story of one individual to represent the experience of many. Oxfam's 'expert' visits a slum and uses direct speech from an individual as a

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[372] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8JDTBuT6oXo (consulted on 7 June 2015)

comment on the dangers of electrical fires, which touches upon further issues of government neglect and economic limitations. Comic Relief, on the other hand, speaks for the individual in an appeal context.

2.7 Analysis of Research

Critical analysis of Oxfam and Comic Relief's engagement with human rights has given insight into how the organisations present poverty, what actors and target groups are identified, and what instruments there are for poverty reduction.

2.7.1 Poverty

Oxfam and Comic Relief engage with poverty in different ways, with Oxfam referring to inequality globally thus regarding poverty as a global problem, whilst Comic Relief instead presents poverty as the problem of poor people in Africa.

Both Oxfam and Comic Relief present the 'now' of poverty, with Oxfam considering it within wider global context, influenced and as consequence of international structures. Comic Relief on the other hand, offers no real explanation as to the causes of poverty, instead just presenting current situations alongside more immediate ways to alleviate suffering.

Oxfam frames poverty as a human rights issue, and poverty is considered as the denial of human rights, identifying those living in poverty as rights holders, and the national and international actors who can ensure these rights are realised. Comic Relief instead identifies poverty as a situation that just exists, and deal with symptoms, not with causes.

2.7.2 Actors and Target Groups

Oxfam and Comic Relief identify different actors as they present poverty and their approaches to poverty reduction. The construct different roles, identities and relationships between actors and the target groups.

Oxfam presents multiple actors creating a myriad of relationships with one another. Reflecting its human rights based approach to poverty reduction, these relationships are usually between rights holders and duty bearers. Oxfam identifies as primary actors, governments and civil society, presenting a symbiotic relationship between the two. Governments are consistently identified as duty bearers, responsible for the realisation of rights and accountable for their performance. Civil society is, again

consistently, identified as the organ by which to hold governments accountable, ensuring they fulfil their obligations to ensure the rights of its citizens. Oxfam places itself in support of both in the realisation of rights in order to tackle poverty.

Having identified international policies of international institutions and governance as a primary factor in the persistence of poverty, Oxfam recognises them as further actors for poverty reduction, primarily in relation to the right to health and right to food. Oxfam further identifies the role of the private sector, principally in relation to the right to work. Businesses should both ensure rights, and can have an influential role in government for policy change. Oxfam works with businesses and workers, in order for the enjoyment of the right to work. Oxfam itself is further identified as an actor, not only in supporting civil society and lobbying governments but also in its provision of buildings, trainings and materials. Oxfam provides trainings and materials in order for rights to be realised.

The target group Oxfam presents is more complex than 'poor people' although it does make use of that term. The focus on rights means 'poor people' are also considered rights holders and are presented as active participants, *actors*, in the alleviation of poverty. Oxfam's work is presented as 'helping', yet this is to assist those living in poverty in their capacity as rights holders.

Comic Relief identifies a different set of actors and presents a dichotomous relationship between donors and beneficiaries. The main actors identified by Comic Relief are itself and the UK public, with further mention drawn to the support of the UK Government. The target group, or more aptly, beneficiaries, of their work are identified as poor people across Africa.

Comic Relief consistently identifies that its work seeks to 'improve', 'help', 'change' and 'transform' poor people and poor communities across Africa, identifying itself as 'leading' within the field. It is able to do this work because of funding from the UK public, which is referred to as "generosity", "outstanding contributions", "incredible support", "triumph of the human spirit that the British public give so generously". The UK Government then match the public's fundraising or award funds itself, and support Comic Relief's in its work.

Personal stories highlight those on the receiving end of Comic Relief's work; this is most often done in the context of a celebrity trip. Stories are framed in relation to a Comic Relief funded project. Celebrities experience and portray this back to the UK public, they 'witness' for individuals at home both the conditions of poverty, evidencing how money is spent, that it makes a difference and that people are thankful for it.

Comic Relief makes sparse reference to government's duties or the role of civil society, and when it does so terminology is inconsistent. When vague mention is made of civil society, it is in its provisional role, rather than in relation to holding governments to account. They do not identify the relationship between governments as duty bearers, and citizens as rights holders.

2.7.3 Instruments

Oxfam presents the need for a comprehensive approach to tackle poverty, involving many actors and relationships, whilst Comic Relief considers the answer for poverty alleviation to be donor money.

Oxfam stresses the need for change at the local, national and international level, calling for state oriented policy change. The means for this are identified as lobbying government, and strengthening civil society in order for them to hold governments accountable. Oxfam also places importance on knowledge transfer, both technical (work, agriculture, sanitation) and in rights. Human rights are identified as the vehicle to realise the eradication of poverty, through the relationship between governments as duty bearers and citizens as rights holders.

Comic Relief's primary instrument for poverty reduction is donor money, from both the UK public and UK Government. Comic Relief and its partners will then spend this money on projects, which will impact millions of lives across Africa. Direct appeals are made to the public, often by celebrities, to donate money. Its use of transaction models '£10 buys…', highlights how the relationship between poor people and donors is presented in financial terms, the solution to poverty presented as one of economic transfer by one off donations.

2.7.4 Conclusion

A much more complex picture of poverty is presented by Oxfam, and as such that a more complex approach to poverty alleviation is needed. Comic Relief, on the other hand, paints a much simpler picture of poverty and the instruments required to end it. Whilst Oxfam is concerned with how to engage the public with issues of poverty, Comic Relief is concerned about fundraising the most money in order to aid poverty. This underlies the fundamental difference in approach of the two organisations. Whilst both engage with issues pertaining to human rights, Oxfam frames poverty in terms of these rights, consistently using rights language and stressing the need to engage everybody in order to change the global systems that are identified as keeping poverty in place. Comic Relief instead engages in as much to raise the most money, in order to fund projects with a more immediate, visible and measurable impact. The alleviation of suffering is of concern, but it is not framed in rights language.

Despite Oxfam's consistent use of rights language and having identified the main actors in relation to a human rights framework, wider reference to the human rights framework, global and national human rights systems and standards is not consistently addressed. Comic Relief does not use consistent human rights language, in fact there a few references to rights at all. Nor is there reference to the wider global system, beyond UK as donor, Africa as beneficiary.

It is evident then, that there are two vastly different presentations of poverty and approaches to poverty reduction.

CHAPTER 3

3. Values & Frames

Central to understanding levels of UK public engagement with global poverty and human rights is to consider what drives human behaviour. The previous chapter has established that both approaches to tackling poverty, and modes of communicating this, vary substantially among organisations, particularly in relation to engagement with human rights. How and why these distinct approaches influence human behaviour and attitudes can perhaps shed light as to why public engagement with global poverty is currently so low. In order to do this, it is necessary to engage with research beyond both the human rights and development field, and consider work of cognitive scientists, linguists and psychologists. These fields have long been concerned with understanding human motivation and what drives and influences behaviour and attitudes. After first considering recent developments in values and frames theory, the findings of the content analysis of Oxfam and Comic Relief's engagement with human rights will then be reconsidered in light of these theories.

3.1 Values

Values have been a central concept in explaining social behaviour and change since the inception of social sciences, yet have until recently lacked an agreed-upon understanding about what these basic values are.[373] Schwartz's 'Basic Values' identifies ten broad values that influence human behaviour and attitudes (Figure 1), which has provided this common understanding, inspiring copious further research. [374] Values can be understood as representing the guiding principles and broad motivations held by individuals, which influence human behaviour and attitudes.[375] The correlation between values and behaviour includes both deliberate and non-deliberate behavioural choices. The former sees the pursuit of values through

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[373] Schwartz, 2012, p. 3.
[374] Schwartz, 1992.
[375] Holmes, Blackmore, Hawkins & Wakeford, 2011, p. 8.

consciously behaving in ways that express them.[376] The latter, sees behavioural choices derive from a sub-conscious trade-off between values; each individual's values are ordered by importance and it is the relative importance of multiple values that guides actions, attitudes and behaviours.[377] This explains why people do not always act in line with the values they hold important.[378]

Value Type	Definition	Value Labels
Self-Direction	Independent thought and action – choosing, creating, exploring	Creativity Freedom Choosing own goals Independent Self-respect Curious
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty and challenge in life	A varied life Daring An exciting life
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification	Pleasure Enjoying life
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competencies according to social standards	Influential Ambitious Successful Capable Intelligent Self-respect
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	Wealth Social power Preserving my public image Social Recognition Authority
Security	Safety, harmony, and the stability of society of relationships, and of self	Sense of belonging National security Family security Reciprocation of favours Social order Clean Healthy
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations	Self-discipline Obedient Politeness Honouring of parents and elders
Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture of religion provide the self	Devout Humble Accepting my portion in life Moderate, Respect for tradition
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent	Responsible Helpful Honest

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[376] Bardi & Schwarz, 2003, p. 1208.
[377] Schwarz, 2012, p. 4.
[378] Crompton, 2010, p. 30.

	personal contact	Forgiving Loyal True Friendship Mature Love
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature	Social justice Broad-minded Equality Unity with nature Wisdom Protecting the environment A world at peace

Figure 1 Schwartz's ten value types (Schwartz, 1992, pp. 5-11.)
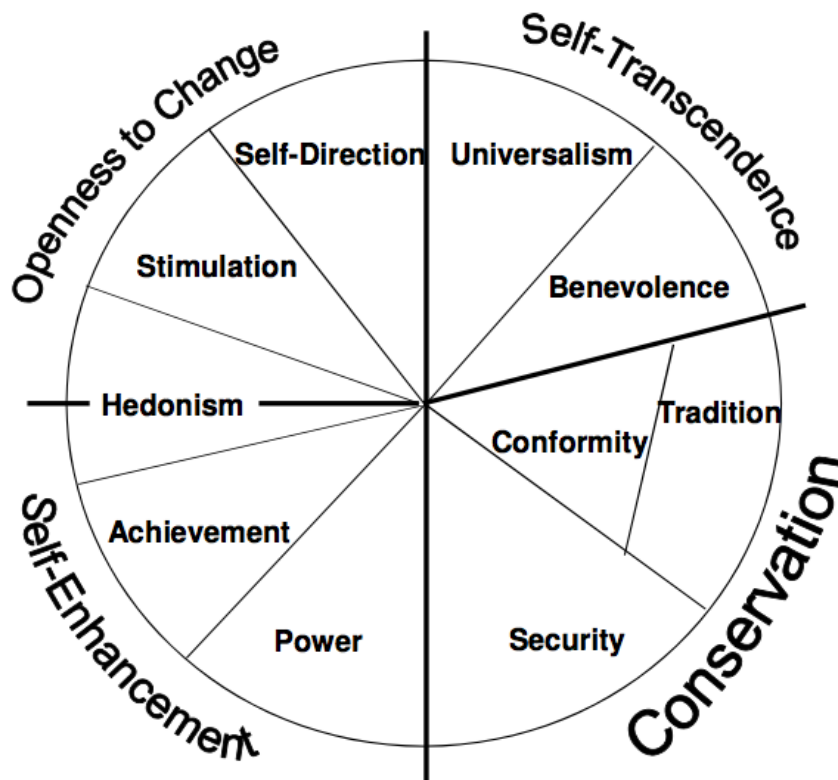

Figure 2 Theoretical model of relations among ten motivational types of values (from Schwartz, 2012, p. 9.)

These values form a continuum of related motivations, evidenced by the circular structure of the Schwartz model (Figure 2), which highlights the central features of

values. First, that they are considered to form a continuum of related motivations, adjacent values being more compatible, whilst those opposing each other incurring the greatest conflict.[379] Second, those closer in proximity have more similar motivations, whilst those further apart have more antagonistic motivations.[380] If one value is engaged it often has a strengthening effect on adjacent values and associated behaviours, whilst for opposite values, if one value is engaged the opposing values are often suppressed.[381] For example, when an individual is most concerned with their own status or financial success, they are unlikely to be concerned for others welfare, and vice versa. [382]

Schwartz groups values into four broader types seen on the outer layer of Figure 2. Self-Enhancement values and Openness to Change values primarily regulate expressions of personal interest and characteristics, whilst Self-Transcendence values and Conservation values primarily regulate how people socially relate with others and impacts their interests.[383] The antagonistic principle holds; Self-Enhancement values, which promote self-interest values like wealth and ambition, are in contrast to self-transcendent values, which consider the welfare of others over personal interest, like helpfulness and equality. Whilst Conservation values, which protect the status quo, like family security and social order, are in opposition to Openness to Change values, which follow intellectual and emotional pursuits in uncertain directions, like creativity and curiosity.[384] Central to understanding and using values is first, that they are universal; every individual is guided by each value but to different extents, at different times. Second, values can be 'engaged' by different communications and experiences, which often then impact human behaviours and actions.[385]

Further research using Schwartz's values, has identified subsidiary goals in relation to values, which can be grouped into two categories, extrinsic and intrinsic. Extrinsic goals are centred on approval or rewards, like wealth, material success, concern about image, social status, prestige, social power and authority; these are normally engaged with as a means to other ends. Conversely, intrinsic goals are more inherently

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[379] Schwartz, 1992, p. 14.
[380] Schwartz, 2012, p. 10.
[381] Holmes, Blackmore, Hawkins & Wakeford, 2011, p. 18.
[382] ibidem, p. 17.
[383] Schwartz, 2012, pp. 13-14.
[384] Maio, Cheung, Pakizeh & Rees, 2009, pp. 699-700.
[385] Holmes, Blackmore, Hawkins & Wakeford, 2011, p.18.

rewarding pursuits, like affiliation to friends and family, connection with nature, concern for others, self-acceptance, social justice and creativity; these goals are more likely to satisfy basic psychological needs.[386]

Crompton's *Common Cause* identifies factors that activate concern for bigger than self-problems (climate change, global poverty) as those that activate self-transcendence and openness to change values, alongside intrinsic goals. Whilst factors which embed self-enhancement and conservation values, alongside extrinsic goals, will instead promote concern about popularity, social status and behaviours consistent with these. [387]

3.2 Frames

Values are what influence human behaviours and how individuals understand the world, and frames are the 'mental structures', which order these ideas, and are the methods of communication that create these structures and shape our interpretations.[388] Frames thus shape how individuals see the world, shaping goals sought, how to act, and what is considered a good or bad outcome of actions.[389] A common misconception about how individuals think derives from the Enlightenment, that reason is conscious, logical, universal and unemotional. Cognitive and brain sciences have shown that reason is instead mostly unconscious; it uses the "logic" of frames and so varies as frames vary, and requires emotion.[390] In order to understand how humans communicate, think and act, frames are widely accepted within social science disciplines as a necessary theoretical framework.[391]

Language is central to the creation and communication of frames. Every word is defined relative to frames; words themselves are not frames, but rather words can be chosen to activate certain frames.[392] Because reason is mostly unconscious and influenced by frames, when presented with facts, frames and not 'rational' reason thus

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[386] Kasser & Ryan, 1996, p. 280.
[387] Crompton, 2010, p. 33.
[388] Holmes, Blackmore, Hawkins & Wakeford, 2011, p. 36.
[389] Lakoff, 2014, p. xi
[390] Lakoff, 2010, p. 72
[391] Crompton, 2010, p. 43.
[392] Lakoff, 2014, p. xii.

influence individuals. Frames thus become of central importance when communicating information. In order for facts to be communicated, they must be framed properly; in order for a person to understand something complex, a person must have a system of frames already in place in order to make sense of said message, frame systems that are built over time.[393] Furthermore, the system of frames must be the right one for the facts to be communicated, if the system of frames is inconsistent with the facts, the frame will stay in place and the facts will be ignored.[394] Language is central for the effective communication of facts, words must be chosen to activate the right frames, and if those frames don't yet exist within the individual, words must be chosen to build up those frames.[395]

Lakoff makes a distinction between surface frames and deep frames, which are best evidenced using his example, "Surface frames are associated with phrases like "war of terror" that both activate and depend critically on deep frames. These are the most basic frames that constitute a moral worldview or a political philosophy. Deep frames define one's overall "common sense""[396]. Whilst surface frames are the careful choice of wording that can activate deep frames, surface frame will only be retained if they fit the deep frame.[397] Additionally, deep frames can be changed over time, which leads Lakoff to stress "when we successfully reframe public discourse, we change the way the public sees the world, we change what counts as common sense"[398], adding "because language activates frames, new language is required for new frames. Thinking differently requires speaking differently."[399]

In summary, values are abstract principles that reflect our basic motivations. Frames are both the mental structures that allow humans to understand the world, and the vehicle by which to strengthen certain values within society. There are surface frames and deep frames, the former is the use of wording or phrasing which both provides the subject matter and the angle for viewing it, whilst the latter are the mental structures containing particular values, which are held in long-term memory.[400] Deep frames

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[393] Lakoff, 2010, p. 73
[394] Lakoff, 2006.
[395] Lakoff, 2010, p. 73
[396] Lakoff, 2006 p. 29
[397] Crompton, 2010, pp. 41-42
[398] Lakoff, 2014, p. xii.
[399] ibidem, p. xiii
[400] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p. 75.

forge the connection between language and values, and are activated by surface frames.[401]

3.3 Values, Frames & UK public engagement with global poverty

Concern over UK public disengagement with global poverty and climate change, has sparked study of values and frames as applied to the third sector. A recent study initiated by Oxfam and supported by DFID, *Finding Frames: New ways to engage the UK public in Global Poverty* (2011), explores the potential of frames theory to re-engage the UK public.[402]

It has been suggested that development NGOs should ensure their work activates 'Universalism' values, including Equality, A World at Peace, and Social Justice, whilst 'Power' values like Social Power, Wealth, Authority and Preserving My Public Image should be avoided.[403] Furthermore, development NGOs should not purport conflicting goals, which many currently do, for example by activating intrinsic goals of Community Feeling and Affiliation at the same time as extrinsic goals of Conformity, Popularity, Image and Financial Success, this encourages both pro-social and consumerist behaviours, antagonistic principles that are not conducive to long-term engagement.[404] The activation of intrinsic goals and Universalism values should secure long term public engagement with development and help to bring a shift in societal values which should increase the amount of engaged supporters. However, the activation of Power values and goals of financial success and image, those that conflict with the positive values and goals above, will diminish public engagement and should thus be avoided.[405]

The *Finding Frames* report undertook exploratory research on deep frames within the development sector within the UK, identifying a set of conflicting frames presented below.

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[401] Crompton, 2010, p.58.
[402] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p. 1.
[403] ibidem, p. 53.
[404] ibidem, p. 44.
[405] ibidem, p.99.

Rational Actor v Embodied Mind

The Rational Actor frame considers that all individuals make self-directed choices. Reason is abstract, independent from bodily experience and mathematically logical; this frame underlines the IMF, World Bank and Marketing industry.[406] The Embodied Mind frame, on the other hand, assumes a more complex picture of the world, one filled with social beings, where reasoning stems from human interaction with the physical and social environment, and rationality is tied to emotions and moral values.[407]

Free Market v Shared Prosperity

The Free Market frame asserts a world in which individuals seek to maximise self-interest, where the industrious efforts of individuals create wealth. A combination of their self-discipline and personal freedoms make them competitive, and their industriousness makes them deserving of the wealth they acquire. In this frame, Free Markets are presumed moral, with the understanding that if everyone pursues their own profit, the profit of all will be maximised. Consequently, markets are considered to have a natural capacity to yield optimal outcomes, and with this logic the best approach to poverty reduction is to open trade routes in order for corporations to generate wealth, increasing general prosperity.[408] Conversely, the Shared Prosperity frame considers that the world is instead filled with support systems, which serve as mechanisms for generating wealth. These are owned by everyone and are for everyone's use. This shared infrastructure empowers people to cooperate on a societal scale, which is how wealth is created.[409]

Elite Governance v Participatory Democracy

The Elite Government frame holds that everyday citizens find governance too complicated, and as such 'expert' elites are necessary in order to make decisions on behalf of the people. In providing their expertise to challenging problems, the elites are seen as leaders of democracy, protecting the governing body from the irrational

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[406] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p.83.
[407] ibidem, p.83.
[408] ibidem, p.84.
[409] ibidem, p.84.

whims of the masses.[410] On the contrary, within the Participatory Democracy frame people are considered capable of governing themselves. The role of experts is limited to providing counsel and officials are elected and are accountable to the public. The people determine their own trajectory, with the masses considered an important source of knowledge and insight.[411]

Moral Order & Non-hierarchical structures

In this case the paired frames are not in opposition owing to the prevalence of the Moral Order frame with UK culture. The Non-hierarchical frame is instead provided as an alternative.[412] The Moral Order frame arises from the logic that as human existence stems from nature, nature itself is considered moral. Natural hierarchies of power, which have emerged throughout history, are thus deemed moral hierarchies. The most powerful has come to define the most moral, man over nature, adults over children, Western over non-Western. This frame is built into the foundations of the big development NGOs operating today. A central component of the Moral Order frame is that it is structured vertically, meaning those higher in the hierarchy are considered morally superior to those occupying lower positions.[413] The Non-hierarchical frame presents an alternative model, which sees an open network of relations, connected by strong moral purpose and an explicit drive for equality.[414]

The above-mentioned frames were intended to spark debate rather than to be considered a definitive framework.[415] In light of values and frames theory, the third sector is more widely encouraged to scrutinise the values and frames their existing communications promote and engage with, ensuring and working towards campaigns that embody the values they seek to promote.[416] It is suggested that to better engage the UK public with global poverty, organisations should promote Embodied Mind frames over Rational Actor frames, Shared Prosperity over Free Market; Participatory

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[410] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p.84.
[411] ibidem, p.84.
[412] ibidem, p.85.
[413] ibidem, p.85.
[414] ibidem, p.85.
[415] ibidem, p.88.
[416] Crompton, 2010, p. 76

Democracy over Elite Governance; and Non-hierarchical Networks instead of Moral Order.[417]

Deep frames conducive to re-engaging the UK public with global poverty are easier to denote, owing to their close proximity to values. Conversely, surface frames are harder to define because of their broader nature. The report suggests that practitioners should collaborate with each other in order to establish the most appropriate surface frames for their objectives. Working together will be central to the success of changing values and frames. It should be noted that because initially individuals will have different perceptions and existing frames, within new approaches, different frames would work better on different audiences.[418] Lakoff's *Don't Think of An Elephant!* (2004) advises that surface frames should however, avoid denying negative frames as this in fact reinforces it; in order not the think of an elephant, you have to think of an elephant.[419]

3.4 Reconsidering Oxfam and Comic Relief in relation to Values and Frames

The potential of values and frames made evident, it is important to reconsider the conclusions drawn from the content analysis of Oxfam and Comic Relief with them in mind. It should be acknowledged that as Oxfam commissioned the *Finding Frames* report, it has begun the task of embedding values and frames into its long-term strategies.[420]

Oxfam's presentation of poverty reduction involves multiple actors and a myriad of relationships. It works together with civil society within the countries where poverty is prevalent, calls for all people to be united against poverty, and strives for all individuals to be treated equally and for global equality to be realised. This would imply a Non-hierarchical frame. Furthermore, Oxfam places consistent emphasis on people influencing decisions that affect their own lives, as rights holders they become

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[417] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p.101
[418] ibidem, p.89.
[419] Lakoff, p. 1, at http://www.publicworks.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Simple-Framing_George-Lakoff.pdf (consulted on 07 July 2015)
[420] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p.115.

active citizens. Oxfam encourages citizens and provides knowledge transfer to citizens, so that they are able to hold duty bearers to account. This would imply a Participatory Democracy frame. Oxfam's concern over the fair share of natural resources and its critique of international economic and trade policies, which includes actively suggesting that they cause the persistence of poverty, suggests a Shared Prosperity frame over the Free Market frame.

At the level of values, Oxfam can be seen to engage with Universalism values. Its concern for an equitable food system, the fair share of natural resources, and a concern not to damage the environment, evokes unity with nature, and protecting the environment. Furthermore, by proclaiming the power of people against poverty, implies equality and goals of social justice.

Comic Relief more evidently engages with more negative surface frames of 'charity' and 'campaigning', evoking negative deep frames, like Moral Order. This deep frame purports the notion of a superior north and inferior south, powerful giver and grateful receiver.[421] Additionally implicated through their "us" and "them" rhetoric. Furthermore the use of celebrities brings associated values of celebrity culture and consumerist values, which activate extrinsic goals of Popularity, Image and Conformity, and Power values like Social Power, Wealth, and Preserving Ones Public Image.[422] During Comic Relief's celebrity project visits, the combination of disempowering imagery combined with transaction models can be seen to further implicate the Moral Order and Free Market deep frames. Furthermore its drive for presenting a simple donor framework, without further engagement beyond its yearly fundraising campaign, where individuals are asked to 'pick up the phone' or 'do something funny for money', does not inform or engage the public with its development work, suggesting it encompasses an Elite Governance frame. Furthermore, in presenting the solution to poverty in primarily economic terms, it supports the economic principles of self-sustaining growth held by the Free-Market frame, and to an extent the Rational Actor frame.

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[421] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p. 90.
[422] ibidem, p. 107.

3.5 Human Rights and Frames

Previous studies have considered the connection between values and human rights, with the aim to understand what leads people to feel committed to human rights, and what encourages behaviour to strengthen human rights and counter human rights violations.[423] What has been deduced from these studies is that individuals that place importance to universalism values and less on power values, in general have greater concern and engagement with human rights.[424] However, given the difference between Oxfam and Comic Relief's engagement with human rights, and the subsequent discovery that these evoke different sets of frames and values, begs the question as to whether human rights *themselves* can be a way to evoke the values necessary for better engagement with global poverty.

Universalism values have been identified as the most likely to engage the public with global poverty. The motivational goals of Universalism, are those of understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection of all people. The values encouraged to be activated include equality, social justice, and of a world at peace; the very principles set forth in the UDHR, "*Whereas* recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world"[425]; equality, justice, peace between nations.

As has been evidenced by the values and frames espoused by Oxfam, a human rights based approach encourages behaviour conducive to re-engagement with global poverty. A rights based approach to poverty reduction identifies those living in poverty as citizens with rights, and that governments are duty bearers. This should encourage development NGOs to work with rights-holders (citizens) in order to hold the governments accountable to their human rights obligations, through rights training, cooperation with civil society organisations, or both. This encourages a Non-hierarchical frame. Furthermore, in recognising those living in poverty as rights holders instead of grateful recipients of donor money, notions of 'charity' are actively avoided, and as such Moral Order frame, identified as having a negative effect on public engagement, is also averted.

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[423] Cohrs, Maes, Moschner & Kielmann, 2007, p. 442.
[424] Spini & Doise, 1998, p. 608.
[425] UDHR, Preamble.

3.6 Conclusion

Consideration of values and frames theory has brought new insight into public engagement with global poverty, where the process of re-engaging the public in global poverty by encouraging supportive actions, is seen as somewhat of a behavioural change task.[426]

Comic Relief's presentation of poverty reduction engages frames not conducive to engagement with global poverty, such as the Moral Order frame and the Free Market frame. Its use of surface frames of 'charity' and 'campaign' further engages with those deeper frames. Conversely, Oxfam engages with positive frames like Non-hierarchical, Shared Prosperity, and Participatory Democracy. This discovery led to the further consideration of human rights in relation to values and frames, suggesting their potential as a frame for better engagement with poverty, at both a surface and deep frame level.

The antagonistic characteristic of values and frames (conflicting values and frames can have a suppressing effect on each other) in mind, it follows that in order for a shift in frames to take place and to have a positive effect on engagement of the UK public with global poverty, the sector must work together, creating surface frames which will tap into or create the deep frames needed for this shift. What is evident is that currently Comic Relief and Oxfam are activating opposing values, through different frames, which means that the positive values espoused by Oxfam are being hindered by Comic Relief.

Furthermore, NGOs alone will not be able to shift frames, considering that numerous factors and frames on a daily basis influence an individual's behaviour. However NGOs must lead the way in applying frames theory, in its central role in contributing to frames that support social justice.[427]

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[426] Darnton & Kirk, 2011, p.97.
[427] ibidem, p.105.

CHAPTER 4

4. Discussion

This thesis has been concerned with the alarming persistence of global poverty and the lack of engagement of the UK public with that poverty. In considering poverty as a violation of human rights, those living in poverty become rights holders, to which there must also be duty bearers. Furthermore, it repositions the relationship between 'poor people' and development NGOs, shifting from a charitable approach, where development agencies 'help' passive beneficiaries, to one where rights holders become active agents, demanding their rights instead of being disposed through charity. Within the international human rights framework States are identified as duty bearers, and have obligations regarding the realisation and protection of human rights. However, the notion of human rights has yet to become central practice within international governance; with many States preaching their importance yet in their policies and actions continuing to ignore them. The persistence of global poverty provides a clear example of the current failings of the human rights systems. The UDHR, created in a post-World War Two context, intended that the promotion of universal respect for human rights would extend beyond the responsibility of States, to include the responsibility of every individual and every organ of society.[428] There is no accountability mechanism for individual responsibility in the promotion of human rights, but that doesn't mean that responsibilities should be neglected. Bearing in mind that poverty is a denial of basic human rights, and that individuals have responsibilities in promoting respect for the rights of others, the lack of public engagement with global poverty is acutely troubling.

Human rights education is absent from the national curriculum, which means one of the main avenues for the UK public to learn about both human rights and poverty is through predominant NGOs. In order to understand what information is being presented, in a bid to understand why engagement is so low, content analysis of two predominant NGOs within the UK, Oxfam and Comic Relief, was undertaken.

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[428] UDHR, Preamble.

Critical analysis was made of Oxfam and Comic Relief's engagement with human rights. The focus of this analysis has not been concerned with the actual implementation of policies, but rather how each organisation communicates their engagement to the UK public. Interesting conclusions were drawn, and two vastly different approaches emerged. Critical analysis of these different approaches, in reference to values and frames theory, generated interesting conclusions about the factors contributing to low levels of engagement, and to suggest potential ways in order for the individual responsibilities mentioned above, to be encouraged.

Oxfam adopted a human rights based approach in 2004. The rights analysis undertaken in Chapter 2 evidences this approach. Rights language is used consistently; citizens are referred to as rights holders, governments as duty bearers and civil society the primary actor to hold governments accountable to their human rights obligations. Oxfam places poverty within a global context, identifying international trade and economic policies as a cause of the ongoing persistence of poverty, and recognising policy change, at the local, national and global level as necessary in order to tackle poverty. Calling on rights holders to universally come together, through lobbying government and campaigning in all parts of the world, not just those where poverty is most prevalent. This approach was seen to evoke the positive values and frames necessary to encourage public re-engagement with poverty. This led to the proposition that human rights could provide the potential frame for public engagement with global poverty.

Content analysis of Comic Relief's engagement with human rights drew vastly different conclusions. Though rights issues were addressed, rights language was not used and reference to duty bearers, civil society and a wider international framework was either inconsistent or non-existent. A series of factors emerged, the use of "us" and "them" rhetoric, a close relationship with the UK Government, and the use of celebrities. Comic Relief's approach was seen to espouse values and frames not conducive to re-engaging the public in global poverty. If Oxfam's rights based approach can be seen to engage with positive values and frames, suggesting the potential to see human rights themselves as the frame for public re-engagement, then it can reasonably be proposed that behind Comic Relief's encouragement of negative values and frames, lies an existing contradiction to human rights.

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The "us" and "them" rhetoric used by Comic Relief is problematic for a number of reasons. First, that "them" is prevalently Africa; poverty is being Africanised. Harrison writes that the Africanisation of poverty was cemented during the Make Poverty History campaign, yet was able to emerge owing to "a social tapestry already created by abolitionism, colonial humanitarianism, advocacy for decolonization, Band Aid, anti-apartheid, and a range of 'Africa Events' which have been routinised into the mass media through televised charitable appeals"[429]. Comic Relief can be seen as part of this process. Comic Relief entrenches poverty as synonymous with Africa, making it Africa's problem. Which then allows for the creation of "us" as generous benefactors in the UK.

Made evident by the content analysis is the close relationship between Comic Relief and the UK Government, which includes large sums that Comic Relief receives from them. Biccum's analysis of DFID's literature provides a useful basis to draw parallels to Comic Relief's communication. It states "the aim of this promotional literature is to sell the idea of poverty eradication as a moral imperative of the British nation to its citizens. It is the possession of this moral duty that in part defines the UK as 'developed' and writes this identity into the national consciousness"[430]. Furthermore, DFID's rhetoric allows any notion of responsibility for poverty to be avoided; the language of responsibility presented as a moral responsibility to help the poor out of their otherwise state of underdevelopment. Instead of addressing and eradicating the actual causes.[431] Furthermore, Comic Relief (and DFID) affirms the 'now' of poverty, in a sense dehistoricising poverty; as a consequence poverty is prolonged as efforts try to cure the system rather than the cause.[432]

Congruent with DFID's literature, Comic Relief's discourse can be seen to normalise neo-liberal globalisation.[433] With such close links to the UK Government, the contributions from which accounting for such a large portion of Comic Relief's fundraising would make it difficult for Comic Relief to criticise the Government itself, or the role of international governance of which it is part.[434] Yet, not only does Comic Relief not criticise the Government for its unjust policies, it presents the UK

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[429] Harrison, 2010, p. 392.
[430] Biccum, 2005, p. 1013.
[431] ibidem. p. 1014.
[432] Kapoor, 2013, p.35-36
[433] Biccum, 2005, p. 1018.
[434] Glennie, 2008, p. 120.

Government in such a way that creates a picture of a caring government, rather than highlighting that it is part of the system that upholds poverty, for example in its trade policies. It belies their involvement.

Comic Relief relies heavily on the use of celebrities in their communication to audiences. This encourages negative values and frames, seen to inhibit sustained engagement with global poverty. Ilan Kapoor, author of *Celebrity Humanitarianism: The Ideology* of *Global Charity* holds that 'celebrity humanitarianism' legitimates and promotes neoliberal capitalism and global inequality.[435] He argues that it depoliticises development discourse, the 'activism' it preaches in fact contributes to a 'post democratic' political landscape. Which is described as appearing open and consensual, yet is actually managed by unaccountable elites.[436] In light of Comic Relief's terminology, "British institution", "generosity of the British public" and repeated use of celebrities, further ties into Kapoor's conclusion that 'celebrity humanitarianism' constructs the notion of a generous national community.[437] Furthermore, Comic Relief's consumerism, such as its merchandise and charity singles, alongside the use of celebrities can be seen to promote capitalism.[438] To make brief mention of Comic Relief's use of humour, Cameron's study into whether humour can be used as a strategy for engagement concludes "there is little that is unethical about the use of humour by Comic Relief, but its decision to employ only unrelated forms of humour fails to harness the potential power of humour to promote critical re-thinking about prevailing global power relations and the mainstream institutions of international development."[439]

As was made evident through content analysis, Comic Relief uses emotive stories in its presentation of poverty, this drama allows clear and simplified messaging which Kapoor states enables the audience to "take sides, claim moral indignation at the situation, feel good about its support for NGO humanitarianism"[440]. As such individuals become ideologically complicit within this system.[441]

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[435] Kapoor, 2013, p. 1.
[436] ibidem, p. 1.
[437] ibidem, p. 26.
[438] ibidem, p. 29.
[439] Cameron, 2015, p. 282.
[440] Kapoor, 2013, p. 95.
[441] ibidem, p. 106.

NGOs are now so reliant on marketing, branding and using celebrities, that they are becoming more like private businesses.[442] This applies to both Oxfam and Comic Relief, yet Oxfam has been concerned with low levels of engagement in global poverty, initiating the *Finding Frames* report.[443] Comic Relief's approach can be assessed by reviewing the website of the marketing agency it employed. The agency states of the impact of its work, "by understanding what people want, need and expect, Comic Relief has been able to stay relevant and motivating in an increasingly busy 'market', while staying true to the original founding principles of the organisation"[444], further giving the example, "Last year, we helped Comic Relief create a huge buzz around just one topic. The focus on a single health issue – malaria – was a major departure, as was the simple call to action of donating £5 by text to buy a single item – in this case a malaria net"[445]. It appears that underlying Oxfam's approach is the intention to increase understanding of poverty among the public, whilst Comic Relief seems instead to be concerned with employing the most effective ways to fundraise the most money.

A divide is evident between NGOs that encapsulate the values of human rights, furthering engagement in global poverty, and those that belie a capitalist agenda by creating an image of 'caring capitalism'; which Kapoor vehemently attests is "an ideological landscape in which brutal forms of social exclusion upon which capitalism depends are mitigated by attending to their worst manifestations through welfare or charity. And where ecological devastation and ruthless business practices can legitimately stand alongside the promotion of green policies and CSR"[446]. As has been previously stated, Comic Relief's approach to poverty reduction reinforces negative deep frames of Moral Order, Free Market, Elite Governance and Rational Actor, and encourages Power values such as Social Power, Wealth and Preserving Ones Public Image. Further assessment of Comic Relief's work, in reference to other scholars concerned with fabricated approaches to poverty reduction more widely, reveals that its approach appears to sustain the capitalist systems that contribute to the persistence of poverty, its discourse seen to normalise neo-liberal globalisation.

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[442] Kapoor, 2013, p. 87.
[443] Darnton & Kirk, 2011.
[444] http://www.leapfrogresearch.co.uk/red-nose-day.php (consulted on 20 June 2015)
[445] ibidem.
[446] Kapoor, 2013, p. 115.

Oxfam's engagement with human rights has been deduced to encourage positive frames and values within its engagement with the UK public. It can be suggested that Comic Relief's sustenance of capitalism discourages positive frames, instead promoting negative values and frames.

Within the field of psychology studies concerned with capitalism are sparse. Kasser et al. undertook research exploring the costs of American Corporate Capitalism (ACC), finding that ACC encourages values based in self-interest, high levels of consumption, interpersonal styles based on competition and a strong desire for success.[447] Consequently, ACC undermines values for caring about the broader world, feeling worth and free and cultivating close interpersonal relationships, which are aims associated with social cohesion, ecological sustainability, optimal performance and psychological wellbeing.[448] A later study by Schwartz supports these findings, further stating that more competitive market-driven societies show "a stronger cultural preference for self-assertive, mastery of human and natural resources rather than relating harmoniously to them"[449] and "a relative preference for allocating roles and resources hierarchically and unequally as the way to motivate and elicit cooperative behaviour rather than cultivating their members understanding of mutual interest"[450]. In these societies, the culture is said to encourage "individuals less to pursue their own ideas and intellectual directions independently but more to find meaning through participating in the way of life of the groups in which they are embedded"[451], and individuals are said to "attribute more importance to Achievement, Conformity, and Power values and less to Universalism and Self-Direction values than individuals in societies with more collaborative economies"[452]. Numerous forms of capitalism do of course exist, yet Kasser et al. clarify that ACC has the largest worldwide influence and is promoted by economic globalisation more than other forms of capitalism.[453]

It would appear then, that initial research purports that capitalism encourages antagonistic values to those espoused by human rights. This has implications beyond

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[447] Kasser, Cohn, Kanner & Ryan, 2007, p. 3.
[448] ibidem. p. 3.
[449] Schwartz, 2007, p. 56.
[450] ibidem. p. 56.
[451] ibidem. p. 56.
[452] ibidem. p. 56.
[453] Kasser, Cohn, Kanner & Ryan, 2007, p. 3.

identifying methods to reengage the UK public in global poverty. It would suggest that the dominance of globalisation, and governments furthering this type of capitalism not only does not incorporate human rights into its approaches, or encourage human rights education, but the values promoted to individuals through this system, actually negatively affect individuals ability to engage with human rights issues and have concern for the broader world, which of course does then include the potential of citizens to be more engaged with global poverty.

These initial conclusions and proposals demand further study. Kasser et al. request "Psychology could apply its unique perspectives and knowledge toward developing a more equitable, compassionate, enlivening, and ecologically sustainable economic system"[454] while Kapoor holds that the economy must be re-politicised for global inequality to be addressed, further that "a revolutionary politics is about the left being adamant that an alternative to capitalist liberal democracy is imaginable, and not being limited to thinking otherwise"[455]. Suggested here, is that human rights in reference to values and frames theory could play an important role within this. Unfortunately, this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In the meantime, suggestions can be made as to how organisations concerned with tackling poverty, might best engage the UK public. First, actors across the sector must assume a human rights based approach, and must be explicit in doing so. This must be done collaboratively across the sector to ensure conflicting frames are not presented. Comic Relief's style of fundraising must be avoided. This collaborative approach, encouraging positive values should overtime activate a shift in deep frames prevalent among the UK public, allowing for greater engagement with global poverty.

Second, development NGO's should begin advocating for human rights education to become part of the national curriculum. This is essential in order for students to become familiar with the UDHR and human rights issues[456]. It is essential that there are other ways to think about poverty and human rights, beyond the current picture Comic Relief's fundraising campaigns impose during the engagement with schools. The UK Government has ratified the ICESCR, Article 13 of which provides, "The State Parties to the present Covenant recognise the right of everyone to education.

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[454] Kasser, Cohn, Kanner & Ryan, 2007, p. 18.
[455] Kapoor, 2013, p. 122.
[456] Dhillon, 2011, p. 257.

They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of human dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms"[457]. Also signed and ratified is the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which accords in Article 29, "States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to… the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms"[458]. The Government is legally obligated to implement human rights education, and it must be held accountable for this by civil society groups in the UK.

Nowak et al. state "No philosophical idea has had a more profound impact on international relations and world politics than human rights. Within half a century since World War II and the Holocaust, human rights developed into the only universally accepted value system of our times"[459]. It is now of crucial importance that this universally accepted value system becomes universally known.

4.2 Conclusion

The persistence of poverty and the continued violation of the human rights of those living in poverty are a tragic reality of today, especially considering the substantial human rights framework that exists for their protection. Despite States being the duty bearers of rights, it is common among governments and within international governance that human rights have failed to become prevalent notions which guide its policy making; with international trade, aid and economic policies actively contributing to the persistence of poverty and thus the persistence of human rights violations. It has been proposed that incorporating individual responsibilities for the promotion of human rights, a principle encapsulated in the UDHR but thus far neglected, is necessary in order to tackle global poverty.

With this in mind, the UK public's disengagement with global poverty and lack of understanding of human rights is problematic. Content analysis of Oxfam and Comic Relief's engagement with human rights revealed that there are vastly different

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[457] ICESCR, Art. 13.1.
[458] UN General Assembly, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 20 November 1989, Art. 1(b).
[459] Nowak, Januszewski & Hofstätter, 2012, p. 3.

approaches to tackling global poverty among NGOs, which subsequently has vastly different consequences for UK public engagement with global poverty.

Greater understanding of what influences human behaviour and attitudes was provided by engagement with values and frames theory. When applied to the findings of the content analysis, Oxfam's rights centred approach to poverty reduction was seen to evoke the positive frames required to better engage the UK public with global poverty. Comic Relief's charity approach, on the other hand, was seen to evoke negative frames and values which are not conducive to re-engagement. Furthermore its approach was seen to normalise the neoliberal globalism which in fact causes the persistence of the very poverty Comic Relief claims to tackle.

The divergent approaches and subsequent frames and values evoked present an obstacle to increasing public engagement in global poverty. For this to occur the third sector must work collaboratively, evoking certain frames consistently in order to gradually shift away from negatives frames that encourage social power and consumerism to positive frames which encourage values such as social justice and protection of all people. Further analysis of human rights in relation to values and frames led to the conclusion that they could *be* the frame and thus an appropriate method to engage the UK public in global poverty. It is recommended that all development NGO's adopt a human rights based approach to poverty reduction, making sure to explicitly make reference to human rights when communicating its work to the UK public. Furthermore, NGOs should advocate at home, lobbying the UK government to implement human rights education within the national curriculum.

It is not inevitable that poverty persists or exists, but rather it is a consequence of the global system in place. If individuals are aware of human rights, and if human rights become the dominant frame that influences both understanding of the world and human behaviours, then there is a chance that the persistence of poverty can begin to be effectively dismantled.

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APPENDIX 1

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