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Acronyms

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

DA: Discourse Analysis

DAC: Development Assistance Committee

DRA: Dialectical Relational Approach

G8: The Group of Eight

IDS: International Development Studies

INGO: International Non-Governmental Organization

LNGO: Local Non-Governmental Organization

IMF: International Monetary Fund

LSE: London School of Economics and Political Science

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

ODA: Official Development Assistance

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

UN: the United Nations

Structure Overview

Stage 1: *Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect.*

In this stage, one must select a research topic, which relates to or points up a social wrong**.**

For more, see section: 1.2 The Social Wrong.

Stage 2: *Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.*

Step 1: Analyze dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements.

For more, see section 5.2 The Dialectical Relations between Semiosis and other Social Elements.

Step 2: Select texts, focuses and categories for analysis.

For more, see section: 5.1 Presentation of Objects of Research.

Step 3: Carry out analysis of texts, both interdiscursive, and linguistic/semiotic.

For more, see sections: 5.2 The Dialectical Relations between Semiosis and other Social Elements, 5.3 Interdiscursive and Linguistic/semiotic Analysis: 'The Case for Aid', and 5.4 Interdiscursive and Linguistic/Semiotic Analysis: 'Aid Amnesia

Stage 3: *Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong.*

For more, see: Chapter 6: Discussion.

Stage 4: *Identify possible ways past the obstacles.*

For more, see: Chapter 6: Discussion.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it… We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby a discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart' (Foucault, The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge, 1998, pp. 100-101).

As expressed by Professor and social anthropologist Andrea Cornwall in 'Deconstructing Development Discourse': *words make worlds*. 'The great aid debate' is, naturally, loaded with words. This makes it discursively relevant. Its topic, focus, ideas, and controversies makes it one of the most pertinent debates of our time. However, this debate of aid, of whether or not aid is effective and when it is effective seems to have taken a more 'personal' turn. Today, 'the great aid debate' is perhaps more known as the Jeffery Sachs vs. everybody else debate. In January 2014, the annual letter on aid and development from the Gates Foundation was published and this "sparked the dry kindling that is 'the great aid debate'" (Bloem, 2014). As a result the debate is now taking place all over social media, such as Twitter and different blog forums. Shortly after the annual letter was published, Sachs appeared as a guest on the 'Late Night with Jimmy Fallon' to promote it, and its main points. Moreover, he published an article (Sachs J. , 2014) via Foreign Policy.com explaining why 'we' should not give up on aid. The article is also an obvious response to a recent article by William Easterly (Easterly, reason.com - Free Minds and Free Markets, 2014) in which he comments on "the failure of Sachs' Millennium Villages" (Easterly, reason.com - Free Minds and Free Markets, 2014). Meanwhile, there has also been some very sarcastic tweeting from Easterly; "Gates: 'Development during aid, therefore aid works'. Development during sunshine, therefore sunshine works" and "Well at least Sachs didn't mention my bald spot" (Bloem, 2014). As one can see the debate on aid is changing its focus; today including something more personal. However, the main question of 'the great aid debate' is still: "does aid work?" which is posed in the Gates Foundation letter (Gates & Gates, 2014). However, the question of whether or not aid works is, probably, not the right question to ask. There is a lot of problems with this question; firstly which kind of aid are we talking about? And secondly what do we mean by 'work'? The answer to this question depends on a lot of factors, it depends on the medium of aid, where the aid is actually going, and what the implicit goal of aid is.

This study, thus, will not seek to answer this question of whether or not aid is working, it will, rather, look at the debate and its discursive elements and moreover seek to examine the possible influences of 'the great aid debate'. The thought of looking at the debate, not only as an 'he said, she said' battlefield for academics and experts, but also as an instrument in possible positive or negative changes on the actual aid scene, incites an intriguing exploration into the power struggle that is discourse, and the actual 'real life' consequences it prompts.

As both of us have recently been interning in Kenya and working for respectively a Danish NGO and a Kenyan Social business, both focusing on development, we believe that the insights and experiences we have gained will help us in our study of the development aid scene - the kind of scene in which we operated in, in Kenya. Hopefully, this will result in an in depth investigation into the effects of discourse on policies, attitudes and actions. Not only do we believe that these experiences will help us in this academic study - they are also what inspired us and gave us the incentive as well as drive to investigate some of the opinions/decisions and stances that can have such tremendous effect on those living their daily lives in the developing countries.

1.1 Research Question

It is precisely because of these, possible, tremendous effects for the people in Kenya who we interacted with on a daily basis, that the far reaching influences of the aid debate is a relevant focus for this study. Hence the research question is as follows:

What are the ideologies of the main actors of 'the great aid debate'? How are these discursively expressed and in what way can the discourse of the debate influence the actual aid scene?

In order to provide the reader with every necessary background of knowledge on the matters concerning the analysis that is going to be carried out, the incentives for doing this project as well as the key-elements in its construction will be outlined in chapters 2 and 3.

1.2 The Social Wrong

As mentioned, the process of choosing the research topic for this dissertation, has been highly influenced by our own experiences with development work in Kenya. As university students from Denmark, coming from 'standard' Danish middle class families it made a deep impression to actually

experience the contrasted realities that are the daily lives of people living in a developing country compared to the realities that are our own daily lives. This experience has led to greater reflection on the relationship between 'the West and the rest', in relation to power structures. Our issue of attention is 'the great aid debate', as it is one of the most talked of debates of the time, and has been so, for many years. The attention, however, is often on the question: 'does aid work?' This study has a different semiotic approach to analyzing the debate, an approach which we find asks more relevant questions. Questions concerning, power structures, ideologies, values and consequences of dominant discourses. Hence, what this study proclaim to constitute as a social wrong is *the fact that the major actors of 'the great aid debate' are in such great positions of power that precisely their ideologies become the dominant ones. In consequence these ideologies will have influence on the people who are affected by aid, but whose positions of power are not great enough for their ideologies to be heard. Hence, the social wrong is the power of some ideologies over others, and the influences these ideologies might have on the reality of those who do not have a say.*

Chapter 2: Social Research Considerations

When doing social research it is important to be aware of all the different factors that are influencing the working process, and thus, the outcome of the research. These factors are illuminated in figure

Figure 2.1: influences on social research (Bryman, 2008, p. 24).
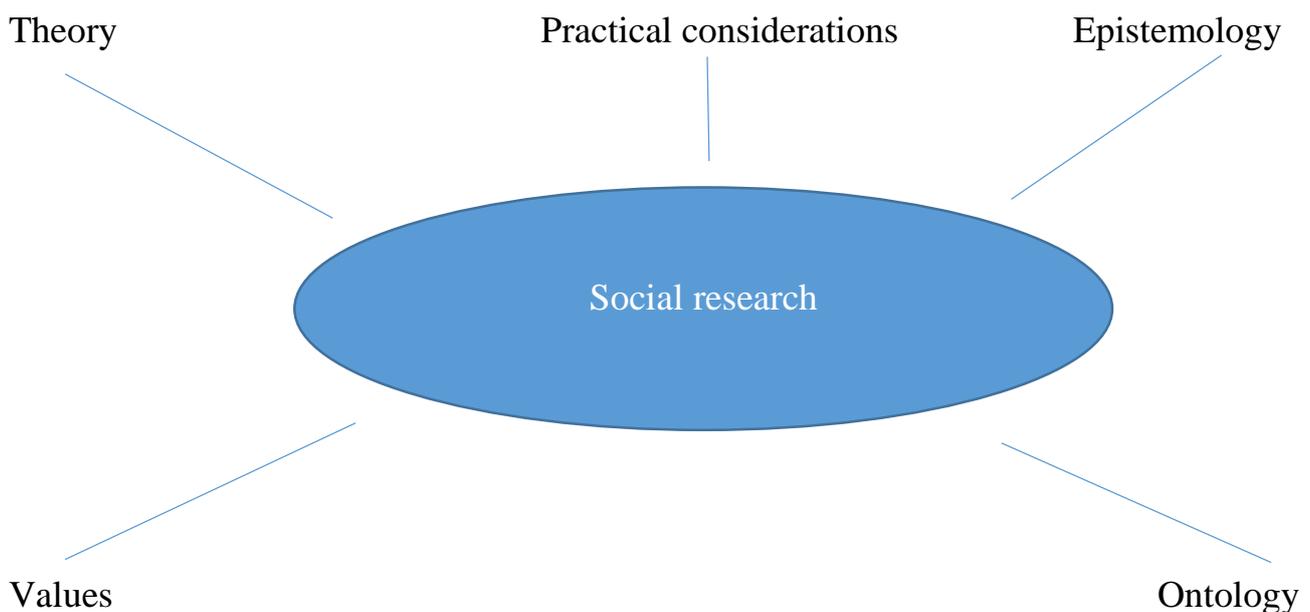
This chapter aims at illuminating these influences by reflection on the relevant factors that constitutes these influencing.

> (...) discussing the nature of social research is just as complex as conducting research in the real world. You may discover general tendencies, but they are precisely that - tendencies. In reality the picture becomes more complicated the more you delve (Bryman, 2008, p. 22).

This quote by author of the book "Social Research Methods" precisely captures the essence of working with social research. Firstly, it stresses the complexity of the matter and secondly it talks of tendencies. Hence, no approach within social research are set in stone and it is important to evaluate and critically incorporate these tendencies in a way that is relevant to this respective study. On the basis of this understanding, the following will be a presentation of the social research considerations made in connection with this particular study.

As the main method of this study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the most useful position to lean on within social research strategies is a fusion between critical realism and social constructionism, this will be further elaborated below. Dave Elder-Vass, senior lecturer in sociology at Loughborough University has named this position a 'realist social constructionism' and he argues that

> (...) social constructionism's potential is best realized by separating it from the anti-realist baggage it has often been expected to carry, and linking it instead to an explicitly realist ontology of the social world: the philosophy of critical realism, developed originally by Roy Bhaskar (...) (Elder-Vass, 2012, p. 9).

The validity of this fusion is currently heavily debated amongst social scientists, some arguing that they are highly contrasting positions whilst others argue that this argument is false and that a fusion might actually strengthen both positions. It is important to mention that the positions come in many different termed varieties such as weak, strong, contextual, strict, social, naive, critical, moderate, radical, and many more. Each of these termed positions represent different meanings or branches of constructionism. The following will present a brief description of both social constructionism and

critical realism in their more original/conventional definitions, as to give an overview of their main characteristics. These descriptions are followed by an explanation of the arguments *for* and *against* a fusion, and finally an outline of the ways in which this study makes use of the position 'realist social constructionism' as well as an explanation of why this is highly applicable and fruitful for a CDA analysis of 'the great aid debate'.

2.1 Social Constructionism

Social constructionism is one of the termed varieties that constructionism comes in. Social constructionism can be defined as "(...) a general term sometimes applied to theories that emphasize the socially created nature of social life. (...) Society is actively and creatively produced by human beings. Social worlds are interpretive nets woven by individuals and groups" (Marshall, 2014). Social constructionism and constructionism are often used interchangeably, however much of the scholarly work done on constructionism considers meaning-making as taking place in the individual mind, opposed to a product of human relationships. Hence, there is a difference between the two, even if that difference is not always taken into consideration when making use of the term. One example of this is from Bryman; he puts forth a definition of constructionism that sees it as a position which "(...) asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. It implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision" (Bryman, 2008, p. 19). He goes on to argue that this meaning of constructionism can be usefully thought of as constructionism in relation to the social world. What can be inferred from this line of thought is that when Bryman talks of constructionism he actually talks of social constructionism as his focus is on the socially constructed. It can be argued that constructionism is more interested in the cognitive processes of the individual in constructing the world of experience, whereas social constructionism is "(...) less interested if at all in the cognitive processes that accompany knowledge" (Andrews, 2012).

In its origination social constructionism was developed as an attempt to come to grips with the nature of reality. It is linked to the idea of Francis Bacon, English Elizabethan philosopher, statesman, and essayist, that observations are actually a precise reflection of the world which is being observed. This idea entails a belief that social constructionism is anti-realist (Andrews, 2012). The anti-realist social constructionism is one that takes a relativist stance. According to Burningham and Cooper (1999) a relativist stance can be defined as one in which "(...) there are multiple realities and all are

meaningful" (Andrews, 2012). As mentioned, there are many varieties of constructionism/social constructionism which take different stances. The traditional as outlined here is highly antithetical to realism and, based on this description, it can be difficult to see how social constructionism and critical realism can be combined. However, as mentioned, there are many varieties of (social) constructionism and this study takes inspiration from some of the varieties that are named weak/contextual/moderate and more. An argumentation of this combination of social constructionism and critical realism will be outlined after the following outline of the meaning of conventional naive realism and critical realism. Hopefully this structure will provide the reader with a clear view of both the immediate antithesis between the two, as well as the valid argumentations for a combination.

2.2 Critical Realism

Critical realism is a specific type of realism. Realism in its original and general form shares some beliefs with *positivism,* namely "a belief that the natural and the social sciences can and should apply the same kinds of approach to the collection of data and to explanation, and a commitment to the view that there is an external reality to which scientists direct their attention (in other words; there is a reality that is separate from our descriptions of it)" (Bryman, 2008, p. 14). According to Bryman, realism can be divided into two major forms, which are *empirical realism (naive realism)* and *critical realism.* The former is the meaning which is often referred to when simply using the term *realism.* It asserts that reality can be understood through the use of appropriate methods and that there is a close to perfect correspondence between the term used to describe reality and reality itself.

British philosopher Roy Bhaskar initiated critical realism out of the attitude that empirical realism is too superficial. He argues that empirical realism "fails to recognize that there are enduring structures and generative mechanisms underlying and producing observable phenomena and events" (Bhaskar, 1989, p. 2). Hence, critical realism provides another perspective in which the term used to describe reality is not a direct reflection of that reality; it is merely a way of knowing that reality. In other words critical realists acknowledge the following, that "there is a distinction between the objects that are the focus of their enquiries and the terms they use to describe, account for, and understand them" (Bryman, 2008, p. 15). One of the things that make critical realism *critical* is its affiliation to *generative mechanisms* both in the sense that it accepts that generative mechanisms are not directly amenable to observation and that the identification of these generative mechanisms offers "(...) the prospect of introducing changes that can transform the status quo" (Bryman, 2008, p. 15). This

prospect of the possibilities for changing the status quo is one of the important reasons why this study involves critical realism in its sources of inspiration, as will be elaborated on in the following section on realist social constructionism and its relevance to CDA.

After reading the two outlines of social constructionism and critical realism it is not immediately obvious how these two can be combined. The opposing argument might seem more valid; that they are antithetical. Therefore the following section will clarify their compatibilities and substantiate the claim that a fusion of the two will strengthen this study.

2.3 A Realist Social Constructionism and its relevance to CDA

Discourse Analysis (DA) has always been associated with constructionism in the sense that it emphasizes "the versions of reality propounded by members of the social setting being investigated and on the fashioning of that reality through their renditions of it (Bryman, 2008, p. 500). Concurrently, it is regarded anti-realist because of its denial of an external reality. CDA, however, does not necessarily deny that there is a pre-existing reality and thus it takes a more critical realist position. It is argued, within CDA, that discourses are to be examined and analyzed in relation to social structures, including the power relations that are causing them. Hence, discourse is considered a 'generative mechanism' opposed to a "(...) self-referential sphere in which nothing of significance exists outside it (...)" (Bryman, 2008, p. 508). Also, CDA distinguishes between discourse and institutions as two different types of social phenomena. One of the main reasons CDA will be functioning as the main approach for this study is the fact that it also carries with it a political aim. Professor at International Center for Business and Politics at Copenhagen Business School, Ole K. Pedersen explains this aim is evident in the fact that CDA "(...) looks for how a discourse limits our understanding of the world (i.e. function as an ideology) but also for how they contain several competing discourses and therefore the possibility of dominant ideologies to be contested" (Pedersen, 2009). This capacity of CDA will be elaborated on later in section 2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis. However, it is relevant to briefly mention the focus on this political aim, as this study itself will be analyzing a 'social wrong', based on analytical tools produced by Norman Fairclough. Also, it is relevant to mention because it stresses the importance of not taking the standpoint of strong constructionism as it would make the task of reflecting on the need for a 'social wrong' impossible. As a substantiation of this claim an argument by Elder-Vass can be applied:

> Imperialistic constructionism's that see everything as constructed and that turn away from the reality of our world are ultimately self-defeating, both because they are impossible to reconcile with what we know of our sheer materiality, and also because they make it impossible to justify substantive ethical views that enable us to criticize what exists (Elder-Vass, 2012, p. 20).

As stated, this argument stresses the impossibility of criticizing reality based on ethical views, if an imperialistic constructionism is employed. Hence, an approach with a political aim must distance itself from a worldview based on imperialistic constructionism. This is one of the main reasons why this study relies on a combination of two scientific methodological approaches for inspiration instead of only taking a constructionist point of view.

In the case of this study this combination of the two is referred to as a 'realist social constructionism'. The definition of this position is "a theory that recognizes that discourse has a causal power, but also that subjects and other social structures have causal powers of their own, and a theory in which we can make sense of how these causal powers relate to each other" (Elder-Vass, 2012). The following will explain this position with regards to ontological and epistemological considerations.

> (…) social constructionism is concerned with the nature of knowledge and how it is created and as such, it is unconcerned with ontological issues. (…) Social constructionism accepts that there is an objective reality. It is concerned with how knowledge is constructed and understood. It has therefore an epistemological not an ontological perspective. Criticisms and misunderstandings arise when this central fact is misinterpreted (Andrews, 2012).

This study relates to the claim that an actual external reality does exist. Hence, this study affiliates with the ontological claim of critical realism. Subsequently, it believes that CDA does not deny this reality, it simply, in the way it is used in this study, does not relate to reality in that sense. Instead it relates to the idea that it is our knowledge of the world as well as our notions of the world which are constructed. Thus, in CDA, the epistemology can be said to be primary compared to the ontology due to the focus of how knowledge is possible instead of a focus on the way the world actually exists. This division between what is constructed and what is an external reality is compatible to the critical realist

notion that the social or experienced-based world is partially constructed. In the critical realist spirit it is important to constantly be critical towards the knowledge that is produced in this world; how it is produced and by whom it is created.

Figure 2.2 illustrates how the two approaches position themselves in connection with the concepts of science. Also, it captures the interconnection in which critical realism and social constructionism overlap. The figure is originally produced by Wennenberg and was not associated to the exact term 'critical social constructionism' in particular. However, in this study the overlap (as shown in the middle) will be labeled 'critical social constructionism' and it is exactly with this interpretation of the figure in mind, that it becomes relevant to reproduce it in this study.

Figure 2.2 (Translated from Wennenberg in Hansen & Simonsen, 2004, p. 140)

The concepts of science are a direct reflection of reality	The concepts of science are **both** affected by reality **and** by social factors	The concepts of science are based **solely** upon social factors
Naive realism	Critical realism	
	Moderate (weak/social) constructionism	Radical (strong) constructionism

In continuation of the argument for a critical social constructionism Elder-Vass argues that an ontology welcomes the idea of both subjectivity and the socially constructed. He argues the following:

> We can, for example, develop plausible and coherent causal accounts of the influence of discourse on our dispositions, beliefs and actions, by seeing that influence as a causal power of the discursive norm circles that endorse and enforce discursive rules. The ontology advocated here also enables us to make a clear and plausible connection between such social entities and the individual human agents that make them up. Those individuals are independently material people with casual powers of their own, yet they are also shaped and influenced by discursive pressures (Elder-Vass, 2012, p. 20).

From this argument it becomes evident that it is possible to accept that subjectivity is socially constructed without, concurrently, denying the reality of the agentic subject. Hence, the assertion here is that an actual reality does exist outside discourse, however so does a socially constructed reality. This implies that subscribing to the view of either one of these approaches in their 'strong' variation, would be false, as it would not allow this realization. This will show itself in the fact that constructionism would deny an actual reality that is separate from our description of it, and realism would deny the underlying generative mechanisms of phenomena and events.

Any concurrence with any one of the above mentioned denials would conflict with the intention of this study; to analyze discourse in a way that focuses on its relationship to non-discursive elements. In this study this is done by analyzing the discourse of 'the great aid debate' and its relationship to the actual development scene, in the shape of the possible influences the discourse concerned might have on reality. An outline of the approach to analysis will be presented in the in Chapter 3 and, hopefully, the argumentation for a critical social constructionism will be even more apparent.

2.4 Values

Another relevant influence on social research, as outlined in figure 2.1 is *values*. According to Bryman, in the context of social research; "values reflect either the personal beliefs or the feelings of a researcher" (Bryman, 2008, p. 24). Émile Durkheim's position that "(...) all preconceptions must be eradicated" (Bryman, 2008, p. 24) is not viewed as credible today. Durkheim's argument that research based on a practitioners personal biases is not scientific and should therefore be suppressed when doing research in order to avoid subjectivity, is somewhat reasonable, one of the problem lies in its implementation. Instead, today it is often recognized and acknowledged that it is not possible to do value-free research. This is a recognition which this study has also come to. Instead the aim is to exhibit reflexivity. In this context the argument presented below is of great relevance:

> Even though it can be established that a scientist's theories stem from his personality or from political circumstances in his society, this fact is irrelevant to the question of whether or not the theories are *good* or *bad.* We must distinguish between the origin of the theory and its validity. Whether or not a theory is good or bad is determined by how well it is verified and how great explanatory force it has, not by its psychological or social origin (translated from Gilje & Grimen, 2002, pp. 285-286).

From this quote it is obvious that objectivity in social research is not equal to more 'proper' results. Hence, the reason for illuminating the influences of values on this study is not to make any account for the quality of the outcome as a result of these values, rather the reason is to acknowledge that it is not possible for research to be value-free as well as to exhibit reflexivity in the sense of an awareness of "(...) the implications for the knowledge of the social world they generate of their methods, values, biases, decisions, and mere presence in the very situations they investigate." (Bryman, 2008, p. 698). The part of 'influences on social research' that is 'practical considerations' will be incorporated into the following section on criticism and limitations.

2.5 Criticism and Limitation

One criticism of CDA is, for example, concerning the tensions between micro- and macro-analysis. On the one hand, CDA has been criticized by conversation analysts, for

> policies of simply counting the number of questions, or coding the type of question asked [while] not being sensitive enough to the more basic sense of context (…) the local sequential context of talk in which utterances are produced (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 69).

Similarly, analysts from the field of applied linguistics explains that "the procedure is to fix on some particular linguistic feature… and assign it ideological significance without regard to how it might be understood in the normal indexical process of reading" (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 69). This study has tried to meet this criticism by analyzing the objects of research in light of the context in which they are produced. This approach to analysis gives this study the necessary knowledge about the context so as to be able to comment on and examine the content of the grammatical features of the text, instead of just 'counting the number of questions, or coding the type of questions asked while not being sensitive to the context'.

Moreover, there is the concern that CDA analysis, whether it is of large or small amounts of data, leave to much space for subjectivity. This has already been noted by Chouliaraki and Fairclough as they recognize that

Linguists have to be convinced that the social concerns of CDA do not deflect from the detailed and careful linguistic (and semiotic) analysis of texts (…) [while calling for] (…) the sort of systematic analysis of (…) representative bodies of text, including the use of computational methods, which could actually give a firmer linguistic grounding to its social claims about discourse (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 152).

As has been discussed previously, this study argues that is it not possible to do value-free research and that, in relation to this study, it is not necessarily beneficial (if it were possible) to be a hundred per cent objective, since this is an examination of a political issue of a social wrong. However, this study seeks to be as objective as possible when analyzing the two sides of 'the great aid debate'. This is done by combining the two approaches of CDA and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Supplementing CDA with some of the 'tools' and methods of SFL, allows this study to examine the textual features more objectively, instead of only commenting on specific aspects of the objects of research which is relevant in relation to what this study seeks to find out.

This study's approach to analysis is a qualitative approach, analyzing a limited amount of data. A practical consideration regarding the choice of a qualitative approach as opposed to a quantitative approach is that this study is faced with limitations in regards to a limited time-frame and possible funding required for getting access to relevant people. The qualitative approach (or micro analysis - micro in the sense that it is analysis of a limited amount of data as opposed to the analysis of large amount of data) within CDA has been criticized for extrapolating sociological conclusions from small quantities of minutely examined data or for providing no more than a subjective commentary on the text. Hence, it has been criticized for the failure to provide an analysis that can be quantified and put in contrast with other texts and thus be given value. This study acknowledges the limitations of qualitative analysis, however it argues that this approach gives a valuable insight into the ideologies and values of the speakers of the objects of research. Moreover, this study argues that the combination of CDA and SFL as an approach to analysis actually could (with few corrections) be used to quantify given that one had the time and resources necessary to carry out this type of analysis. The argument for saying this is that the methods of SFL are easily quantifiable, and that when used as a supplement to CDA they can provide a valuable insight into social issues.

Chapter 3: Methodology, Theory, and Method

In the following section, the methodological and theoretical reflections, as well as the method, of this study will be explained. It will, moreover, seek to outline the purpose of the study, what we want to achieve and the methods of how it will be done, as well as a reasoning for the chosen theories and approaches. This includes thoughts on Critical Discourse Analysis in the social sciences and international development studies. Thus, this section will help carry the reader through the study. This study will make use of CDA, more specifically a Dialectical Relational Approach (DRA). However, in order to provide the reader with a clear and coherent overview and understanding of the methodological considerations made in choosing CDA, as well as present the project's angle of approach to the matter, it is important to begin by explaining and clarifying the definitions of discourse, Discourse Analysis, as well as Critical Discourse Analysis, that are applicable for this study. This will be done in the following section.

3.1 Discourse and Discourse Analysis

The importance of defining the concepts of discourse and DA lies in the fact that "there is no single view of what critical discourse analysis actually is (...)" (Paltridge, 2012, p. 187) and 'the term 'discourse' has a wider range of possible interpretations than any other term in literary and cultural theory, yet it is often the least satisfactorily defined within theoretical texts" (Mills, 2004, p. preface). Therefore, clarifying the actual usage of the above mentioned terms will help to likewise clarify the actual usage of CDA in this respective study. Hence, the following descriptions.

One very simple and straightforward way to describe discourse is as "language produced as an act of communication" (Paltridge, 2012, p. 243), or in a more linguistic term "a connected series of utterances; a text or conversation" (Oxford Dictionaries , 2014). The concept has many definitions and has changed much through time. Sarah Mills argue that 'the lack of system' in the writing of one of the more significant contributors to 'discourse theory', Michel Foucault, might be the reason for the many different definitions of the term discourse. In Foucault's work the term discourse "is not rooted within a larger system of fully worked-out theoretical ideas (...)" (Mills, 2004, p. 15). Mills goes on to argue that whilst this might have created confusion it has also contributed to the possibilities of a certain flexibility when using the work of Foucault. One valid view for this study is that discourse represents a social construction of social order in which texts are communicative units

embedded in social and cultural practices and that the texts we write and speak both shape and are shaped by these practices:

> Discourse, then, is both shaped by the world as well as shaping the world. Discourse is shaped by language as well as shaping language. It is shaped by the people who use the language as well as shaping the language that people use. Discourse is shaped, as well, by the discourse that has preceded it and that which might follow it. Discourse is also shaped by the medium in which it occurs as well as it shapes the possibilities for that medium. The purpose of the text also influences the discourse. Discourse also shapes the range of possible purposes of texts (Paltridge, 2012, p. 7).

This definition is much similar to that of Fairclough when he talks of discourse analysis. He argues that there are two views to discourse analysis. One is the 'textually oriented discourse analysis' and the other has a more 'social theoretical orientation'. According to Fairclough the two go together and form a discourse analysis which is "(...) both linguistic and social in its interpretation" (Paltridge, 2012, p. 6). With Fairclough's definition of discourse analysis as the basic approach to this study the next step is to elaborate on, and define, in which way this study understands and applies CDA.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

> Critical discourse studies, (...), aim to make connections between social and cultural practices and the values and assumptions that underlie the discourse. That is, it aims to unpack what people say and do in their use of discourse in relation to their views of the world, themselves and their relationships with each other. Critical discourse analysis takes the view that the relationship between language and meaning is never arbitrary in that the choice of a particular genre or rhetorical strategy brings with it particular presuppositions, meanings, ideologies and intentions (Kress in Paltridge, 2012, p. 191).

When explaining the *critical* part of CDA, Fairclough puts forth the argument that being a *critical* linguist as compared to a *non-critical* linguist means to not only describe "discursive structures, but also [show] how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants" (Mills, 2004, p. 133). Wodak and Meyer argue

that CDA has never been or has never tried to be or to provide one single or specific theory, therefore, the definitions of the key terms within CDA are manifold as well. The following section seeks to explain CDA as understood in this study, through those exact definitions of its key terms. It will do so by defining the terms, not in a general way or in the 'most common used' way, but in the way which is most valid and applicable for this study. This approach to the definition of the terms will strip away some of the manifold variations of the terms, which might not be relevant to introduce. The terms defined are power, ideology and hegemony.

3.2.1 Power

The concept of power is a very central concept in CDA. Paltridge presents a definition of power which is connected to discourse: "The ability to impose one's will on others. In discourse studies it refers to the fact that this ability to influence and control is, at any given time, expressed through discourse and is unevenly distributed and exercised" (Paltridge, 2012, p. 244). This definition of power presents the idea that power is *unevenly distributed;* an aspect of power which can be understood in different ways. Due to the uneven nature of power it is often associated with its negative usage in creating inequality and oppression. On this note Blommaert states that "the deepest impact of power everywhere is inequality, as power differentiates and selects, includes and excludes" (Rogers, 2011, p. 3). He goes on to argue that power should, through critical discourse, be analyzed with the focus of the effects of power, the outcomes of power, of what power does to people/groups/societies and how this impact comes about. Fairclough has a similar view on how to analyze power in CDA as he argues that one should think about power in the following ways ""the power to", "the power over", and "power behind"" (Rogers, 2011, p. 4). This study concur with these views on power as formulated by Blommaert and Fairclough. One comment made by Blommaert, on power, is of vital importance to the way power is used in this study: "power is not a bad thing - those who are in power will confirm it" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 1), however, he also notes that "yet, power is a *concern* to many people" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 1). Although Blommaerts remark on the views of those who *are* in power might have a touch of irony to it, he also states that their arguments on how power is necessary in every system are highly convincing.

With the above suggestions on how to analyze power and how to view power in a society this study defines power as an ability to influence, control and convince, which can be used by those participating in 'the great aid debate' on both sides. As an analysis of the powers executed by actors

in the debate will be followed by a discussion of the possible influences of the debate on the actual aid practice, it can be deduced that those actors are influential on reality. Whether or not these possible influences are negative or positive in connection with development will be addressed in the discussion, however it is important to keep in mind that it is not the power of the actors as such which is being evaluated on the terms of being *positive* or *negative,* it is the actual influences.

3.2.2 Ideology

The former definition of power and the promise of an analysis of the use of power in 'the great aid debate', directs one's attention to the second of the key terms which will be defined here; ideology. Associate professor, Graduate School of Languages and Cultures at Nagoya University, Edward Haig puts forth an understanding of the language-ideology nexus which this study concurs:

> I take it as axiomatic there is a dialectical relationship between language and ideology. On the one hand, in any given society both the forms of human language which occur and the uses to which they are put in communication will be influenced by the dominant ideas, beliefs, attitudes and values – in short, the hegemonic ideologies – of that society. On the other, language and language use themselves exert an influence on those ideologies, serving either to perpetuate or transform them (Haig, 2010, p. 61).

This definition of the language-ideology nexus puts emphasis on how the dominant discourse is a product of the hegemonic ideologies. Also it illustrates its dialectical relationship in that language/discourse itself can influence those ideologies. As *hegemony* is the third key of the key terms which will be elaborated on in this section, more will be written on this subject after this elaboration on ideology. Haig uses the word 'axiomatic' to describe his view on the matter of course he believes the language-ideology nexus to be. However, he does acknowledge the complexity of ideology in connection with the whole meaning of the ideology, the nature of the 'influence' it exerts, the matter of how to identify and describe this influence as well as the matter of interpreting and evaluating this influence. While on this subject, he argues that the (epistemological) questions of how to identify and describe these influences are of great importance as it reflects his belief that "(...) fine-grained analysis of textual data is a necessary precondition for any substantive investigation of the language-ideology nexus" (Haig, 2010, p. 61).

Ideology is often perceived as a term associated with political science in which its core definition is "(...) a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values (...)" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 8). CDA concerns itself with revealing structures of power and unmasking ideologies. Wodak & Meyer argue that the type of ideology that interests CDA is the "(...) hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs, which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies (...) (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 8). Also, it is in the use of discourse that these seemingly hidden and latent beliefs (ideologies) are produced and reflected. One example from Mallinson & Brewster (2005) is on how stereotypes are formed in the use of discourse. They studied US restaurant workers' view of their customers and found that all the white workers viewed all their black customers as alike. They used negative terms and stereotypes in forming their expectations of how future interactions with these customers might be. This was the case for their view on the broader social group of African Americans as well. When speaking of their black customers in a way which distanced them from themselves, they used what Wodak calls the 'discourse of difference'. These stereotypes are articulated by using the logic of negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation. When they talked of their rural white Southerner customers they used stereotypes as well. In this case, however, they focused on how they lived, the ways they dressed themselves and the foods and drinks they preferred as a way of substantiating and justifying the claims they made about them (Mallinson & Brewster, 2005, pp. 798-801). In his book 'Discourse Analysis; An Introduction', Brian Paltridge argues that "In both cases, the workers' use of discourse privileged their own race and social class, reflecting their ideological, stereotyped views of both groups of customers" (Paltridge, 2012, p. 191). Hence, this example illustrates how ideologies are produced and reflected in discourse. In the analysis of 'the great aid debate' one of the focuses will be on this type of ideology and on the ways in which the actors make use of the negative other-presentation and the positive self-presentation (the 'discourse of difference).

As the work of Fairclough is of great inspiration to this study the following will briefly present an outline of Fairclough's definition of ideology. Fairclough has a more Marxist view of ideologies than many of his fellow CDA theorists. However, this does not mean that he does not also subscribe to the view that ideology is shown in the more hidden type of everyday belief. One of Fairclough's definitions of ideologies is that:

> Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing
> and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. They may be enacted

in ways of interaction (and therefore in genres) and inculcated in ways of being identities (and therefore styles). Analysis of texts … is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique … (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2003).

This definition captures both the more Marxist view of ideology in which especially domination is a key aspect. Also it captures the ideas of ideology being constantly present in interaction as well as being unavoidable in the definition and making of identities. In his work 'Analyzing discourse: textual analysis for social research' Fairclough focuses on assumptions. He writes:

Implicitness is a pervasive property of texts, and a property of considerable social importance. All forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be takes as given, and no form of social communication or interaction is conceivable without some such 'common ground'. On the other hand, the capacity to exercise social power, domination and hegemony includes the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of this 'common ground', which makes implicitness and assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55).

This quote illustrates the power of the 'common ground' and also the power to influence this 'common ground'. Furthermore Fairclough talks of three main types of assumptions: existential assumptions, propositional assumptions and value assumptions. The last two assumptions are of great relevance to this study as they focus on: what is or can be or will be the case and on what is good or desirable. The latter (value assumptions) is relevant to the argumentation of the actors in 'the great aid debate' and in exploring their underlying ideologies, the first (propositional assumptions) is relevant when discussing the potential influences of 'the great aid debate'.

3.2.3 Hegemony
The term 'hegemony' has already been mentioned in the descriptions of power and ideology and as mentioned this term will be elaborated. Hence the following will be an explanation of hegemony as relevant to this study.

A dominant ideology is one which holds on to assumptions that are not really challenged in the society/surroundings it is a part of, therefore it is 'neutral'. Furthermore, it is characterized by most people in a society thinking alike about certain matters, or even forgetting that there is an alternative to the matter. If an organization, or a person for that matter, is interested in gaining power, it will try to influence the dominant ideology of the society to be closer to the ideology they want. This definition of a dominant ideology is identical to the Gramscian concept of *hegemony*. Hegemony is the third of the key terms. In regards to the dominant discourse of 'the great aid debate' there is a lack of attention to researchers from developing countries in the debate. Deborah Eade puts forth the argument that this can be explained/illustrated by reference to cultural hegemony:

> If Southern researchers and development practitioners break into the international market, it is increasingly as consultants, whose conceptual frameworks and the language they are expected to use are by definition determined by the commissioning body. The whole process neatly illustrates Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony, whereby the values of the ruling culture - in this case, the captains of the Development Industry - capture the ideology, self-understanding, and organizations of the working class - in this case, those whose lives are most significantly affected by international development policies and by the ministrations of development assistance (Cornwall & Eade, 2010, preface).

Another example of how development aid and ideology is intertwined is evident in Arturo Escobar's criticism of development as an ideological export as well as an act of cultural imperialism, in which he argues the following about "management" and "planning" of development: "perhaps no other concept has been so insidious, no other idea gone so unchallenged as modern planning" (Escobar (1992) in Escobar, 1995, p. 194). In this quote Escobar stresses how modern planning in development is 'unchallenged'. As mentioned an ideology becomes dominant when it is in fact unchallenged by the society/surroundings in which it takes place. Hence, if Escobar's claim is valid, it illustrates another example of development being hegemonic.

Fairclough also talks of the version of Marxism associated with the Gramscian view. He defines the Gramscian view as a view in which "(...) politics is seen as a struggle for hegemony, a particular way of conceptualizing power which amongst other things emphasizes how power depends upon

achieving consent or at least acquiescence rather than just having the resources to use force, and the importance of ideology in sustaining relations of power" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 45). In connection with this study the 'struggle for hegemony' can be seen in the opposing positions and arguments of the actors of 'the great aid debate'. Even though these actors are not associated with classical politics as such, the issues of hegemony and its operating is still of great relevance.

3.2.4 The Dominant Discourse

In connection with the above terms, especially that of hegemony, it is relevant to present a brief outline of the main hegemonic issues that are of specific concern to 'the great aid debate'. Therefore, the following will be a very brief explanation of the issues of hegemony in a more close relation to 'the great aid debate'. Many voices are being raised in the development debate and all voices are, from a moral perspective, equally important. However, as this study sets out to investigate how the development debate shapes actual development practice, and as it concurs to the notion that development is shaped through language, it is a matter of course that those who actually shape the development debate are the ones being analyzed: this is also called 'the dominant discourse'. Hence, the analysis will be focused on texts from prominent actors such as academics, practitioners, organizations and debaters.

However, whilst the dominant discourse is the most relevant to analyze in connection with the particular research question of this study, it is of great importance to acknowledge the fact that the existence of a dominant discourse is itself an expression of power through language. As stated, Deborah Eade writes about how the intellectual contribution and cultures of the aid-receiving countries do not get a say. She goes on to argue that if Southern researchers and development practitioners actually get a say, it is mostly as consultants and the language they are expected to use as well as the framework they are supposed to work within is determined by institutions in the North (Cornwall & Eade, 2010, p. preface). Eade associates this reality with cultural hegemony as she argues:

> The whole process neatly illustrates Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony, whereby the values of the ruling culture - in this case, the captains of Development Industry - capture the ideology, self-understanding, and organizations of the working class - in this case,

those whose lives are most significantly affected by international development policies and by the ministrations of development assistance (Cornwall & Eade, 2010, p. preface).

Also, this process illustrates Foucault's notion of language and power and presents and insight into the complex world of the South-North relationship. The purpose of the mentioning of those actors 'outside' the dominant discourse is to illustrate an awareness of this complexity of the development discourse as well as bring to mind the diversity of the field which is often neglected due to an unequal distribution of power.

3.3 CDA in International Development Studies

As this study uses CDA in the field of International Development Studies (IDS) and as one of the main assertions of this study is that these are interconnected, the following will be a brief introduction into how discourse and Development Studies have been interlinked, analyzed and talked about through time. This introduction will only include some of the more prominent writers within the field as to show how this work has been carried out. Discourse Analysis has been assimilated in IDS since the 1990s and has since then functioned as a part of the 'toolbox' of critical IDS (Pieterse, 2011, p. 237). But even earlier, discourse has been used within the field of IDS. In 1978 Edward W. Said published his book 'Orientalism', in which he argues:

> (...) without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage - and even produce - the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period (Said, 1978, p. 3).

Said makes use of Michel Foucault to explain his understanding of Orientalism as being "more particularly valuable as a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient than it is as a veridic discourse about the Orient (which is what, in its academic or scholarly form, it claims to be)" (Said, 1978, p. 6). Another prominent writer within the field is anthropologist Arturo Escobar. In 1995 Escobar published his book Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World, in which he as well, draws on Michel Foucault in his critical analysis of development. As was the case with Said, Escobar also puts focus on the importance of Foucault's' notion of discourse and power. Escobar argues that "thinking about development in terms of discourse enables us to maintain

a focus on power and domination, while at the same time exploring the discourse's conditions of possibility as well as its effects" (Naz, 2006, p. 71). In Farzana Naz' article on Escobar and the Development Discourse in Asian Affairs, 2006, he argues that making use of Foucault's' conception of the relationship between power and knowledge, as do Said and Escobar, enables us to "(...) expose the political and strategic nature of discourse previously regarded as existing independently of power relations by virtue of their presumed scientific nature, and to ask instead 'whom does discourse serve?'" (Foucault, 1980, p. 115) (Naz, 2006, p. 71). A question relevant to the research question of this study, as it explores the effects of 'the great aid debate' on actual development practices.

The work of another prominent writer within this field which deserves attention as it has become somewhat of a classic within the field of post development studies and will be contributing with texts for analysis in this study as well. This is the work of Wolfgang Sachs, who in 1992, published his book 'Dictionary of Development' where he describes development to be "… much more than just a socio-economic endeavor; it is a perception which models reality, a myth which comforts societies, and a fantasy which unleashes passions' (Sachs W. , 1992, p. 1). The argument put forth by Wolfgang Sachs that development 'models reality' and is 'a myth which comforts society' is compatible with the previous mentioned definition of discourse that this study concurs, hence, that discourse represents a social construction of social orders in reality. What is meant by this comparison is to illustrate how suitable the development debate is to CDA analysis. As a result this study takes inspiration from the previous (and current) work within the field of interlinked discourse and IDS (development discourse) and, thus, is placed within this field.

3.4 Applied CDA

As mentioned, this project will apply Critical Discourse Analysis. CDA will be applied both as the methodological and theoretical approach for analysis. Although CDA is a highly diverse and interdisciplinary practice, comprising a high number of methodological approaches, two key features can be detected; firstly its focus on the relationship between language and power, and secondly, its commitment to critiquing and transforming the role of language and language use in the creating and maintenance of inequitable social relations. This study will mainly draw from Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach as the methodological tool, this version of CDA emphasizes a rather close textual analysis as being the main 'tool' of ideological critique. In order to conduct such a text-close analysis Fairclough has drawn on different linguistic theories, but mainly from Halliday's

Systemic Functional Linguistics (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Hence, this study will also draw from the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach originated by Michael Halliday (see more below).

Fairclough focuses on "social conflict [...] and tries to detect its linguistic manifestations in discourses, in specific elements of dominance, difference and resistance" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 27) and he understands CDA as the analysis of the dialectical relationships between semiosis (meaning-making (language included)) and other elements of social practices. As mentioned above the word discourse is used in several different ways such as; a) meaning-making as an element of the social process, b) as the language associated with a particular social field or practice (e.g. political discourse), and c) as a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective. As has been implied above, the various meanings and uses of the concept can be confusing. In order to reduce the confusion, Fairclough applies the word 'semiosis' for the first mentioned, more abstract and general sense of the word discourse (Fairclough, A Dialectical-Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Research, 2009, pp. 162-163). Fairclough views semiosis "as an element of the social process which is *dialectically* related to others - hence a 'dialectical-relational approach" (Fairclough, A Dialectical-Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Research, 2009, p. 163). Thus, the relationship between discourse and other elements of social practices is a dialectical relationship. Discourse internalizes and is internalized by other elements without the different elements being reducible to each other e.g. social relations, power, institution, beliefs, and cultural values are in part semiotic; they internalize semiosis without being reducible to it. They are different, but not discrete, i.e. not fully separate. Fairclough gives the following example;

> If we think of the dialectics of discourse in historical terms, in terms of processes of social change, the question that arises is the ways in which and the conditions under which processes of internalization take place. Take the concept of a 'knowledge economy' and 'knowledge society'. This suggests a qualitative change in economies and societies such that economic and social processes are knowledge-driven – change comes about, at an increasingly rapid pace, through the generation, circulation, and operationalization of knowledges in economic and social processes. Of course knowledge (science, technology) have long been significant factors in economic and social change, but what is being pointed to is a dramatic increase in their significance. The relevance of these

ideas here is that 'knowledge driven' amounts to 'discourse-driven': knowledges are generated and circulate as discourses, and the process through which discourses become operationalized in economies and societies is precisely the dialectics of discourse (Fairclough, 2001, p. 3)

Hence, he argues that although one should analyze political institutions or organizations as partly semiotic objects, one should not treat them as purely semiotic, because then one cannot ask the key question; what is the relationship between semiotic and other elements? (Fairclough, A Dialectical-Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Research, 2009, p. 163) (Fairclough, p. 3). Thus, DRA does not only focus on semiosis as such, but moreover on the relationship between semiotic and other social elements (issues, problems, changes etc.). The nature of this relationship varies between institutions and organizations, and according to time and place and this can be established through analysis. The dialectical-relational approach addresses the general question; *what is the particular significance of semiosis, and of dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements, in the social processes which are under investigation?* (Fairclough, 2009, p. 166). It is exactly this relationship between semiosis and other social practices that is of interest to this study, as this will help explain possible changes in the use of international aid.

Fairclough refers to a 'methodology' when using DRA rather than a method, because he also views the process as a theoretical one in which methods are selected according to the objects of research. Thus, he argues, it is "not just a matter of 'applying methods' in the usual sense – we cannot so sharply separate theory and method [in this version of CDA]" (Fairclough, 2009, p. 167). Hence, though this version is actually associated with a general method (which will be explained below), the specific methods used depends on the particular 'piece of research' (document, etc.) and the theoretical process in which this document has been constructed (Fairclough, 2009, p. 167). Hence, the method one applies in DRA (as in all other approaches within CDA) depends on the discourse or document one sets out to analyze. The following section will explain this methodology.

The methodology is formulated in four stages (Fairclough, 2009, pp. 167-183) (notice that this study not necessarily will follow these stages to the letter):

Stage 1: *Focus upon a social wrong (social issues), in its semiotic aspect*. 'Social wrongs' can be understood in broad terms as aspects of social systems, forms or orders which are detrimental to human well-being, and which could in principle be ameliorated (if not eliminated), though perhaps only through major changes in these systems, forms, or orders. An example of this could be poverty (Fairclough, 2009, p. 168). Thus, in this stage one must: *Select a research topic which relates to or points up a social wrong*;

> (…) we might, for instance, conclude that such an approach is potentially 'productive' because there are significant semiotic features of the topic which have not been sufficiently attended to (…) [or] a topic might attract our interest because it has been prominent in the relevant academic literature, or is a focus of practical attention in the domain or field at issue (in political debate etc.) (Fairclough, 2009, p. 168)

As this is the very first stage of conducting a research study, this stage has been carried out already, through several (verbal) processes. Discussing the issues of aid in all of its aspects before settling on a specific focus for this study is, clearly, part of the process of selecting a research topic. Thus, the whole process of selecting a topic will not be described in detail, however, the main thoughts and reflections behind this has been outlined in section 1.2 The Social Wrong.

Stage 2: *Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong*. This stage addresses the social issue in an indirect way by asking what it is about the way in which social life is structured and organized that prevents it from being addressed. This can be done semiotically, which thus "(…) entails selecting and analyzing relevant 'texts' and addressing the dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements" (Fairclough, 2009, p. 169). These texts, then, should be analyzed both interdiscursively, and also by linguistic/semiotic analysis.

Step 1: Analyze dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements.
This can help contextualize the strategies in the debate on development aid, i.e. help determine what context and/or networks (e.g. governments, NGOs, business networks, the World Bank etc.) the debate is 'part of'. This is relevant to this study because the context in which the debate takes place will, moreover, also shape it; if the debate is locked into a powerful network, this in itself makes an obstacle into addressing the social wrong, "(…) the networks of social practices (…) are also orders

of discourse which themselves cut across structural and scalar boundaries" (Fairclough, 2009, pp. 175-176). Moreover, the strategies of the debate could have an important semiotic dimension, in the sense that the processes they entail are 'semiotically driven'. They begin as discourses which constitutes 'imaginaries' for new relations of structure and scale in economies, governments etc.; these discourses may become hegemonic, or dominant, and may be highly recontextualized; if they do become hegemonic, they are 'operationalized' in new structures, practices, relations and so forth. The semiotic dimension is itself a part of the obstacles to addressing the social wrong.

Step 2: Select texts, focuses and categories for analysis which are relevant for the structure of the object of research. The constitution of the object of research indicates the selection of texts in which the macro-strategies of what one sets out to research are semiotically realized (Fairclough, 2009, p. 177). This stage will be realized in section 5.1. Focuses and categories for the analysis of the research question in this study include semiotic strategies which seek to illuminate discourses; including argumentation and rhetorical strategies, as well as semiotic aspects and realizations of legitimization, manipulation, ideology and power.

Step 3: Carry out analysis of the chosen texts; firstly interdiscursive analysis (analysis of which genres, discourses and styles are drawn upon in the chosen object of research, and how they are articulated together). Interdiscursive analysis has the important effect of constituting a mediating 'interlevel' which connects linguistic analysis with other forms of social analysis, because interdiscursive analysis compares how genres, discourses and styles are articulated together in a text as part of a specific event, or as part of networks of practices (Fairclough, 2009, p. 170). Thus, this will help this study view the chosen texts in light of the context in which they exist and take part.
Secondly; linguistic/semiotic analysis. Texts semiotically construe identities and simultaneously seek to make these construals persuasive. As an example, texts can create a 'personal deixis' e.g. if the British government were to create a false equation between 'we' = 'Britain' and 'we' = 'all the citizens of Britain': hence claiming that if 'we' – 'Britain' achieves success or prosperity it will follow all of its citizens, which of course is not true. This is the 'fallacy of division' when a general category has properties which are mistakenly attributed to each of its parts (Fairclough, 2009, p. 178). It is, for example, such persuasive and dominant construals in the objects of research that this study will seek to identify and, moreover, consider what make arguments and construals persuasive. It is particularly, but not exclusively, in stage 2 that this study will apply SFL since it provides some specific methods

when approaching the above steps. That way in which SFL will be applied will be explained in section 3.7 SFL Method.

Stage 3: *Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong*. This stage looks into in what sense the social order 'needs' the social issue. It leads one to consider whether the issue of research is inherent in the social order, whether it can be addressed within it, or only be changing it. Hence, it is a way of linking 'is' to 'ought':

> If a social order can be shown to inherently give rise to major social wrongs, then that is a reason for thinking that perhaps it should be changed. It also connects with questions of ideology: discourse is ideological in so far as it contributes to sustaining particular relations of power and domination (Fairclough, 2009, p. 171).

Stage 3 will be examined in chapter 6: Discussion.

Stage 4: *Identify possible ways past the obstacles*. This stage moves the analysis from negative to positive critique. Identifying possibilities within the existing social process for overcoming obstacles to addressing the social issue. A specifically semiotic focus would include the way in which dominant discourse is reacted to, contested, criticized and opposed. This stage will be examined in the discussion as well.

Hence, from the above stages one can identify some main analytical tools which can be utilized in order to analyze these four stages:

- Semiosis (and other social elements)
- Discourse/genre/style, order of discourse (and social practices)
- Text
- Interdiscursivity (and interdiscursive analysis)
- Operationalization (enactment, inculcation, materialization)

3.5 CDA and Systemic Functional Linguistics

As mentioned, this project will, additionally, draw from Systemic Functional Linguistics**.** The following will explain the basis for combining Critical Discourse Analysis, more specifically DRA, and Systemic Functional Linguistics.

As noted above, Fairclough draws on a specific linguistic theory, namely Systemic Functional Linguistics theory which analyses language as shaped (even in its grammar) by the social functions it has come to serve (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 27). Moreover, Fairclough has argued that "detailed textual analysis will always strengthen discourse analysis" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 194). DRA and SFL share several commonalities and because of these commonalities, SFL works well with the methodology of DRA which will be applied in this study. One of the commonalities that they share is that they both view language as a social construct, looking at the role of language in society and at the ways in which society has shaped language. Another commonality, to which the first leads, is their shared dialectical view of language in which particular discursive events influence the contexts in which they occur and in turn, the contexts are influenced by these discursive events. Lastly, both DRA and SFL emphasize the importance of cultural and historical aspects of meaning (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 1). However, these two fields are also different from each other. SFL is a functionally based approach which examines the functions that language has evolved to serve in society, involving the examination of 'real' language events to understand the purposes language serves in a variety of contexts, and to understand the way language itself functions. Thus, SFL studies how meanings are made in different contexts whereas CDA focuses on;

> Analysis of different public discursive events that explores the relation between language and power and the ways in which language is being used to produce, maintain, and reproduce positions of power through discursive means (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 2).

Moreover, the intention of CDA is to move the linguistic field into a domain of social and political relevance and, thus, provide a social critique by documenting structures of inequality and other social issues. Thereby, revealing structures of domination, but also seeking to effect change in the way that power is wielded, maintained and reproduced (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 2). Furthermore, SFL provides a solid method which can help preserve DRA from ideological bias by demonstrating a

greater sensitivity to texts, thereby making it possible for the analyst to be explicit, transparent, and precise (Young & Harrison, 2004, pp. 4-6). Thus, because of the commonalities between the two approaches, but moreover because of the differences, DRA and SFL supplement each other in a way that is useful for the purpose of this study and in a way that will help keep the analysis of the research question as objective as possible.

3.6 SFL Theory

Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics theory puts emphasis on exploring the semogenic power (or 'meaning potentials') of language and claims that language, or any other semiotic system, can be seen as a system of choice. Language users choose from a network of options in order to create a text, whether written or spoken. Hence, the meaning of the text is dependent upon the choices made by the speaker from the options within the language system, or in some cases from what is *not* chosen (Halliday & Webster, Continuum Companion to Systemic Functional Linguistics, 2009, p. 8). Thereby, SFL theory is providing an angle that this study can make use of in order to understand 'intentional acts of meaning'. SFL advocates a broad understanding of language as a meaning potential and a theory of language. Viewing language as being among a wider class of systems called 'semiotic systems' i.e. systems of meaning, and explains that the opposition is that between semiotic and material; the systems of meaning and the systems of matter. Language, hence, has the 'ability' to create meaning i.e. language is a semogenic system, Halliday gives the following example;

> Not all semiotic systems are also semogenic: a system of traffic signals, for example, is a system of meaning, but its meaning is fixed – it cannot create meaning that are not built into it. By contrast, the meaning potential of a language is openended: new meaning(s) always can be, and often are being, created (Halliday, 2009, p. 60).

Thus, language includes both the potential to mean and the act of meaning which brings that potential to life. Halliday explains that SFL can be considered a problem-oriented theory, in the sense that it is designed to assist in identifying and tackling problems that arise from outside itself, that is, not problems that the theory identifies for itself. This means that the questions it sets out to answer are usually questions which are faced by people who are not linguists but are engaged in some activity or issue in which language plays a role. It is an applicable theory and its development has been driven by the ongoing experience of its use and by its constant extension into new areas of research.

(Halliday, 2009, pp. 60-61). Thus, from the above one can see that SFL theory firstly, fits well with Fairclough's understanding of language and discourse as having a meaning-making potential (semiosis) and secondly, that SFL is applicable for this study to help identify as well as tackling the 'problem' of the debate on development aid. The following will explain how SFL theory will be applied as a supplementing method for analyzing the objects of research. However, worth noting is that, SFL is highly complex and contains much descriptive tools and therefore it is not possible to cover all aspects of it, but the following will seek to identify the aspects which are most relevant (and thus the aspects which will be applied) to this study.

3.7 SFL Method

The following will, as mentioned, describe how this study will apply SFL in order to analyze the objects of research. SFL will be utilized as a concrete method to be able to carry out an analysis in light of Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach and the four stages, described in section 3.4 Applied CDA. This method will, thus, be a 'tool' which will be applied in order to carry out analysis of the chosen objects of research. Accordingly, SFL method will be used in the light of DRA and not as a separate method. Therefore, there will not be a 'full' grammatical analysis of all the clauses in the text, but rather, the analysis will apply some specific tools from SFL, which are useful in order for this study to more objectively analyze the semogenic power of the objects of research.

SFL views language as divided into three hierarchically interrelated strata (layers). Firstly, there is the expression stratum, this is the material surface of language (either as speech or writing). The expression stratum is, thus, the physical 'realization' of the second stratum, that of the lexicogrammar. Lexicogrammar, then, corresponds to the conceptual level of the simple sentence or clause. The lexicogrammatical stratum itself is the realization of the third stratum, that of discourse semantics. Discourse semantics corresponds to the pattering of large scale textual structures above the level of the clause. In turn, these above mentioned strata are related to three hierarchically arranged strata of context: "the context of situation (the immediate situation in which a particular text is produced or consumed; the context of culture (the wider institutional and societal context of the text; and ideology" (Haig, 2010, p. 63). When carrying out the analysis, the focus will be on the lexicogrammatical stratum since that is "(…) the source of energy, the semogenic powerhouse of a language" (Halliday, 2003, p. 248), however, making it clear that all strata participate in the overall construction of meaning. This hierarchical model of the language-context relationship can be

analyzed in various directions; this study will look at the social wrong and then observe how this becomes realized through the various strata to find expression in the objects of research. However, considering the complexity of the linguistic phenomena which this study seeks to analyze not all the stratums can be examined in detail; the focus of this study will be explained below.

The before mentioned semogenic power of language is able to enable human beings to exchange three fundamental and interrelated types of meaning (metafunctions) (Haig, A Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics Approach to Measuring Participant Power in a Radio News Bulletin about Youth Crime, p. 46) (Butt, Fahey, Susan Feez, & Yallop, 2000, p. 47)., that is:

- Ideational meaning: the representation and identification of people, things and events - asking the question "who does what to whom under what circumstances?" will reveal the ideational meaning.
- Interpersonal meaning: the expression of social roles and attitudes, referring to language as a medium for interaction, expressing attitudes and obligation. The emphasis on 'expression' places Modality at the center of the interpersonal metafunction.
- Textual meaning: the coordination of texts both internally and with respect to their contexts of production and reception.

The ideational metafunction is of importance for the analysis of ideology in texts and thus, it is of particular significance for this study. Social actors and other entities (things and events) are represented in texts by means of 'Transitivity'. Transitivity is a fundamental semantic concept within SFL and it has proved to be a powerful tool for the analysis of representation in texts (Haig, p. 48). In SFL Transitivity refers to the entire system of representational resources made available by a particular language at the level of text. Transitivity defines a) the range of types of Process that can be expressed through language and b) the participants in each of those types of Process. Note that in SFL the term 'Process' is used in a broad sense; a process may be an action such as 'kissing', a mental state such as 'knowing', or merely a relationship such as 'being' or 'having'. Furthermore "the term 'process' belongs at the level of meaning (…). And, since the word 'semantics' is simply a more technical name for 'the level of meaning', we can use the derived adjective 'semantic' to say that the term 'Process' is part of the *semantic description* of a clause" (Fawcett, 2008, p. 47); this idea is presented in figure 3.1, below. The choice of Process types and participant roles is seen as realizing the speakers' encoding of their experiential reality (the world of actions, relations, participants and

circumstances that give content to the text). Thus, what is important for this study, in order to be able to analyze the meaning of the texts, is a focus on the Process and the Actors in the Process. Hence, the way in which Transitivity will be applied in the analysis of the objects of research is by identifying a range of labels (Process, Actor, Goal) (Eggins, 1994, pp. 220-225) in the texts to capture the fact that speakers encode content meaning in the text and by identifying these, this study will be able to comment on the choice of Process, i.e. the meaning of the text in light of the Dialectical Relational Approach within CDA.

Figure 3.1

Process

MEANING _____ situation
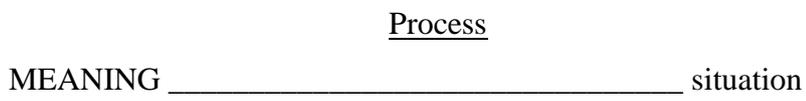
Thus, from the above on Transitivity one can see that Transitivity features represent the encoding of ideational meanings: meanings about the world, about experience, values, about how we perceive and experience what is going on in the world etc.). Thereby, by examining the Transitivity features in the objects of research, this study will be able to "(…) explain how the field of the situation is being constructed: i.e. we can describe 'what is being talked about' and how shifts in the field are achieved" (Eggins, 1994, p. 266).

The next metafunction is the interpersonal metafunction which covers the expression of social roles and attitudes. As mentioned above, the interpersonal metafunction puts emphasis on 'expression' which puts Modality at the center of this metafunction. Different stages of meaning are realized through choices of the various Modality resources. There are four grammatical concepts which are helpful in exploring how the producer of the text, through language, demonstrates affinity for his or her utterance. These are: modal verbs (e.g. can, may, must, shall), tense, modal adverbs and hedges. Therefore, Modality is a very important resource for interactants to express their attitudes and evaluations regarding the subject matter of the text, themselves and each other (Haig, 2010, p. 64). Modality is, furthermore, an important feature for speakers to construe the nature of reality and to construct participant roles through discourse. As mentioned in section 2.5 Criticism and Limitations critics claim the early CDA researchers often were guilty of

(…) simply counting the modals within texts at the bludgeon level of delicacy and drawing social conclusions from such low-level linguistic analysis (…). In these terms there would be no statistical difference between the emphatic offer: *You must stay and have a bite to eat!* And the command: *You must obey my every word* (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 69)*.

Thus, when analyzing modal verbs one must take into consideration the content of the Modalized clause, so as to capture "who is asking what of whom, in what way, and for what reason" (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 69). Thus, when analyzing the interpersonal metafunction, this study will look at the modal operators and examine how the speakers express attitudes and social roles through the use of these modal operators.

Another 'tool' which is great in producing a more meaningful analysis of the social value of speakers' linguistic behavior is a more 'careful' representation of the *lexemic meaning potential* of the modals within the texts, an example of this can be seen in figure 3.2, below. Hence, when analyzing the interpersonal metafunction of the objects of research this study will look at the modal operators and analyze how these might express attitudes of the interactants.

Figure 3.2 (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 70)**:** lexemic meaning potential of 'must'

```
                              ── evidential
                surety ──┤
                              ── emotional ──      ── shock

  'must'
  ─────                                            ── sympathy

                              ── precondition              ── command
           ── obligation ──
                                              ── interpersonal ──   ── enthusiastic
                              ── moral ──                              suggestion

                                                                   ── emphatic offer

                              ── commissive
```
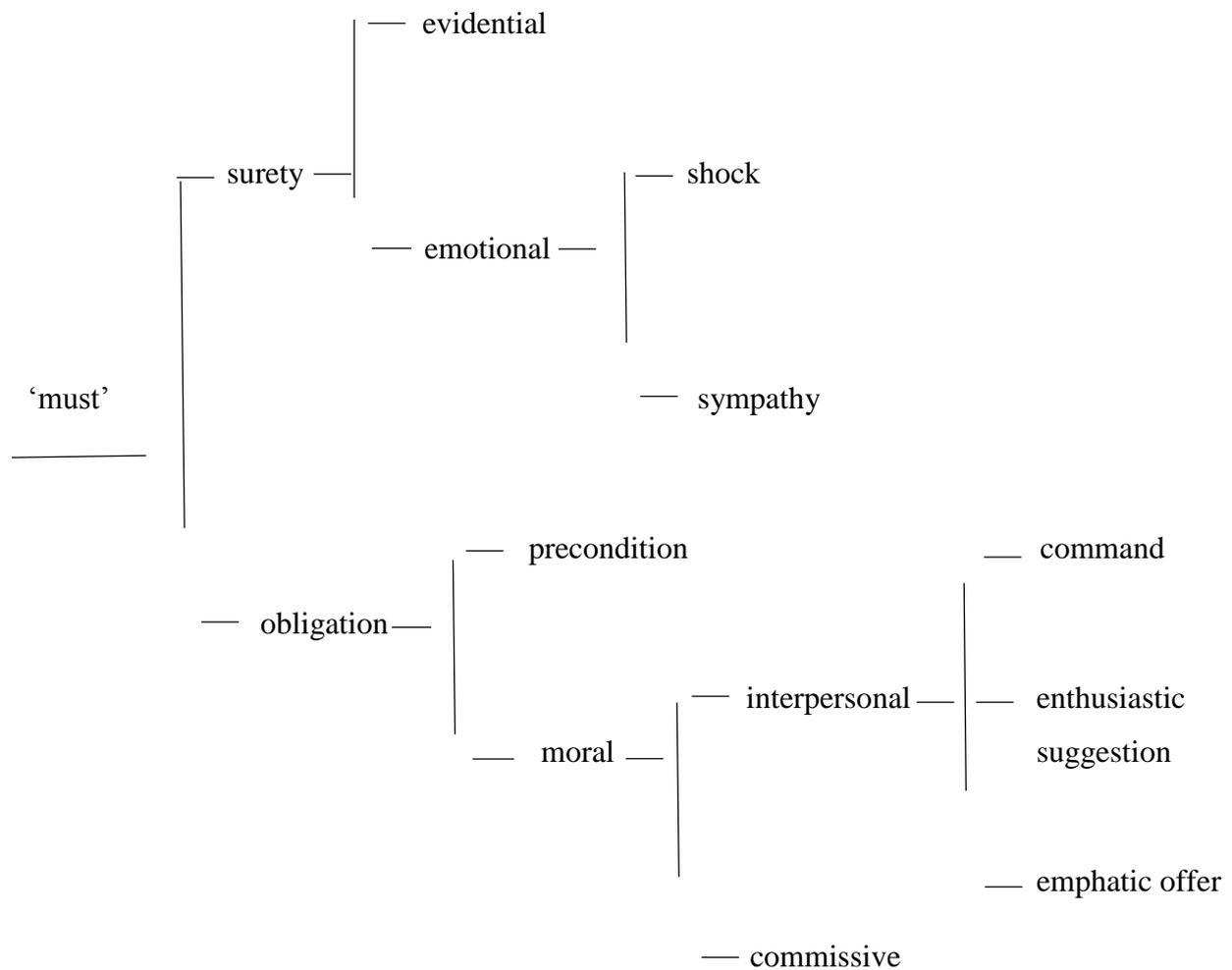
To sum up, the areas of the lexicogrammatical stratum to be analyzed are the interpersonal realm of Modality as a linguistic means of *constructing* social relations, and the Transitivity features of projection as a means of *construing* social reality through hopes, expectations, fears, and so forth.

The last metafunction which will be applied for analysis in this study is that of textual meaning. In this study, when examining the textual metafunction, the focus will be on the context(s) in which the objects of research are in, and how the context might shape them. Thus, this is also where the above mentioned three hierarchically arranged strata of context will be examined; that is the context of situation, the context of culture and ideology.

In order to be able to understand discourses, spoken or written, one must take into account not only the nature of the text, but also the discursive processes by which it is produced;

> [s]uch an understanding must be based on an understanding, either implicit or explicit, of the function a given text has within society; the social and institutional determinations which produced the text; a knowledge of the relationship between texts, both in terms of their social functions and in terms of their linguistic/semiotic similarities and differences (Leckie-Tarry, 1995, p. 5).

According to Kress and Hodge, the emphasis on the relations between the linguistic and the social is very important, because without "immediate and direct relations to the social context, the forms and functions of language are not fully explicable" (Kress & Hodge, 1979, p. 13). By focusing on the broader context of language i.e. the context of culture which is seen as a "homogeneous entity uniting a harmonious society [a language then is a] system of categories and rules based on fundamental principles and assumptions about the world" (Kress & Hodge, 1979, p. 5). Thus, the bond between language and its context is so close that "these principles and assumptions are not related to or determined by thought: they *are* thought" (Kress & Hodge, 1979, p. 5). This perception of reality is what this study refers to as 'ideology', and is built into language at the different stratums.

Chapter 4: Historical outline of Development Aid and 'the Great Aid Debate'

The following will be a description on development aid, including its history and 'the great aid debate. This chapter is written to provide the reader with a contextual understanding of the development aid.

4.1 Development Aid - a Description

Development Aid, Foreign Aid and Development Assistance. These are some of the many terms that describe aid in one way or another. According to the Meriam Webster Dictionary, aid can be defined as "(...) something (such as money, food, or equipment) that is given by a government or an organization to help the people in a country or area where many people are suffering because of poverty, disease, etc." (Meriam Webster Dictionary, 2014). This definition is very broad and it

includes both government and organizations. However, for a more specific description of what aid entails (or can entail), it is essential to outline its main groupings.

The OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) defines the terms 'foreign aid' and 'development assistance' as "(...) financial flows that qualify as Official Development Assistance (ODA)" (Tarp 2006: 13). At the OECD library a description of ODA is provided:

> ODA is defined as government aid designed to promote the economic development and welfare of developing countries. Loans and credits for military purposes are excluded. Aid may be provided bilaterally, from donor to recipient, or channelled through a multilateral development agency such as the United Nations or the World Bank. Aid includes grants, "soft" loans and the provision of technical assistance. Soft loans are those where the grant element is at least 25% of the total (OECD: Better Policies for Better Lives , 2014).

This definition of ODA does not directly mention non-governmental organizations (NGOs), however ODA is also channeled through NGOs. This is done either through international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) or organizations based in the donor country itself, that being local non-governmental organizations (LNGOs) (Agg, 2006, pp. 16-18). Funding trends for NGOs are constantly debated and there are high variations in the trends. Issues such as donor governments wanting to partner with recipient governments and working with direct budget support opposed to more project-based support, donor governments favoring LNGOs over INGOs or vice versa, and governments wanting to work with a limited and 'trusted' selection of NGOs all contribute to the changing landscape of funding trends for NGOs when looking at the political scenery. However, the channeling of ODA is only one way that NGOs receive funding: foundations, trusts, corporations and the individual donor are all great contributors as well. All of the above donors are important to mention as they, through their actions, constitute the relevant actors in the discussion of the impact of the development debate on development practice.

4.2 Development Aid - the History

When looking at the history of development it is very clear that development policies have been, and are still, products of an ever-changing web of ideological impacts, world orders and international relations. Development cooperation as it is known today has its origin in the immediate post-Second World War period. The Marshall Plan had a budget of $13 billion and was introduced as a response to the collapse of the international economic system and the severe shortage of capital as well as the need for physical reconstruction that Europe faced after the war (Tarp, 2006, p. 20). The success of the Marshall Plan has ever since functioned as an inspiration for later foreign aid programmes (Mauritz van der Veen, 2011, p. 6).

In this period the colonial ties were still strong and countries such as France and the United Kingdom gave bilateral aid to their colonies. However the US increased their bilateral support to developing countries as well and new bilateral donors emerged, e.g. the Nordic countries. During the 1960s colonial programmes were transformed into development assistance programmes and the focus became 'economic growth in a state-led planning tradition', with a belief in the 'trickle-down' effect, in this case meaning that "(...) poverty and inequality would quickly be eliminated through growth and modernization (Tarp, 2006, p. 20). In this spirit the UN described the 1960s as the 'Development Decade', which symbolized the belief that the developing countries would soon 'catch up' through the means of accelerating economic growth rates. It was also in this period that commonly accepted volume targets for aid flows was introduced and a central coordinating agency for OECD's aid policies: DAC, was established. The UN, the European Commission and the World Bank all played vital roles in this new time of multilateral relations that was on the rise. Due to visible economic progress as shown from evaluations of many projects, the 1960s was the beginning of a "golden era".

In the 1970s concerns with the quality of aid began to rise and the belief in the effectiveness of 'trickle down' decreased. This brought about the strategy of 'basic human needs'. This strategy contained more focus on employment, income distribution and poverty alleviation. It also made it possible to make demands of poverty orientation towards the recipient countries, which made the US regard the new strategy as an effective way of keeping communist powers away from influential positions in the recipient countries. Cost-benefit-analysis were carried out and many projects received favorable evaluation, showing economic progress, as was the case for the 1960s as well. These evaluations were relied on in the aid debate. Inflation was high and credit cheap, which made many developing

countries borrow heavily during the 1970s. Hence, the heavily borrowing made good sense. However the oil shock in 1979 put an end to the 'golden era' (Tarp, 2006, p. 21).

The 1980s became a decade of international debt crisis. Much went wrong for Africa such as; "(...) a huge increase in interest rates due to the economic stabilization policies in the developed countries. (...) higher oil prices, import compression and a significant decrease in export opportunities due to slower overall global growth" (Tarp, 2006, p. 22). Furthermore, the African contingent experienced many conflicts such as homicides, refugee problems, and famines. On the international political scene major changes occurred as well. In the US and the UK Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan came into power, and the World Bank replaced Hollis Chenery with Anne Krueger as Vice President and Chief Economist. 'Rolling back the state' became the new mantra and included structural adjustment programs, an attachment to policy conditionality, reliance on market forces and an emphasis on the private sector, including NGOs. The 'Washington Consensus' represented the policy in force.

From 1970 to 1990 aid, as calculated as a share of the growing national income of the donor communities, tripled. However, in 1992 aid started to decrease. This can be explained by the end of the Cold War (communism was no longer a threat), the weakening of colonial ties (patron-client-relationships), the criticism of bilateral and multilateral aid institutions (leading people to cut their support for them), an awareness of cases of 'bad governance', corruption and 'crony capitalism' making people sceptic of the recipient governments. Also an increased attention to the overall role of aid started to rise and people were fearful of a possible creation of a dependency relationship between donors and recipient, as a result of aid. A perception that policy conditionality did not promote policy reform, as it intended, began to rise and many started looking into alternative kinds of donor-recipient relationships e.g. in regards to an increase in national ownership (Tarp, 2006, pp. 23-24).

In the 2000s the decrease in aid which started in 1992, ended. The 2000s was also the decade that the eight international development goals named: the Millennium Development Goals (MDG)[1] were formulated. Furthermore, after the 9/11 terror attack on the World Trade Center securitization of aid re-emerged. Initiated by the U.S, aid did now become a supporting tool in the military 'war on terror' (Rasmussen, 2012).

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[1] 1: to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, 2: to achieve universal primary education, 3: to promote gender equality and empower women, 4: to reduce child mortality, 5: to improve maternal health, 6: to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases, 7: to ensure environmental sustainability, 8: to develop a global partnership for development.

One of the major characteristics of the current state of development aid is ""a big push" or a Marshall Plan for Africa" (Tarp, 2006, p. 12). This approach was set out in the UN Millennium Project Report (2002, 2005), and are handled in The World Economic Forum (2005) and the Commission for Africa (2005) reports. However, another side of the current scene of development aid is a massive critique against this 'big push' approach. Development Economists, politicians, advocates, artists and many others are taking part in a debate on the effectiveness of aid. As the content of this debate will be subject to discourse analysis in this study, the debate will be outlined in the following sections, as to provide the reader with a basis for understanding the debate in regards to its use and relevance for this study.

4.3 Development Aid – 'the Great Aid Debate'

The debate over foreign aid and its effectiveness is far-reaching. Nilima Gulrajani, Senior Researcher at the Global Economic Governance Programme at the University of Oxford and Visiting Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), terms it 'The Great Aid Debate' in her LSE article: 'Transcending the Great Foreign Aid Debate: Managerialism, Radicalism and the Search for Aid Effectiveness' from 2011. She argues that the Great Aid Debate "(...) puts those who are radically opposed to foreign aid against those who champion its managerial reform to achieve greater aid effectiveness" (Gulrajani, 2011, p. abstract). Gulrajani's term 'the great aid debate" will also be applied in this section outlining the debate, as the term expresses an understanding of the scale of the debate whilst including all aspects of aid.

Naturally, the existence of a debate over foreign aid goes hand in hand with the existence of foreign aid itself and both have varied through time. Tarp brings forth an example of how the former optimism surrounding the capabilities of aid has decreased through the successive editions of a leading textbook in development economics, he writes:

> In the first edition of his *Leading Issues in Economic Development*, Meier (1964) dedicated some 18 pages to the issue of foreign aid. He started by asking: "How much aid?" By the time of the 6th edition (Meier (1995), the treatment of foreign aid had been cut in half, and the questions raised were: "Why official assistance?", and "Does aid work?" In the 2000 edition (Meier and Rauch, 2000), "foreign aid" is not even listed in the index (Tarp, 2006, p. 11).

This example illustrates how the handling of aid has changed through 34 years - from the perspective of the world of development economics. The great aid debate as we know it today took shape in the aftermath of the publishing of American economist Jeffrey Sachs' 'The end of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for our Time' in 2005. The American economist William Easterly wrote the article 'A Modest Proposal' in the Washington Post in March the same year, in which he heavily criticized Sachs work. In 2013 Easterly himself describes this article as the beginning of the great aid debate as he writes the following:

> In 2005 I wrote a negative review of Sachs' book *The End of Poverty*, and I became identified for years afterward (with rising unwillingness) as the antithesis to Sachs' thesis, a polarized side in a never-ending debate - Aid can end poverty! No, it can't! - that played itself out in dueling books, blogs, media quotes, and syllabi (Easterly, reason.com - Free Minds and Free Markets, 2014).

In 2006 Easterly published his book: *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, in which he argues that foreign aid has failed because those making the decisions are *Planners* and not *Searchers*. In his words the two can be defined as a Planner being one who "(...) thinks he already knows the answers; he thinks of poverty as a technical engineering problem that his answers will solve" (Easterly, 2006), whereas a Searcher is one who "(...) admits he doesn't know the answers in advance; he believes that poverty is a complicated tangle of political, social, historical, institutional and technological factors" (Easterly, 2006). He goes on to argue that the design of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is an example of the doing of the Planners. Sachs is one of the main advocates for the MDGs as well as special advisor to the UN on the project. Hence Easterly argues that Sachs is a Planner. However, Sachs and Easterly are not the only big actors in the Great aid debate. The following will be a brief description of some of the main actors and their standpoints.

Chapter 5: Discursive Analysis

The following chapter will carry out analysis of the objects of research. The analysis represents stage 2 of the Dialectical Relational Approach.

5.1 Presentation of Objects of Research

The texts selected for analysis has been chosen so as to represent both sides of 'the great aid debate'. As mentioned in section 4.3 Development Aid – 'the Great Aid Debate', this debate has taken a very personal turn; exemplified by the fact that Easterly himself has commented on the fact that he (unwillingly) has become "the antithesis to Sachs' thesis, a polarized side in a never-ending debate (…) that play[s] itself out in dueling books, blogs, media quotes, and syllabi" (Easterly, reason.com - Free Minds and Free Markets, 2014). Thus, in order to cover both this personal turn that the debate has taken, as well as the 'actual' content of the debate, this study has chosen two main texts which represent a broad a view of the debate; Text 1 (see appendix 1) is an article by Sachs; 'The Case for Aid', published January 21, 2014 via Foreign Policy.com. The article makes the claim that aid is important and moreover, is a response to an article by Easterly; 'The Aid Debate is Over' in which Easterly reviews a recent book by Nina Munk; The Idealist: Jeffrey Sachs and the Quest to End Poverty'. In the article Easterly argues that the aid debate is no longer relevant and that Sachs should move on;

> Sachs does deserve some positive recognition: He was and is a very gifted and hardworking advocate for those who have not yet benefited from the considerable progress that has happened as a result of development [i.e. *not* aid]. But his idea that aid could rapidly bring the end of poverty was wrong. It's time to move on (Easterly, reason.com - Free Minds and Free Markets, 2014).

Text 2 (see appendix 2) is an article by Easterly; 'Aid Amnesia', published on January 23 on Foreign Policy.com. This article then, is a response to Sachs' article 'The Case for Aid'; in the article Easterly makes the claim that aid and development are now two separate topics and, thus, therefore should be two different debates. Moreover, he states that Sachs has retreated from his original 'Big Push' aid claims found in his book 'The End of Poverty'.

Text 1 and 2, thus, represent both sides of 'the great aid debate'. On the one hand, text 1 represents the pro aid side, that argues that "(…) development aid, when properly designed and delivered, works, saving the lives of the poor and helping to promote economic growth" (Sachs J. , 2014), and that there just needs to be delivered greater amounts of aid. On the other, text 2 represents the other side, arguing

that aid is not the way to promote development and that "the debate really is over" (Easterly, reason.com - Free Minds and Free Markets, 2014). Hence, the following analysis will seek to examine how the ideologies of the main actors are expressed in the two texts which will create the base for a discussion on how this might influence the aid scene in the future.

5.2 The Dialectical Relations between Semiosis and other Social Elements

In stage 2 of Fairclough's approach, he states that one way into identifying obstacles to addressing the social wrong is to *analyze dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements.* As mentioned, this will help view the objects of research in light of context in which they are created. This is very important, because the context in which text 1 and 2 is created has been part of shaping them. In this study, the analysis of dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements, focuses on the dialectical relations between structures (especially social practices as an intermediate level of structuring) and events (structure and action and structure and strategy). According to Fairclough there are some main ways in which semiosis relates to other elements of social practices and of social events;

> (…) as a facet of action; in the construal (representation) of aspects of the world; and in the constitution of identities. And there are three semiotic […] categories corresponding to these: genre, discourse and style [Fairclough refers to identities as styles or 'ways of being' in their semiotic aspects] (Fairclough, 2009, p. 164).

Thus, this study addresses this aspect by examining the textual metafunction of the objects of research. As mentioned, this metafunction is examining the coordination of texts, internally and also with respect to their contexts of production.

5.2.1 Context of Production: 'the Great Aid Debate'

The contextual information about the debate has already been briefly outlined in section 4.3 Development Aid: 'the Great Aid Debate', where it was explained how the handling of aid has changed through past decades and that what lies in 'the great aid debate' (in relation to this study) is, on the one hand; those who are radically opposed to foreign aid as a tool for development and on the other; those who champion its managerial reform to achieve greater aid effectiveness. Moreover, it

was explained how 'the great aid debate' started in the aftermath of the publishing of Sachs' 'The End of Poverty' in 2005 after which Easterly published an article in the Washington Post in which he criticized Sachs' approach to development aid. As mentioned, Easterly himself describes this as the beginning of 'the great aid debate'. The following will comment and elaborate on how the context of production of the objects of research could pose as an obstacle to addressing the social wrong.

Even though aid has been a highly discussed topic in past decades, it would rarely be high on the agenda at international summits and the matters discussed at the G8 summits[2] and the leaders of the world's wealthiest economies "had far more important matters to attend to" (The Economist, 2003). Today, though, aid is a regular feature of G8 summits, take for example the 39th G8 summit; the official agenda was tax evasion and transparency. However the Syrian civil war dominated the agenda, a declaration signed by the G8 nations called for more aid, maximizing diplomatic pressure, aiming for peace talks (GOV.UK, 2014). Several factors have brought the questions of development aid to the top of the agenda in the international development community. An example is extensive lobbying by pressure groups, especially on the issue of debt relief for the poorest countries, which has put the topic of aid to the attention of the public, conflicts such as the Syrian civil war is another example and ultimately

> (…) aid has forced its way to the top of the agenda because political leaders have realized
> that global security and prosperity depend on an inclusive international economy. Letting
> poor countries fall further behind is dangerous (The Economist, 2003).

This recent prominence of aid has meant a plethora of summits, organizations, agreements, and opinions, as well as the above mentioned abundance of blogs, books and social media quotes. This semiotic dimension of social practices has construed orders of discourse about aid that leads to a certain understanding of the topic. Hence, the semiotic dimension of these events are texts (orders of discourse). Accordingly, these social practices is a structuring of different ways of meaning-making in relation to development aid; the discourses come from different genres and styles that constitute a semiotically construed understanding of development aid. From the above one can see a tendency of increasingly incorporating aid discourses within larger networks which include government (such as

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[2] The Group of Eight (G8) is the name of a forum of a group of eight leading advanced economies. The G8 has an annual summit meeting where the G8 heads of governments meets to discuss a prearranged agenda.

the leaders of the G8 nations), international agencies (the World Bank and IMF which takes a great part in the talking of development aid), the media and so forth. Thus, the discourses of 'the great aid debate' are locked into a quite powerful network of international strategies and policies; these events all point to an institutionalization of the discourses of aid. This, in itself, points to an obstacle into addressing the social wrong since it might take the attention away from the actual goal with development aid. An example of this, could be that of the MDGs, which since they were agreed to at a summit at the UN in 2000, have occupied a great deal of attention of the UN, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and bilateral aid agencies in their dealing with low-income countries. The MDGs were meant as a major motivational device to increase development efforts in low-income countries. However, when it comes to the countries of Africa it is clear that they will not be able to meet any of the goals before 2015 (United Nations, 2005). Easterly points out, however, that the MDGs are also a measure of performance and that "(…) the MDGs are poorly and arbitrarily designed to measure progress against poverty and deprivation, and that their design makes Africa look worse than it really is" (Easterly, 2009, p. 26). This is an example of how the institutionalization through the vast range of policies and agreements relating development takes away the focus on what is important; that Africa has seen development in a range of areas, by stating Africa's successes as failures (Easterly argues that this is not due to aid but other economic development tools). Hence, the focus becomes the failure of Africa instead of the success which would prove an obstacle into addressing the 'real' issue, namely how to further the development of the African countries.

Furthermore, in the introduction to this study, it was pointed out how the recent (as of January this year) kindling of the debate sprung out as a response to the annual letter on aid and development from the Gates Foundation. This resulted in several blog posts and tweets all over the social media. From this, one can see that the form of the debate has changed. Today, the debate takes place all over the social (popular) media and online in different blog forums. Accordingly, the debate is more accessible to 'the public'. This suggests that the genres of the debates has changed (according to Fairclough genres are semiotic ways of acting and interacting, such as news or advertisements in TV (Fairclough, 2009, p. 164)). Earlier, the debate would only take place in the form of more 'official' social practices, such as academic articles and reports etc. The fact that the debate now takes place in other more accessible forms shows a change in the social practices in which the debate takes place. One example of how and why this change has taken place could be Sachs' involvement with 'Hollywood' and different Hollywood personalities; Bono wrote the foreword to Sachs' 'The End of Poverty' and

moreover Sachs took part in an episode of E! True Hollywood Story about Angelina Jolie (IMDb.com, 2014). The fact that Sachs, an economist, today is known by most of the public, moreover means that the public is presented to, and thus must consider, 'the great aid debate'. The above is an example of how cultural, political, and economic activities have merged into a globally interconnected system of social practices.

5.2.2 Social Structures

According to Young and Lynne social structures are expressed in the things that people do;

> a structure is conceptualized as 'rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction' (…), rules and resources, thus, constitute 'structuring properties', i.e. 'the properties which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space'. ((Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 89).

Structuring properties of social systems are implemented simultaneously in different social realms and at different levels of social life. Depending on interrelations between social practices implicated in social contexts and different identities / role prescriptions (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 94). As mentioned above, one way that semiosis relates to social practices is by a facet of action in the constitution of identities. Identities, or semiotically constructed role prescriptions, are privileges, rights and duties, or responsibilities associated with specific social identities, that is semiotically constructed categories or typifications "made on the bases of some definite social criterion or criteria: occupation, kin relation, age-grade, level of education, religious or political affiliation, income, nationality, and so on" (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 87). Accordingly, the following will examine the social structures which might be expressed in the objects of research. Firstly, it will briefly comment on the identities of the speakers of both texts, and afterwards an examination of how Sachs and Easterly seek to form new identities in their respective texts by way of semiosis, this will help illuminate the strategies in the objects of research. Thus, examining the interconnected (social) practices which can either reproduce previous identities or challenge and change those identities, thereby leading to new ways of social life.

Professor Jeffrey D. Sachs is the director of the Earth Institute, Quetelet Professor of Sustainable Development, and Professor of Health Policy and Management at Columbia University. He is special

advisor to United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on the Millennium Development Goals. He is Director of the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network. He is co-founder and Chief Strategist of Millennium Promise Alliance, and is director of the Millennium Villages Project. He has authored three bestsellers in the past seven years, namely; the End of Poverty, Common Wealth: Economics for a Crowded Planet, and The Price of Civilization. Besides, he is involved in several other projects and has authored other books as well as several academic articles (The Earth Institute: Columbia University, 2014). This is a quite impressive sounding resume which gives him the authoritative resources and legitimization to speak about aid and development, the fact that he has a prominent role as advisor for United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon moreover makes the assumption that Sachs 'knows what he is talking about'. The combination of the authority that lies in his background and the fact the Sachs is well-known by most of the public gives him a very wide ranging voice in respect to 'the great aid debate'. However, his role as both an academic as well as a 'promoter' of development aid seems to have changed the way in which he is viewed by the academic development community. This will be elaborated further below.

Professor William Easterly is Professor of Economics at New York University and Co-director of the NYU Development Research Institute, which won the 2009 BBVA Frontiers of Knowledge in Development Cooperation Award. He is the author of three books, namely; 'The Tyranny of Experts: Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor', 'The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Harm and So Little Good' (this book won the FA Hayek Award for the Manhattan Institute), and 'The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics'. Moreover, Easterly has published more than 60 peer-reviewed academic articles, he is also Co-Editor of the Journal of Development Economics and Director of the blog 'Aid Watch' (Williameasterly.org, 2014). His resume includes several more titles and publications. Just as it is the case with Sachs, Easterly's many titles, publications and awards, give him the authority and legitimization to make statements and comment on the future of how aid and development should be handled without too many people questioning his statements. As opposed to Sachs, however, Easterly's statements on the topic of aid and development might not be quite as far reaching, but the recent change in the genres of the debate (blogs, social media etc.) has given Easterly a broader reach and probably will continue to make it possible for him to become more heard by the public.

In Sachs' 'The Case for Aid' the most significant identities (or role prescriptions) include those of Sachs himself, Professor William Easterly, UN General-Secretary Ban Ki-moon, Africa, The US, sub-Saharan Africa, and Kenya. Furthermore, more lexical references is used to make reference the countries of Africa; 'poor countries', 'low-income countries', 'a poor country in Africa'. He also mentions organizations and institutions such as the World Health Organization, UN agencies, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization, the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health (and several more). Moreover, Sachs' makes several lexemic references that point to include people in Africa, such as; 'poor people', 'poor families', impoverished households', 'millions of lives', and 'the world's poorest and most vulnerable people' (see appendix 3).

Sachs argues that "evidence shows that development aid, when properly designed and delivered, works, saving the lives of the poor and helping to promote economic growth" (paragraph 2, appendix 3). Sachs seeks to construe this as fact by structures of legitimization. Examples of these structures are; "[a]s experience demonstrates, it is possible to use our reason, management know-how, technology, and learning by doing to design highly effective aid" (paragraph 3, appendix 3), and "the approach of increased aid that is well targeted through innovative institutions has been enormously successful" (paragraph 7, appendix 3). In most of the cases in which Sachs uses legitimizing structures to support his arguments it is by the use of the identities of the organizations (which are mentioned above) as well as UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon; "(…) this particular study, which was conducted by the American Red Cross and CORE, actually showed the program was a success" (paragraph 14, appendix 3), "U.N Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon established the mass free distribution of bed nets as policy" (paragraph 16, appendix 3), and "[t]he evidence is overwhelming (…) WHO's report finds a stunning 51 percent drop in malaria deaths" (paragraph 17, appendix 3). This kind of use of well-known and acknowledged organizations and people puts authority to the evidence of his arguments and thus legitimizes his statements that aid can lead to development.

In 'The Case for Aid' Sachs mention Professor Easterly eleven times (see appendix 3), this is in interconnected practices such as "Professor William Easterly (…) has long been a vocal opponent of aid, and recently declared that the aid debate was "over"" (Paragraph 5, appendix 3), "Prof. Easterly has been proven wrong in both diagnosis and prescription" (paragraph 5, appendix 3), "Prof. Easterly's claim misconstrued this and other evidence (…)" (paragraph 14, appendix 3), "Prof.

Easterly's arguments added to a highly visible narrative against the needed global action on malaria control" (paragraph 15, appendix 3), "Prof. Easterly's continued denunciations of aid, and his declarations that large-scale aid has failed, are injurious to the public support needed for the replenishment" (paragraph 17, appendix 3), "[w]hile Prof. Easterly begrudgingly admits that some health programs have worked, for him this contradiction seems to make no difference (…) (paragraph 19, appendix 3), "Prof. Easterly's emphasis on 'modest resources' mischaracterizes our real global situation" (paragraph 22, appendix 3). From the above examples of how Sachs portrays Easterly by stating a range of interconnected practices, is seems clear that he constructs the identity of 'Prof. Easterly' in a negative way by using Easterly as an example of someone who is 'against the needed global action on malaria', such an utterance suggests that Easterly is against something which will (without question) help fight malaria. Moreover, by identifying Easterly with the very negative toned words; 'misconstrued', 'injurious claims', and 'mischaracterizes', Sachs construes Easterly in a highly negative way, and moreover, he is stating that the way Easterly is talking about aid is injurious and moreover the he is lying in order to make his statements seem valid. Hence, it is clear that Sachs is construing a highly negative identity in relation to Easterly.

In Easterly's "Aid Amnesia the most significant identities is those of Jeffrey Sachs, Easterly himself, Nina Munk, The United Nations, Africa, the 'rich countries', Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia, villagers of the Millenium Villages, and critics (of development aid) (appendix 4). Compared to Sachs' text Easterly use very few role prescriptions in his text. Worth noting is that most of the times in which he identifies and prescribes a role it is by mentioning Sachs; Sachs is mentioned approximately 50 times as opposed to Nina Munk which is mentioned 8 times. When mentioning Sachs it is usually by critiquing his approach to aid; "Jeffrey Sachs has gone down the rabbit hole on the aid debate", "Apparently, there is nobody left, not even Sachs himself, to defend the case for aid as the engine of development" and "[o]n one hand, Sachs has said that aid can end poverty, but in his FP piece he says that it isn't a driver of development" (paragraphs 1, 10, and 13, appendix 4). From the above examples it is clear that Easterly portrays Sachs in a very negative way, moreover, he seems to make the point that Sachs cannot or will not stand up for his case any longer and that he has admitted that aid is not an engine of development. By making such utterances prescribes Sachs the role of having lost the debate already. In the two cases where Easterly is mentioning 'critics' it is also as a comment on Sachs; "Critics have piled on, arguing that Sachs is failing to properly evaluate his micro-interventions in the Millennium Villages" (paragraph 8, appendix 4) and "(…) Sachs' critics do not

even mention his original claim that aid will unleash the tremendous dynamism of self-sustaining growth (paragraph 9, appendix 4). The same goes for several other of the identifications is his text, he uses them to criticize Sachs; "Munk contradicted Sachs' prediction of easy victories against poverty" (paragraph 8, appendix 4) and "Could the "benevolent dictators" such as the late Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia – who Jeff Sachs often praises" (paragraph 13, appendix 4). With the last example, Easterly puts Sachs in connection with a dictator. Thus from the above it is clear that Easterly is construing an identity of Sachs in a very negative light and as having lost the debate already. The fact that Sachs takes up so much of Easterly's attention in his article, makes a claim about his ideologies. Thus, this will be elaborated further in the following interdiscursive and linguistic/semiotic analysis of the two texts.

The two texts focus on the same topic within the broader conceptual framework of development aid. Both present arguments as to why their view on this topic is the right one. The two texts should, thus, be understood against this background of social structures as well as the in the context in which the debate takes place (as presented in section 5.2.1 Context of Production: 'The Great Aid Debate') because ideological effects of the discourse are very much a function of past history leading up to the present situation. The roles played by both Sachs and Easterly (which in the beginning of the debate might be seen as a hegemonic relationship between Sachs as a proponent and Easterly as a critic of development aid) can now be viewed as Easterly seeking to establish that aid, in relation to economic development, is no longer relevant and Sachs holding his stand that aid is effective and can lead to economic development. Thus, in fighting for what they believe to be a good and noble cause (showing their ideologies) one might see the formation of a new kind of hegemony depending on what turn the debate take in the future. The following will further comment on the ideologies and values of the speakers of the objects of research.

5.3 Interdiscursive and Linguistic/Semiotic Analysis: 'The Case for Aid'

The following analysis is a part of the second stage, step 3; *carry out analysis of texts, both interdiscursive analysis, and linguistic/semiotic analysis*. Accordingly, this step involves both interdiscursive analysis and linguistic/semiotic analysis and is made with the purpose of creating a comprehensive CDA approach to analysis. The main elements of interdiscursive analysis will be represented at the beginning and, then, elaborated on simultaneously with the linguistic/semiotic analysis. The elements of the linguistic/semiotic analysis will include some SFL aspects, as it is

associated with the two metafunctions of ideational and interpersonal meaning. This analysis entails more close to text analysis and thus can be, to some degree, differentiated from the interdiscursive analysis. However, they will be interconnected in the cases where it has more relevance to do so. What kind of analysis is being conducted will, for the sake of comprehension, be highlighted in each case.

First, a brief outline of some of the main interdiscursive elements of the article will be outlined and then, they will be analyzed simultaneously with the more linguistic/semiotic analysis. This approach to the analysis is ideal because of the interconnectedness of the two focuses. As mentioned in chapter 3; "If being an instance of social (political, ideological, etc.) practice is one dimension of a discursive event, being a text is another." (Fairclough 1992: 71). Hence, the interconnectedness of the two analysis. The next section will compose a linguistic/semiotic analysis of text 1: 'The Case for Aid', which is a part of the interpersonal metafunction which, as mentioned, covers the expression of social roles and attitudes and is a part of SFL analysis. As mentioned, SFL might be a valid tool for helping CDA to uncover the different tricks writers' use to try and convince their readers of their viewpoints, by manipulating the reader to interpret information in a specific way. Hence, the choices that the authors of a text make can help to promote their point of view. On this note, the following will present an analysis of the text, which incorporates both aspects of SFL (in its linguistic/semiotic analysis) and CDA/aspects of SFL in CDA.

On the matter of interdiscursive elements the genre is important to investigate. 'The Case for Aid' is an article on a scientific matter, published in Foreign Policy. It is also a part of a greater debate on aid: 'the great aid debate', which is the subject matter. Being a part of 'the great aid debate' its rhetorical mode is therefore argumentative. The reason for calling it an article on a scientific matter and not a scientific article is that the much of its argumentation (activity type) is based on less scientific grounds of criticizing the opponent, as well as it is based on scientific claims. The following will elaborate on these interdiscursive elements as well as provide linguistic/semiotic analysis.

As stated, Modality is one of the major aspects to consider, within the interpersonal metafunction. Fairclough states that there are four grammatical concepts which are helpful in exploring how the producer of the text, through language, demonstrates affinity for his or her utterance, these are: modal verbs, tense, modal adverbs and hedges. These will, in accordance to their appearance and relevance

with the text be explored in the following analysis of Modality. In the text there are 30 modal verbs. Almost all of them are from Sachs' own utterances and many of the same are consistently occurring throughout the text. In order to make any claims as to why Sachs has chosen to make use of these modal verbs, and on what these choices mean, it is necessary to look into the lexemic meaning potential of the modal verbs that are involved. For this purpose, figure 3.2 'lexemic meaning potential of 'must'' provides an example in which 'trails' of different potentials of the meaning of 'must' are outlined. Also, as mentioned, a very important aspect is that of the content in which this modal verb is situated - the context.

Most of Sachs' modal verbs present the meaning of future possibility. The remaining presents the meanings of obligation or 'appropriateness'. The following is an example in which one utterance from paragraph 19 entails both possibility and appropriateness:

> These successes demonstrate a key lesson: that well-designed aid programs with sound operating principles, including clear goals, metrics, milestones, deliverables, and financing streams, can make an enormous difference, and that such programs should be devised and applied on a large scale in order to benefit as many people as possible (paragraph 19, appendix 3).

In this quote the word 'can' represents the lexemic meaning of possibility. Within this meaning of possibility it also shows how Sachs presents a confident and dynamic claim in that the word is in the present tense and actually expresses a strong belief in the validity of the mentioned successes. There is no hedges present in the claim of what these successes can do, which only substantiate the deduction that Sachs is showing approval for own assertion. The second modal verb is 'should'. This verb presents the lexemic meaning of appropriateness. Firstly, it expresses Sachs expectation that applying these programs on a large scale will prove to be the correct tool for benefiting as many people as possible. Secondly, it expresses Sachs' values in that he believes that benefiting as many people as possible is a desirable goal. It is Sachs' ideologies (what he defines as "common sense") which helps in shaping the picture of the context in which his values can be defined. These ideologies have been defined and argued for, throughout this study, and hence it is possible to make substantial claims on his values.

As mentioned, the last of the lexemic meaning potential is obligation. This meaning potential is used 8 times and always in a form of the modal verb 'need' with one exception in which he talks of Easterly and is using the modal verb 'would' with obligation as the meaning potential as well. 'Would' in this utterance is supposed to present Sachs interpretation of what Easterly thinks. The following will be an example of the former: an utterance in which Sachs uses the modal verb 'needed'. In paragraph 17 Sachs argues that: "Prof. Easterly's continued denunciations of aid, and his declarations that large-scale aid has failed, are injurious to the public support needed for the replenishment". The modal verb is 'needed' and it is used with the meaning of what can be called 'essential repair'. This means that Sachs uses the word to express that public support is a prerequisite for the replenishment of aid funding. Hence, Sachs sees a replenishment of aid funding as the goal and directly attacks Easterly for being the obstacle in that his discursive contributions to 'the great aid debate' influence people in a manner that makes them less inclined to fund aid. This is a blatant example of how Sachs distances himself from Easterly in that Easterly is portrayed as one of the obstacles to the goal that Sachs' pursue based on his assumptions that this goal (funding of large scale-aid) will help make the world a better place as defined by Sachs values and ideologies.

The following will analyze the mentioned example of the modal verb 'would' as representing the lexemic meaning potential of obligation. Sachs begins Paragraph 14 with the statement that: "Prof. Easterly would have none of it". In this statement 'it' refers back to the mass-production and free distribution of malaria nets that Sachs argues for in Paragraphs 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13. The modal verb is 'would' and, as mentioned, it is used to present a subject obligation which presents Easterly's position as unarguable. As the context of the modal verb 'would' is 'would have none of', and then, expressing the opposite of 'would have', Sachs is arguing that Easterly is rejecting the potentials of these bed nets as a mean to reach the goal of improving the lives of poor people. It has a lexemic meaning of obligation in the sense that it is a standpoint which it is expected that the expresser of this statement will follow through. Hence, Sachs' use of 'Easterly would have none of it', indicates that he believes Easterly to be a stubborn man who is impervious to reason in the sense that he will not give any thought to Sachs' arguments and the evidence he presents. The ideologies behind this presentation of Easterly are linked to Sachs own 'common sense'. This is evident in the fact that Sachs equate Easterly's denial of his arguments with foolishness and a lack of common sense - hence, between the lines, simultaneously stating that his arguments are in fact common sense, originating in his values and beliefs.

The use of pronouns in the text is also of great relevance to analyzing how the text producer creates affinity to his claims. One of the more striking recurrences of words is that of 'global': 'global community', 'global fight', 'global collaboration', 'global aid debate', 'global action', 'global turning point', 'global scales', global situation' and global resources' are examples, also the word 'world' is repeatedly mentioned. This creates a focus of that which is global and worldwide. Within this focus many pronouns are used in a manner which presents Sachs' claims and values. The first example is from paragraph 3 in which he states:

> As experience demonstrates, it is possible to use our reason, management know-how, technology, and learning by doing to design highly effective aid programs that save lives and promote development (appendix 3, paragraph 3).

The pronoun which will be analyzed from this quote is the word 'our'. In this sentence 'our' functions as a possessive as well as an inclusive pronoun. It is inclusive in the sense that it includes the readers of the text, hence, making it possible for Sachs to present himself and the readers as a collective characterized by shared values. Those shared values would be the goal of 'saving lives and promote development'. In highlighting the possibility of saving lives and promoting development by the means of what is expressed in the text, Sachs is simultaneously stating that doing this is something that should be done - it is the right thing to do. From this it can be deduced that Sachs is advocating his ideologies by seeking collective support for them. Also, another issue concerning Sachs' use of 'our' is that of its function as a possessive noun, indicating ownership. Sachs is saying that 'our' is in the possession of the mentioned 'reason, management know-how, technology, and learning by doing'. As mentioned, Sachs himself and the reader are included in 'our', hence, they have these possessions. However the 'our' might also refer to 'mankind': that being human beings collectively. This interpretation of what Actors Sachs believe to be a part of 'our', is supported by the following analysis of his use of the pronoun 'we'.

In paragraph 22 Sachs states the following:

> Prof. Easterly's emphasis on "modest resources" mischaracterizes our real global situation. We are living in a world of great wealth. We need not accept the fallacy

perpetuated by the rich that global resources available are quite so "modest", when total aid to sub-Saharan Africa in 2012 amounted to roughly 0.1 percent of the GDP of the donor countries (around $45 billion per year). We can and should mobilize more support (appendix 3, paragraph 22).

The pronoun used the most in this extract is the second person subject pronoun 'we'. As mentioned the use of 'we' in this extract shows how Sachs is referring to the whole of mankind. 'We are living in a world of great wealth' indicates that those who are included in the 'we' are residents on this earth, living in this world. 'We need not accept the fallacy perpetuated by the rich (...)', indicates that the rich are one group of people who live in this world. As being rich is a relative term, there must also be 'poor', hence poor people are another group of people who live in this world. This presents the following formula that: 'we' are residents of the world that is this earth, the rich and the poor are both residents of this world, hence the poor and the rich are both included in 'we'. This, then, means that the possessions that are described as being owned by 'we', is own by both the rich and the poor. This shows Sachs' principle attitude that even though the poor might not have access to some of these possessions in the same tangible way as the rich have, it is still a collective ownership. The last sentence 'We can and should mobilize more support' illustrates exactly this, as the modal verb 'should' represents Sachs' ideological belief in what is 'the right thing to do'.

In regards to the social wrong it can be analyzed that Sachs ideologies (as presented and analyzed upon throughout this study) are powerful ideologies that influence the actual reality of development aid. These influences can stem both from the mobilization of support for these ideologies, but also, through the development of opposition towards them. Hence it is not necessarily the content of his ideologies (his values) that are influencing reality, it is also the way in which these values are being reacted upon.

5.3.1 Ideational meanings: 'The Case for Aid'

The following will be an examination of some of the ideational meanings in Sachs' 'The Case for Aid'. This will be done by analyzing some of the Transitivity features of the text. Note that the analysis will not touch upon all aspects of Transitivity, since this would be quite an extensive analysis. As already mentioned, an analysis of the Transitivity features is a useful tool for the examination of representation in texts. Transitivity defines the Processes of texts and also identifies the Actors of

these Processes. Accordingly, the choice of Process types and the participants of these Processes are seen as realizing the speakers' encoding of their experiential reality. Sachs' text has a large variety of ideational processes realizing his representation of 'the great aid debate'. The following will comment on the main types of Processes in 'The Case for Aid' and examine how these choices of Processes are realizing Sachs' values and ideologies.

The Mental Process of 'believe' is uttered 3 times the text; "I have long believed in foreign aid", "I do not believe that aid is the sole or main driver of economic development", and "I do not believe that aid is automatically effective" (paragraphs 2, 4 and 4, appendix 3). In each of these cases Sachs himself is the Actor and aid is the Goal. By using the Mental Process of 'believe' in these sentences he is stating that this (aid – the Goal) is something which means something to him personally, as opposed to, for example, if he only stated 'I know aid works' etc. Thus, this is showing the importance of aid to Sachs. This is personal and not just professional to him, thus, showing the realization of his ideology.

Another main Process uttered in the text is the Material Process involving 'necessity'. Sachs states a 'necessity' seven times in his text, for example as in the fowling utterances; "Governments of low-income African countries needed donor support for the scale-up effort (…)", "Prof. Easterly's arguments added to a highly visible narrative against the needed global action on malaria control", "(Prof. Easterly's continued denunciations of aid (…) are injurious to the public support needed for the replenishment", and "[a]id is needed and can be highly successful" (paragraphs 13, 15, 17 and 23, appendix 3). As can be seen from the above examples, when expressing a need it is in connection with aid; 'the public support needed', 'aid is needed', 'needed donor support'. In the first example 'governments of low-income African countries' are the Actor and 'donor support' is the Goal, thus stating the importance of donor support for these countries. In all of the above examples the Process is in the passive voice, thus denoting the Goal – 'donor action' and 'aid'. By using the passive voice Sachs stresses the importance of the Goal.

Another Process uttered in the text, to support the statement that aid is necessary is the Behavioral Processes of 'saving' and 'helping'; "[y]et the recent evidence shows that development aid, (…), works, saving the lives of the poor and helping to promote economic growth", "[r]oughly a half-million children, (…), are being saved each year that otherwise would have succumbed to malaria"

(17), "the aid successes of the past decade have saved millions of lives", "[y]et aid has delivered more than lives saved and improved", and lastly "aid has helped with improvements in education, agriculture, sanitation, infrastructure, and more (paragraphs 2, 17, 20, and 21, appendix 3). In these utterances Sachs is furthering and emphasizing his argument of why aid is important. Not only does aid work, he claims, but moreover when it works it can save 'the lives of the poor' and 'millions of lives'. By stating that aid will save millions of lives, he is indirectly pointing out that the opposite (not giving aid to low-income countries) will mean the death of all of these people. This, one can see it a very strong argument where he is playing on emotions to make his arguments.

The above is an example of how analyzing the Transitivity features of a text will help illustrate the ideologies of the speaker. The ideologies of Sachs have the power to influence the future of development aid, considering his above mentioned role in the context of this debate, and thus this is important to consider since this is part of forming the social wrong.

5.4 Interdiscursive and Linguistic/Semiotic Analysis: "Aid Amnesia"

This analysis is, as was the case with the previous analysis, a part of Stage 2, Step 3: *carry out analysis of the chosen text*. As mentioned, this step involves both interdiscursive analysis and linguistic/semiotic analysis and is made with the purpose of creating the most valid CDA approach to analysis. What kind of analysis is being conducted will, for the sake of comprehension, be highlighted in each case.

On the matter of interdiscursive elements the genre is important to investigate. As 'Aid Amnesia' unfolds in the same genre as 'The Case for Aid' much of the same overall interdiscursive arguments can be made on this article. These similarities are that 'Aid Amnesia' is also an article on a scientific matter, published on Foreign Policy.com. It is also a part of a greater debate on aid: 'the great aid debate', which is the subject matter. Being a part of 'the great aid debate' its rhetorical mode is also argumentative. This article is also referred to as an article on a scientific matter and not a scientific article due to the fact that, as was the case for Sachs, much of Easterly's argumentation (the activity type) is based on less scientific grounds of criticizing the opponent, as well as it is based on actual scientific claims. The following will elaborate on these interdiscursive elements as well as provide linguistic/semiotic analysis of 'Aid Amnesia'.

Hence, the succeeding will compose a linguistic/semiotic analysis of text 2: 'Aid Amnesia', which is a part of the interpersonal metafunction which covers the expression of social roles and attitudes and is a part of SFL analysis. As mentioned, SFL is a valid tool for helping CDA to uncover the different tricks writers use to try and convince their readers of their viewpoints, by manipulating the reader to interpret information in a specific way. Hence the choices that the authors of a text make can help to promote their point of view. On this note, the following will present an analysis of the text, which incorporates both aspects of SFL (in its linguistic/semiotic analysis) and CDA.

As stated, Modality is one of the major aspects to consider, within the interpersonal metafunction. Elements of Modality will, in accordance to their appearance and relevance with the text be explored in the following analysis of Modality.

In the text there are 25 modal verbs (highlighted in appendix 4). Out of these 25, 17 of them are from utterances directly quoted from Sachs or from utterances explaining what Sachs has said. This shows a very clear image of how Easterly presents Sachs. Easterly chooses quotations that are loaded with modal verbs. As has been mentioned in the previous analysis of 'The Case for Aid', modal verbs are categorized by defining their lexemic meaning potential. From this categorization it can be deduced that 12 of the 17 modal verbs that are from utterances quoted from Sachs or explaining what Sachs has said, presents the meaning of 'possibility'. An example of this is found in paragraph 6: "(...) Sachs said poor farmers in Africa "could triple the food yields per hectare and quickly end chronic hunger" (paragraph 6, appendix 4). The modal verb in this utterance is 'could'. This represents the meaning of a future possibility. Another example is in paragraph 5, where 'he' is Sachs: "He posits that "the benefits would be astounding (...)" (paragraph 5, appendix 4). Here, the modal verb is 'would'. It also represents the meaning of a future possibility. The remaining five modal verbs that are used in the utterances by Sachs that Easterly has chosen to present are subjective obligations, either as promises or unarguable meanings. An example is in paragraph 6, where Easterly concludes on what Sachs argues about the poverty trap: "So, if aid is appropriately applied, "success in ending the poverty trap will be much easier than it appears"" (paragraph 6, appendix 4). The modal verb is 'will' and it represents an obligation uttered as a promise. Hence, Sachs is making a promise about what will be the positive outcome of appropriately applied aid. These examples are examples of utterances that Sachs has made, not utterances that Easterly has made. However, what makes them interesting in connection with analyzing the ideologies of Easterly is that they represent what he has actively chosen

to point out in the whole context that is Sachs' attitude towards aid. As has been established in this study, Easterly and Sachs disagree on many aspects of aid, and they are known for not holding back on critiquing each other's' stand. This provides the content of which these modal verbs are to be analyzed, and on this basis it can be concluded that Easterly is actively choosing to present the arguments put forth by Sachs in which he displays very positive future prospects, easy fixes and, simple solutions and emotionally tied assumptions of what is 'the right thing to do'. These terms would normally be associated with something positive, however, due to the ideologies and values of Easterly, it becomes obvious that they are actually highlighted because they constitute the arguments and assumptions that Easterly disagrees on the most, on the basis of them being too optimistic, simple and unrealistic. Hence, Easterly is portraying Sachs' arguments as invalid and has chosen to highlight the arguments that are in stark contrast to his own values as to distance himself from Sachs.

As mentioned eight of the 25 modal verbs stem from utterances made directly by Easterly himself. It is striking that only around one third of these verbs are from the text producer himself. This shows how much space Easterly uses on portraying - and criticizing - Sachs. That this is done in an article which's main message is that the aid debate is over and that Easterly is "(...) tired of the endless back-and-forth between Jeff Sachs and me on aid (...)" (paragraph 12 appendix 4) seems contradictory. It shows that even though Easterly expresses the wish to 'move on', he does not have the ability to actually practice what he preach. The modal verbs used by Easterly himself are also mainly ones that describe the possibilities - or the lack of possibilities. An example of both, is found in paragraph 11 where Easterly states the following: "Aid can do many other good things even if it cannot drive development, and it is to this smaller aid debate that Sachs devotes his new column, making many sensible points on health aid" (paragraph 11, appendix 4). The first modal verb is 'can', this represents the meaning of possibility in that aid has future possibilities. The second modal verb is 'cannot' which also represents the meaning of possibility. However, in a negative context in that Easterly uses it to stress what aid cannot do. Also, it is differentiated from the first in that it does not have a future focus but a present focus. Hence, the utterance is stressing that aid has future possibilities that are not connected to its present limitations. From the perspective of the content it can be concluded that Easterly is recognizing Sachs arguments on health aid, but from the perspective that these arguments stem from a reflection on what the debate should be about according to Easterly. Overall these uses of modal verbs, both in connection to how Easterly portrays Sachs, and how he uses them himself, shows that Easterly distances himself from the ideologies of Sachs, both in criticizing Sachs'

arguments and in defining his own arguments as valid in that they present a less simple and unrealistically optimistic view on the matter.

From the above it is deduced that Easterly is displaying support of his own arguments. He does not display any hedges which suggests that he is confident in his own values and ideologies in that they are the ones that have shaped his meanings, and thus, his arguments.

Another relevant issue when covering social roles and attitudes can be the use of irony. This issue has been incorporated into this analysis as Easterly heavily uses irony in his article. A traditional definition of irony is that it is a term which is "(...) saying one thing and meaning another" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 123). However, Fairclough stresses the fact that this definition does not capture the intertextual nature of irony; "(...) the fact that an ironic utterance 'echoes' someone else's utterance (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, pp. 737-743). Easterly makes heavy use of different types of irony in his article. Especially in paragraph 3, where both irony described from the traditional as well as the intertextual definitions can be detected. The first example of irony is in the sentence

> Munk reports that Sachs explained to her (as he had already eloquently outlined in *The End of Poverty*) that the Millennium Villages were meant to show that "we have enough on the planet to make sure, *easily,* that people aren't dying of their poverty" (italics mine) (paragraph 3, appendix 4).

The word 'eloquently' is used ironically, representing the first description of irony: 'saying one thing and meaning another'. Eloquently is a positively loaded word, however in Easterly's use it is given a negative meaning. The meaning is either that it is exactly the opposite which is meant: that Easterly thinks that the way in which Sachs outlines what the Millennium Villages (MVs) are meant to show is anything but eloquent, or that he disagrees with the actual arguments behind what the MVs are supposed to show (the content of the outline). Thus, he uses the word 'eloquently' as a way of mocking Sachs. It is important to mention that the mere recognition of irony (that what is said, is not what is meant) is depending on the interpreters' capability of such recognition. In connection with 'eloquently' the recognition of irony is based upon "(...) interpreters' assumptions about the beliefs or values of the text producer (Fairclough, 1992, p. 123). These assumptions are based on some of the findings of this study in which the following work has helped form these assumptions: the outline

of 'the great aid debate', the context of the debate, the environments in which Sachs and Easterly pass their lives, their respective backgrounds, the medium in which the debate operates, and their ideologies as analyzed from the perspective of CDA, with help from SFL. From all this it has been established that Easterly and Sachs agree on very little in regards to aid and, that they are often seen as an antithesis to each other. Also, it has demonstrated how they portray each other in the debate, showing that they are not shy of criticizing each other and distancing themselves from each other.

Another example of Easterly using irony is related to the second definition, that is "(...) the fact that an ironic utterance 'echoes' someone else's utterance" (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, pp. 737-743). This is seen in the latter part of the above quote, but also in the sentence that follows the quote. The following quote, captures both examples of an ironic utterance 'echoing someone else's utterance:

> Munk reports that Sachs explained to her (as he had already eloquently outlined in *The End of Poverty*) that the Millennium Villages were meant to show that "we have enough on the planet to make sure, *easily*, that people aren't dying of their poverty" (italics mine). He told her the villages would show that "there's absolutely nothing wrong with African agriculture that can't be quickly improved…. You can improve yields by a factor of two or three… from one growing season to the next… *easy*!" (italics mine again) (paragraph 3, appendix 4).

What is relevant from this quote in connection with irony is that when Easterly echoes Sachs' text, he does not present it to show an affiliation to the producer of the original text (that being Sachs). Instead he uses it for the exact opposite reason; to show how much he disagrees. This is an example of what Fairclough argues is irony because it echoes someone else's utterance, but with disparity between the meaning Easterly is giving voice to, in echoing Sachs utterance, and the real function of Easterly's utterance which is to express a negative attitude towards Sachs' utterance. In this case the negative attitude is connected to Sachs' arguments of how '*easily*' development can be done. This is also clear in the fact that Easterly himself makes italics on the words '*easily*' and '*easy*', at the same time as he states that this has been done by him, not once but twice. Easterly's resistance against 'easily' and 'easy' can be seen as another expression of his opposition to the overly optimistic and simple solutions he believes Sachs to represent. This repetition of irony as well as repetition of the use of italics (and the mentioning of the use of italics), help to establish a sarcastic image of Sachs'

argumentation as being false and simple. Again, what enables this analysis is the interpreters' capability of recognizing irony which, as with the former case, is built on the assumptions of Easterly's values and beliefs.

Another element which deserves mentioning because of its striking presence in the article and its expression of how the text producer understands and constructs reality is the militarized discourse. This militarization is an element of interdiscursive analysis (Fairclough, 1992, p. 130). In debates, war terms are often used. According to Fairclough the militarization of the discourse is also a militarization of thoughts and social praxis (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 194-198). As an illustration of the presence of this militarization two examples will be explored: "Apparently there is nobody left, not even Sachs himself, to defend the case for aid as the engine of development in the poorest countries (...)" (paragraph 10, appendix 4). The war metaphor is 'defend' and Easterly uses it to illustrate how Sachs is his opponent, and, even more so, paint a picture of Sachs' troops leaving him, making him unable or unwilling to carry on the war himself. Another example is in paragraph 8: "Munk contradicted Sachs' prediction of easy victories against poverty (...)" (paragraph 8, appendix 4). In this example Easterly describes Sachs' predictions as a claim that there will be "easy victories against poverties". This creates the image that in the war against poverty Sachs is confident and predicts easy victories. As Easterly disagrees it can be concluded that he uses this metaphor to portray Sachs as a foolhardy opponent. These are only a few examples of war metaphors present in this article. The following examples are all examples of how Easterly portrays 'the great aid debate' itself as the 'war':

> Jeffrey Sachs has gone down the rabbit hole on the aid debate (paragraph 1, appendix 4)
> (...) Jeff Sachs struck back this week at my recent article (...) (paragraph 2, appendix 4)
> These omissions seem to imply his own retreat from the original debate (...) (paragraph 2, appendix 4)

From these examples of an interdiscursive analysis of militarization it can be deduced that Easterly himself is taking part in discursively shaping the 'war' between him and Sachs. A 'war' that he claims to be tired of. This is a clear example of a dialectical relationship in that the used discourse shapes the 'war' as well as the 'war' shapes the discourse.

5.4.1 Ideational Meanings: 'Aid Amnesia'

Within Transitivity, which is interdiscursive and is associated with the ideational metafunction, different features are relevant to analyze. Transitivity can be a helpful tool in investigating processes and participants and the choices behind them. The following focus is an attempt, by the use of some examples, to illustrate how Transitivity, as defined in SFL, can be used as an extra help in CDA analysis, especially in regards to analyzing the ideologies of the text producer.

One of the most striking features within Transitivity that are presented in this text is the choice of representation of Actors throughout the text. The text has three human Actors; Sachs, Nina Munk and Easterly himself. Of these three Actors Sachs is presented as the Actor approximately 70% of the time. This alone shows that Easterly is focusing a lot of attention on Sachs. However, in order to analyze on what Easterly's representation of Sachs is saying about Easterly's values and ideologies it is necessary to present a more detailed investigation into how Easterly has chosen to portray Sachs as an Actor and what Processes he presents Sachs to be involved in. These choices/discursive constructions are linked to the ideologies of the text producer, hence these choices can help identify Easterly's ideologies. This is done through the analysis of common sense, goals and assumptions that Easterly expresses discursively when presenting Sachs.

Easterly presents Sachs as a very dominant Actor in 'the great aid debate'. This is evident in most of the paragraphs that constitute the text. Examples of Sachs being an Actor who is taking active part in a Process relating to 'the great aid debate' are: "Jeffrey Sachs has gone down the rabbit hole on the aid debate", "(...) Jeff Sachs struck back this week", and "(...) Sachs recent' retaliation (...)" (appendix 4, paragraphs 1 and 2). The second example in an extract from the sentence "In the latest installment of this endless and tiresome debate over aid, Jeff Sachs struck back this week at my recent article entitled the "Aid Debate is Over"" (paragraph 2, appendix 4). Here Jeff Sachs is the Actor and 'struck back' is the Process. In the sentence Easterly is expressing his negative attitude towards the debate. At the same time he is foregrounding the active role of Sachs in the debate and back grounding his own role 'my recent article'. From this, it can be deduced that Easterly is portraying Sachs as the aggressive party, and Easterly himself as the more passive. Also, Easterly mentions Sachs by name a majority of the time he is talking about him. This is also a tool in individualizing Sachs and bringing attention to his person. Easterly is making the debate personal, as has also been shown previously, in connection with his use of modal verbs. Hence, he is doing the exact thing he argues to be against:

"(...) the endless back-and-forth between Jeff Sachs and me on aid (...)" (paragraph 12, appendix 4). As has just been analyzed, Easterly portrays Sachs as being dominant in 'the great aid debate', examples in which he also mentions his name adds on to this conclusion by showing how he, by individualizing Sachs, puts extra emphasis on him in connection with processes which Easterly deems negative.

Another relevant example of how Easterly expresses his own ideologies through the portrayal of Sachs is in paragraph 7 in which he states:

> (...) Sachs implemented the Millennium Village Project, while at the same advocating the immediate adoption of nation-wide Big Aid programs in every poor country to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (paragraph 7, appendix 4)

One of the structures of Process is 'advocating', the Actor is Sachs and 'advocating' is the Material Process. As Easterly has criticized Sachs for moving away from being a scientist and into being an advocate instead (Easterly, 2006, p. 1), it is evident that Easterly is opposed to a scientist also functioning as an advocate. Hence, in the above extract Easterly is once again portraying Sachs as an Actor involved in a negative Process.

In connection with this emphasis on Sachs as a dominant Actor in connection with 'the great aid debate', Easterly presents himself as a dominant Actor in context that he deem more positive. This is a clear example of negative other-representation and positive self-representation. This can be seen in paragraph 13 in which he writes: "It sounds like Sachs and I both need to move on. For myself, I'd prefer participating in the bigger debates on development" (paragraph 13, appendix 4). In the last sentence 'I'd' (which leads back to 'myself') is the Actor and 'participating' is the Material Process. This presentation of himself as the Actor in wanting to participate in 'the bigger debates on development', puts focus on him personally, in connection with 'bigger debates'. Also, by using the word 'bigger' in 'bigger debates', Easterly, again, portrays the original debate (and the person being an Actor in its Processes) negatively. The opposite of this negative debate is the 'bigger debates', which Easterly presents as wanting to be an Actor in. Hence, when Easterly is the Actor it is in a positive context, when Sachs is the Actor it is in a negative context. This illustrates Easterly's ideologies in that it presents both what he does not believe in and what he, on the contrary, does belief

in. In the first part of the extract Easterly and Sachs are both presented as Actors: 'It sounds like Sachs and I both need to move on'. This example is different from the other in that it presents Sachs and Easterly as Actor in the same Process and as a sort of 'unity'. From this, one might say that they are both represented equally in terms of what is negative or positive. However, this is not the case. This becomes evident when analyzing the meaning of this Actor-Process relationship in connection with its broader context. By stating that Easterly will prefer participating in the bigger debates, he is simultaneously suggesting that might not be the case for Sachs. Hence, he is trying to give the impression that he has moved on, but that Sachs might not have.

Another feature which Easterly makes heavy use of is addressing questions to the reader. Examples are

> "Does this mean that his original claims are so implausible that they're not worth mentioning or refuting?", "Why does the development discussion show so much indifference to the most basic political and economic rights of the poor? Could the "benevolent dictators" such as the late Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia -- who Jeff Sachs often praises (...) -- be the problem and not the solution? Don't we see individual rights in our own societies as both desirable in themselves and how we escaped our own poverty?" (paragraphs 9 and 13, appendix 4).

These questions all share the same function, other than being formulated as questions of course, that they are actually more examples of 'telling than asking'. What is meant is that when Easterly asks 'could the "benevolent dictators" such as the late Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia -- who Jeff Sachs often praises (...) -- be the problem and not the solution?" he is actually saying that is exactly what they are. Hence, the context of these questions show Easterly's own opinion on these issues, which is a product of his ideologies. Easterly finishes his article with, again, presenting him as the Actor in the positive Process of writing a book on the 'new and better debate' and the 'new and more important' questions, with the comment "I think I might even publish a whole book on them' (paragraph 14, appendix 4).

The above examples show how features within Transitivity can be analyzed and help illustrate the ideologies of the text producer. As Easterly's ideologies are powerful ideologies within the dominant

discourse they have the ability to influence reality and are a part of 'the social wrong' that this study seeks to illuminate.

5.5 Sub-Conclusion

The analysis found that there, recently, has been an increase in the tendency of incorporating aid discourses within larger networks of governments and international summits, as well as the social media. Thus, the discourses of 'the great aid debate' are locked into a quite powerful network of international strategies, agreements and policies. This point to an institutionalization of the discourses of aid. This, in itself, points to an obstacle into addressing the social wrong since it might take the attention away from the actual goal of development aid. Moreover, both Sachs and Easterly uses their respective texts to construe quite negative identities of each other. Hence, this is a clear strategy used by both to promote their own arguments for and against development aid.

In the analysis of 'The Case for Aid' this study found that Sachs seeks to distance himself from Easterly, and portrays Easterly as an obstacle in the goal of achieving large scale funding which could save –millions of lives', thus portraying his own powerful values and ideologies of how to make the world a better place. Furthermore, the study found that it is not, necessarily the concrete values, which might shape reality, but rather it is the way in which these are being presented and reacted upon. The analysis of Easterly's 'Aid Amnesia' found that Easterly is actively distancing himself from the values and ideologies of Sachs by criticizing him and, moreover, by construing his own arguments as valid and more realistic.as in the case of Sachs, Easterly is also a strong actor in the debate, giving his voice authority and his arguments validity. Hence, his ideologies are powerfully construed within the dominant discourse, which means that they have the ability to influence reality and, accordingly, the ability to influence the future of 'the great aid debate'. This in itself could pose as an obstacle to addressing the social wrong, which is in focus in this study.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The following will be a discussion on the issue of whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong as well as a discussion on the obstacles related to the social wrong and the possible ways in which these obstacles can be addressed. Hence, the following discussion is a part of stage 3: *consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong* and stage 4: *identify possible ways past the obstacles*, in Fairclough's DRA. The two stages will not, as such, be divided into two different

sections within this discussion, instead, they will be addressed in turn, however, with possible overlaps according to relevance. As mentioned, the process of choosing the research topic for this dissertation, has been highly influenced by our own experiences with development work in Kenya. Therefore, some of the following focuses and arguments within this discussion will be substantiated by the use of examples from Kenya.

The following is a description of the social wrong as this study has proclaimed to constitute it: *the fact that the major actors of 'the great aid debate' are in such great positions of power that precisely their ideologies become the dominant ones. In consequence these ideologies will have influence on the people who are affected by aid, but whose positions of power are not great enough for their ideologies to be heard. Hence, the social wrong is the power of some ideologies over others, and the influences these ideologies might have on the reality of those who do not have a say.*

Also, it is relevant to point out what is meant by the 'social order' in this context. The social order might be said to be the context of which this 'social wrong' is a part of, hence the construction of the reality of 'the power of some ideologies over others'. In this study we incorporate the idea that 'the social order' is in fact the whole setting of 'the great aid debate'. This means that the social order includes both the construction that is the reality of the social wrong (the power of some ideologies over others), as well as the surroundings that are influenced by this 'social wrong'. This understanding of 'the social order' makes it possible to discuss, not only if the social wrong is needed to maintain this uneven balance of power, but also, discuss if the social wrong can be either erased, altered or reversed. This reflection on the 'social wrong' within the 'social order' is described by Fairclough as leading us to:

> (...) consider whether the social wrong in focus is inherent to the social order, whether it can be addressed within it, or only by changing it. It is a way of linking 'is' to 'ought': if a social order can be shown to inherently give rise to major social wrongs, then that is a reason for thinking that perhaps it should be changed (Fairclough, 2009, p. 2009).

On the basis of this description of the social wrong and the social order, the following will discuss in what ways the social order can be said to need the social wrong, and in which ways it cannot.

That Sachs and Easterly stands as the two major actors of the current 'great aid debate', and are representing two conflicting views on the matter of aid, is a proof that they 'struggle for hegemony'. The fact that they are perceived by the public as the main actors, as well as the fact that they have been, and are, involved in most of the discursive practices (articles, books, blogs, tweets etc., that leads to a certain understanding of the topic in the social order) proves that they do in fact represent the dominant discourse. That a dominant discourse even exists means that there is also discourses within 'the great aid debate' that are *not* dominant. This means that these discourses are not as powerful as the dominant one presented by Sachs and Easterly. This leads to much controversy over the rights of every voice to be heard equally. Also, since Sachs and Easterly are both experts from the West it brings attention to the matter of 'the West and the rest' as presented by Said and Escobar in the section 3.3 CDA in International Development Studies. Said and Escobar presents this type of hegemony as problematic in the sense that it constitutes an unequal balance of power. In this sense it can be argued that in order to maintain the social order of hegemony it is necessary to have a 'social wrong' in the discourse. On the base of this, it can also be argued that in order to remove or change the 'social wrong' it is necessary to remove the unequal balance of power that is hegemony. This brings us to a discussion of whether or not hegemony is good or bad. In International Relations political scientists are debating if a uni-polar world is less stable as one nation has the power over others, or if it is actually more stable because there are no competitors to argue with. One example in International Relations which is often drawn upon is the Cold War (bi-polar), under which many believe the world to be less stable than today, where U.S hegemony is present (Monteiro, 2014, p. 145). This example can be transmitted to the issue of 'the great aid debate' in which the West has hegemony in the sense that the dominant discourse is that produced by Western actors. Hence, the issue is whether or not it is actually beneficial for the aid scene that there exists a dominant discourse which only includes a small amount of practitioners and mostly experts from the West. In the following, with the focus of addressing obstacles in connection to the 'social wrong', the issue of how to possibly change this hegemony in 'the great aid debate' will be discussed.

A way to deal with the issue of hegemony is to incorporate the work of other actors and making them just as visible in 'the great aid debate' as Sachs and Easterly are. This concern stems from the idea that, with only two people being so influential in an international and far-reaching dominant discourse, their words are dangerously powerful. Hence, the matter of quantity is an issue. Another issue in this context is that of what ideologies Sachs and Easterly represents. They are both economic

experts from the West, and so, can both be termed with the 'elite' stamp. This is an issue of great concern as it takes power away from those who are actually most influenced by the reality of aid. In the preface to 'Deconstructing Development Discourse', Deborah Eade states the following observation:

> The intellectual contribution and cultures of aid-receiving countries, even those where English is the medium of higher education, are, as Adebayo Olukoshi points out, consigned at best to the textboxes of influential reports published by the World Bank and other UN specialized agencies; on average only two percent of the citations in such reports even include any reference to African research. In this way, scholars in the South are enlisted to provide case studies to suit the 'theoretical frameworks and analysis [for the formulation of policy proposals by] institutions in the North' (…). Where English is not the prime language of scholarship, let alone the language in which most people communicate, the exclusion is greater still (Cornwall & Eade, 2010).

This quote substantiates the claim made in Stage 2, Step 1, in which this study describes the discourse of 'the great aid debate' as being locked into a powerful network of international strategies and policies. From this, it can be concluded that an integration of more non-Western actors in the dominant discourse of 'the great aid debate' could help minimize the hegemonic power of Sachs and Easterly. However, an important note to take into consideration is that even though the presence of more non-Western experts in 'the great aid debate' would provide a greater connection to those that are most influenced by the discourse, it still does not provide a direct inclusion or representation. This is evident in the fact that even though these actors are not Western, they are experts, which mostly would mean that they are from the non-Western elite. They are most likely well-educated and in a better position than the poorest of the non-Western countries. Hence, strengthening the power of the ideologies of non-Western experts by bringing greater focus to their work into the dominant discourse would to some degree present a greater connection to the poorest. However, the poor will still be excluded from the dominant discourse and in that sense the hegemony will only be altered and not removed.

Another relevant issue to discuss when investigating ways past the obstacles of addressing the 'social wrong' is the issue of how aid is presented and talked about in the dominant discourse. One central aspect in this context is that of the MDGs. As was mentioned in Stage 2, Step 1, Easterly criticizes Sachs for (not necessarily intentionally) setting up the MDGs in a way that will make them more difficult to achieve for Africa, than for other regions. Easterly expresses this as 'setting Africa up to fail', arguing that the successes the region makes will be seen as failures because they are not reaching the MDGs. Another concern on Sachs' discourse on the MDGs is addressed by Tarp, with a focus on the MDGs in general, for all developing countries involved:

> (...) even if it is accepted that aid works, and works well, it is unlikely that the MDGs can be reached if aid is increased to 0.7 percent of donor GNI, as argued by Sachs. The return will in even the best of circumstances not be big enough. I am afraid that mobilizing such optimistic expectations may in a few years in the final analysis lead to frustration and an undesired backlash (Tarp, 2006, p. 43).

This concern and the mentioning of a potential 'backlash' shows how Sachs' words might have the power to imprint high expectations on aid in people's minds, which can lead to people being disappointed if these expectations are not fulfilled. This feeling, then, might lead to skepticism over the whole idea of aid creating the exact opposite of what Sachs is trying to achieve in connection with mobilization of public support. Tarp calls for the avoidance of "(...) making the mistake of the past of promising too much, i.e. of contributing to the misconception that aid can turn history on its own" (Tarp, 2006, p. 49). However, Tarp also recognizes that Sachs' sympathetic fight for ending poverty has helped bring a lot of attention to the issues of aid. If Tarps predictions of unfulfilled expectations, frustrations and disappointments turn out to be true, it will not be a matter of 'negative attention being better than no attention', instead it might result in consequences such as a decrease in support and funding from donor countries and their citizens.

An example of how very optimistic goals can cause skepticism in the mind of the public is also evident in Kenya. Kenya has incorporated the MDGs into a longer-term national policy framework, named Vision 2030, which is defined as follows:

A national long-term development blue-print to create a globally competitive and prosperous nation with a high quality of life by 2030, that aims to transform Kenya into a newly industrializing, middle-income country providing a high quality of life to all its citizens by 2030 in a clean and secure environment. The vision is anchored on three key pillars; economic, social and political governance (Kenya Vision 2030, 2014).

Every time the conversation revolved around the Vision 2030, our colleague and agricultural expert for Momentum Agribusiness and Development, Kevin Okello would shake his head and laugh. He would say "we will see". Clearly, he does not have faith in the government to actually do the job. Kevin does not expect any follow through and cannot be seen as someone who has been imprinted with high expectations, however his skepticism shows exactly what might be the reaction from many people if the MDGs do not follow through. This example is off course also a bit different since it is neither Sachs nor Easterly who has come up with Vision 2030. Hence, it is not as such coming from the dominant discourse of 'the great aid debate'. However, it is inspired by it, as it stems from the MDGs, showing how influential the idea of the MDGs is in real life practices. The same conclusion, however, can be made on the danger of not reaching the targets made by both the MDGs and the Vision 2030; that it will create skepticism.

Sachs, however, is not alone in being accused of practicing a potential harmful discourse. When complementing Easterly on being a sharp and articulated critic of aid, Tarp also puts forth a concern (which he shares with Sachs) that Easterly's very critical discourse on aid might be too harsh:

(Easterly) attacks the UN Millennium Project and work of Sachs head on. Easterly refers to the white man's burden and ponders "Why the West's effort to aid the rest have done so much ill and so little good. (...) my experience and reading of the existing analytical evidence does not suggest that aid has on balance "done so much ill" as Easterly seems to suggest (...) (Tarp, 2006, pp. 43-44).

From this, it is obvious that Tarp shares Sachs view that "Prof. Easterly's continued denunciations of aid, and his declarations that large-scale aid has failed, are injurious to the public support needed for the replenishment" (paragraph 17, appendix 3). Another example of how their discursive practices

can be harmful is in the way that the debate is being personalized. Sachs and Easterly are both turning 'the great aid debate' into a personal vendetta. Both, especially Easterly, stresses how tired he is of this 'Sachs against Easterly' arrangement. However, as have been concluded in the previous analysis of their articles, they both, through discursive means, highly contribute to this arrangement. On this note Tarp states that "(...) it would be gravely ironic if we let disagreement about overall development strategy and the macroeconomic impact of aid get in the way of pursuing practical and useful aid funded activities in poor countries" (Tarp, 2006, p. 49). Instead he calls for a greater contribution from both Sachs and Easterly, as well as the rest of the actors in 'the great aid debate' to enter into a dialogue with each other. This might be a way of avoiding the ideologies of the two, being too powerful.

From this discussion of the possible harmful effect of both Easterly and Sachs' discourses on aid, it can be argued, again, that the fact that two people sit on so much power in the debate is dangerous, as their ideologies, discursive practices and weaknesses in argumentation are of too paramount importance, compared to the massive amount of people that are influenced by their words.

A final issue for discussion is that of those who actually have access to 'the great aid debate', not as actors in the debate, but as audience to it. In step 2, stage 1, it is argued that because of the way in which social media is being used in 'the great aid debate' it is becoming more accessible to 'the public'. However, as this is the case through the mediation of discourse through social media it is only those with actual access to social media that are included. Access to social media involves digital devices. As the majority of those who are analog (do not have access to digital devices) are the poor, it is obvious that they are still excluded from having access to 'the great aid debate'. For example, if asked who Jeffrey Sachs and William Easterly are, it is unlikely that our former colleague Kevin Okello would know. Another issue within accessibility is that 'the great aid debate' is conducted in English. This, again, excludes many people from gaining access to it. One of the earlier possible solutions to the social wrong is that of bringing more attention to the work of local experts which would be a solution in the right direction, however it would still present limits.

From the above discussion it is obvious that the 'social wrong' is 'alive and kicking' and the obstacles are many. However, it is also obvious that much can be done to minimize this social wrong, if desirable. This is the case, whether or not one accepts and/or embraces the hegemony of 'the great

aid debate' and the degree of great power that Easterly and Sachs' ideologies present. Or whether one believes it to be producing the 'social wrong' on the costs of those influenced by the dominant discourse.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

In this study the main goal has been to examine 'the great aid debate' in relation to its discursive elements. Emphasis has been put on the underlying structures of power, identities and ideologies, which are shaping the debate as well as influencing the world in which it exists. This has been done by analyzing the dominant discourse, represented by Jeffrey Sachs and William Easterly. The focus has been on examining 'the great aid debate' from a semiotic and critical approach, which puts focus on the power of words in shaping our world. Hence, the focus has been on identifying a 'social wrong' with the aim of exploring its position, weaknesses and strengths. The 'social wrong' is the fact that the Easterly and Sachs are in such powerful positions that precisely their ideologies are the dominant ones. What makes this constitute as a 'social wrong' is the influence it has on the people who are affected by aid, but whose positions of power are nowhere near strong enough for their ideologies to be heard. Hence, the social wrong is the power of some ideologies over others, and the influences these ideologies might have on the reality of those who do not have a say.

Emphasis has, furthermore, been put on defining and understanding the hegemony that 'the great aid debate' has obtained through the power of language. The discursive practices of Easterly and Sachs has been analyzed and it can be concluded that both make heavy use of negative other-representation and positive self-representation in the struggle for gaining support to their respective claims on aid. It has been deduced that 'the great aid debate' is a highly personalized debate in which Sachs and Easterly are, metaphorically speaking, fighting each other. Not only through academic evidence but much more so through personal attacks. These conclusions are based on an analysis in which both interdiscursive and semiotic analysis have been incorporated. Thus, the conclusions made, are substantiated by both fine-grained textual analytical tools as well as broader contextual analysis on social orders.

Moreover, it is evident that the analysis of Sachs and Easterly's contributions to 'the great aid debate' has shown that they both have tremendous responsibilities in the sense that they hold such powerful positions, that allows for their ideologies to be on top of the agenda on the issue of aid. It can be

concluded that Sachs and Easterly both dominate this debate which is reaching the attention of many of the world's citizens, through online debates, airtime, scholarly work and popular social media. However, much of the world is excluded from participating in this debate or even having any way of knowing its existence. As it can be concluded that this debate, through its position as the dominant discourse, influences social institutions, policy and personal mindsets of many people, the notion of 'what you do cannot hurt you' does not apply. The people most affected by decisions on aid are left in the dark.

Concurrently, with serving as an analysis on their own, the findings of the CDA analysis have functioned as a platform for a discussion of the social wrong and the possible ways it can (or should) be addressed. This has been done with inspiration from Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational-Approach in which the 'social wrong' stands as the cornerstone of analysis. From this discussion it can be concluded that language has the powerful feature of being able to shape social constructions. This has been illuminated through analysis and/or discussion of issues such as the hegemony presented in the dominant discourse, the power that Easterly and Sachs' ideologies have over others, the exclusion of contributions produced by non-Western experts, the *lingua franca* of the debate and the possible harmful effects of the focuses that aid is given through its discourse practices. From this it can be concluded that 'the social wrong' is 'alive and kicking' and that there are many identified obstacles if one seeks to minimize it. However, it can also be concluded that the 'social wrong' is amendable if approach with critical eyes.

As a concluding remark on the methodology of this study, it should be mentioned that while conducting the research for the practical considerations of methodological questions as well as carrying out the analysis (and applying the chosen approach), this study found that this approach has great potential and capacity of being used to quantify the research. While this approach has given a valuable insight into the ideologies, values and strategies of Sachs and Easterly, thus of as small range of data i.e. a qualitative approach, this study found that the applied combination of CDA and SFL has the potential of being quantifiable. This is because of the methods which SFL provides to analyze texts in an (as much as possible) objective way, combined with this specific approach of CDA, namely DRA, which provides one with the knowledge to examine the data in a critical way. Thus, this combination would allow one to analyze the social wrong in a broader perspective –adding greater value to the findings of analysis.

Appendixes

Appendix 1: Text 1: Jeffrey Sachs: The Case for Aid

<u>The Case for Aid</u>

It's become fashionable to argue that foreign aid doesn't make a difference. Here's why the critics couldn't be more wrong.

BY JEFFREY SACHS Jeffrey Sachs is the director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University. JANUARY 21, 2014

I have long believed in foreign aid as one tool of economic development. This is not an easy position to maintain, especially in the United States, where public misunderstanding, politics, and ideology all tend to keep aid an object of contempt for many people. Yet the recent evidence shows that development aid, when properly designed and delivered, works, saving the lives of the poor and helping to promote economic growth. Indeed, based on this evidence, Bill and Melinda Gates released a powerful letter to the public today also underscoring the importance and efficacy of foreign aid.

As experience demonstrates, it is possible to use our reason, management know-how, technology, and learning by doing to design highly effective aid programs that save lives and promote development. This should be done in global collaboration with national and local communities, taking local circumstances into account. The evidence bears out this approach.

Of course, I do not believe that aid is the sole or main driver of economic development. I do not believe that aid is automatically effective. Nor should we condone bad governance in Africa — or in Washington, for that matter. Aid is one development tool among several; it works best in conjunction with sound economic policies, transparency, good governance, and the effective deployment of new technologies.

Professor William Easterly of New York University has long been a vocal opponent of aid, and recently declared that the aid debate was "over," claiming victory for his theory that large-scale aid projects are doomed to fail. This blanket claim flies in the face of recent experience. Prof. Easterly has been proven wrong in both diagnosis and prescription. During the past 13 years, the greatest breakthroughs in aid quantity and quality came from the field of public health (unlike other social sectors, such as education and sanitation, where aid increases were far less notable). As a result, the outcomes in public health in poor countries have also advanced markedly. Not only did aid quantities for public health improve; new public health institutions, such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria and the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization, were created to promote the effective delivery of the increased aid.

The approach of increased aid that is well targeted through innovative institutions has been enormously successful in improving public health in low-income countries. One could cite many examples ranging from the scale-up of vaccine coverage (largely through GAVI and UNICEF) to increased treatment coverage for HIV/AIDS and expanded tuberculosis control (through the Global Fund and the U.S. PEPFAR program), but I will focus specifically on malaria control, since Prof. Easterly was particularly pointed in his opposition to the mass scale-up of malaria control that has proved to be so successful. Fortunately, the global community did not heed Easterly's erroneous advice, and followed a path that the public health community strongly advocated.

At the turn of the new century, malaria was front and center of the global aid debate. Research by myself and others, and evidence garnered in the report of the World Health Organization (WHO) Commission on Macroeconomics and Health that I had the honor to chair, showed that in addition to being a health catastrophe, malaria imposes a significant economic burden, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Luckily, though, the world was starting to take notice. In 2000, the U.N. Millennium Declaration, The African Summit on Malaria, and the G8 Declaration all addressed the burden of malaria and committed the

world to action. The debate soon turned to the issue of policy: how could the malaria burden be reduced?

Here we must look at some key details in order to keep aid in careful perspective. Starting in the late 1990s, malariologists at WHO, in academia, and in various government agencies around the world, described how malaria control could be made highly effective. The malariologists emphasized the ability of insecticide-treated bed nets to reduce the transmission of the disease. They also emphasized the urgency of shifting to a new generation of first-line medicines, notably those using artemisinin (a powerful anti-malaria drug developed by Chinese scientists) in combination with other medicines, because the old-line medicines (mainly chloroquine) were losing efficacy to growing drug resistance. The combination of bed nets and effective medicines (known in the jargon as "vector control" and "case management" respectively), supported by rapid diagnosis of infections, makes for a powerful one-two punch in saving lives and reducing malaria transmission.

Indeed, epidemiological theory and practical experience strongly suggested that if bed net coverage could be raised to a sufficiently high rate (typically around three-quarters, depending on local conditions), the transmission of malaria would be sharply reduced even for those not directly protected by their own bed nets. The "spillover" of protection to the non-users is called a mass-action effect, similar to the way that high vaccine coverage protects even unvaccinated people because the disease stops spreading when fewer people are susceptible to infection. This mass-action phenomenon of course strongly argued for a malaria control strategy that would lead to a high level of bed net coverage.

There was one more detail of great policy significance: Not all bed nets are equal. The high-quality bed nets work not only mechanically (by covering the body) but also chemically, by a treatment with insecticide that repels or kills mosquitoes that land on the bed net. A bed net without insecticide treatment is far less effective than a treated net. Until the early 2000s, bed nets required frequent retreatment with insecticide (e.g. by bathing the nets in tubs filled with insecticide) in order to remain effective. Then, Sumitomo Chemical

developed long-lasting insecticide-treated nets (LLINs) that were specially engineered to keep the insecticide intact even when the nets were repeatedly washed. The new nets could therefore remain effective for around five years or even more. Other companies, such as Vestergaard and BASF, also developed their own varieties of LLINs. This was a great breakthrough, but the new nets were more expensive to manufacture than the preceding generation of simpler nets. (In the photo above, South Sudanese children are taught how to use LLINs.)

All of these developments — new nets, new medicines, improved diagnostics, and a surging epidemic — were crucial to developing a successful malaria control policy after the year 2000. Taken together, they motivated the case for increased donor aid to support the mass free-distribution of LLINs and free access to the new generation of artemisinin-based medicines and rapid diagnostic tools. Without financial support, poor people could not afford either the LLINs or the new medicines. Attempts to sell the nets at a discount, known as social marketing, had very little take up, since many poor families simply lacked any cash income at all. The prospect of achieving "mass action" protection through social marketing was very small. Moreover, impoverished households would often scrape together the needed money only to buy the cheaper but ineffective nets, rather than the more expensive but more effective LLINs.

Governments of low-income African countries needed donor support for the scale-up effort since their own domestic tax revenues, even when amply allocated to public health, could not cover the costs of a basic primary health system including scaled-up malaria control. The financial calculations, laid out by the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health, showed that an impoverished country with a GDP of around $500 per capita, typical for a poor country in Africa, may be able to muster around $15 per person per year out of domestic revenues for primary health (directing 15 percent of domestic revenues to health, as the Abuja target for health spending recommends), while the costs of a basic public health system (measured in 2014 dollars) would be around $50-$60 per person per year.

Prof. Easterly would have none of it. He took special and early aim at these recommendations in his 2006 book *The White Man's Burden*, claiming that free nets "are often diverted to the black market, become out of stock in health clinics, or wind up being used as fishing nets or wedding veils." After this specious claim, he then went on to write that "a study of a program to hand out free [malaria bed] nets in Zambia to people … found that 70 percent of the recipients didn't use the nets." Yet this particular study, which was conducted by the American Red Cross and CORE, actually showed the program was a success, with high rates of net adoption. Prof. Easterly's claim misconstrued this and other evidence being developed by the ARC and others about the mass distribution of nets, which had found that the free distribution of malaria bed nets was achieving high coverage and adoption rates.

Prof. Easterly's arguments added to a highly visible narrative against the needed global action on malaria control. Yet despite this anti-aid narrative, a global turning point finally came in 2007-08. This turning point was helped by the early success of Kenya. Kenya's Minister of Health at the time, Charity Ngilu, led a government effort during 2006-7 to scale up mass bed net distribution based, in part, on the example of free LLIN distribution in the Sauri Millennium Village. Kenya's policies led to a sharp drop of malaria nationwide. Next, WHO swung its powerful weight behind the mass free distributions of bed nets throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Soon after, U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon established the mass free distribution of bed nets as policy for all U.N. agencies, and called on the world's governments and NGOs to support the scale-up effort. Ban's leadership tipped the global scales decisively. Close to 300 million bed nets were freely distributed from 2008-2010, with the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and the U.S. President's Malaria Initiative program paying for a substantial share of the scale-up.

The evidence is overwhelming that malaria declined precipitously as a result of these bold measures. WHO's latest report finds a stunning 51 percent drop in malaria deaths of African children under the age of five between the years 2000 and 2012. These results are historic. Roughly a half-million children, if not more, are being saved each year that otherwise would

have succumbed to malaria. Even more success is possible, but only if development aid continues to back the effective control of malaria. The Global Fund is struggling to fill its request for $5 billion per year of funding, essential to supplement the health budgets of poor countries. Prof. Easterly's continued denunciations of aid, and his declarations that large-scale aid has failed, are injurious to the public support needed for the replenishment. Across the board, the post-2000 improvements in public health in sub-Saharan Africa have been dramatic, strongly supported by scaled-up aid. Up to 10 million HIV-infected individuals are now receiving life-saving, anti-retroviral medicines thanks at least in part to aid programs. Tuberculosis (TB) patients are being treated and cured, with a global TB mortality rate drop of 45 percent since 1990, and an estimated 22 million people alive due to TB care and control from 1995-2012, thanks to Global Fund support, which provides the lion's share of donor financing to fight TB. With increased donor support, antenatal health visits, institutional deliveries, and access to emergency obstetrical care are all on the increase, contributing to a decline in sub-Saharan Africa's maternal mortality rate (the annual number of female deaths per 100,000 live births) from 850 in 1990 to 740 in 2000 to 500 in 2010. Deaths of children under five worldwide have declined from 12.6 million a year in 1990 and 10.8 million in 2000 to 6.5 million in 2012.

These successes demonstrate a key lesson: that well-designed aid programs with sound operating principles, including clear goals, metrics, milestones, deliverables, and financing streams, can make an enormous difference, and that such programs should be devised and applied on a large scale in order to benefit as many people as possible. Such quality design needs to be based on the details of best practices, such as the combination of medicines, bed nets, and diagnostics used in cutting-edge, community-based malaria control. The economics profession needs to do a much better job working with experts in other fields, such as public health, in order to design effective aid interventions that reflect the nitty-gritty of high-quality systems delivery. While Prof. Easterly begrudgingly admits that some health aid programs have worked, for him this contradiction seems to make no difference to his overarching claim that aid is doomed to fail, for reasons that are hard to explain. All the evidence and all the exceptions have not mattered to his rhetoric, or for that matter, to his harsh attacks on me personally.

The aid successes of the past decade have saved millions of lives, a worthy use of money (which has totaled just a tiny fraction of rich world income) on its own. Yet aid has delivered more than lives saved and improved. Various kinds of aid, including public health outlays, debt cancellation under the IMF and World Bank's Heavily Indebted Poor Countries initiative (providing debt relief and cancellation for the poorest countries), and other programmatic and budget support, have helped to put sub-Saharan Africa on a path of much higher economic growth and development. For the first time in decades, Africa's poverty rate has come down notably (from 58 percent in 1999 to 48.4 percent in 2010) and the region's economic growth is now around 5 percent per year, making it the region with the second fastest growth (following Asia).

Of course, aid didn't cause this success by itself, as there are many factors in play. But aid has helped. Research distinguishing the types and timing of aid has shown that development aid raises economic growth, though the effects will differ across countries and depend on the quality of aid. The malaria example is one of the clearest and most dramatic examples, but across the continent, aid has helped with improvements in education, agriculture, sanitation, infrastructure, and more.

In *The White Man's Burden*, Prof. Easterly declared, "You just have to do whatever you discover works with your modest resources to make a difference in the lives of poor people." Prof. Easterly's emphasis on "modest resources" mischaracterizes our real global situation. We are living in a world of great wealth. We need not accept the fallacy perpetuated by the rich that global resources available are quite so "modest," when total aid to sub-Saharan Africa in 2012 amounted to roughly 0.1 percent of the GDP of the donor countries (around $45 billion per year). We can and should mobilize more support. Just fractions of 1 percent of GDP of the rich countries can make a profound difference to ending extreme poverty throughout the world. Of course, we should also certainly agree to focus on what works, and take effective programs to large scale. The positive evidence since 2000 shows that well-designed aid has made a tremendous impact.

The issue is not "yes" or "no" to aid. Aid is needed, and can be highly successful. The issue is how to deliver high-quality aid to the world's poorest and most vulnerable people.

Appendix 2: Text 2: William Easterly: Aid Amnesia

Aid Amnesia

Jeffrey Sachs has gone down the rabbit hole on the aid debate. He doesn't even remember what it was all about.

BY WILLIAM EASTERLY William Easterly is professor of economics at New York University and author of The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good.

JANUARY 23, 2014

In the latest installment of this endless and tiresome debate over aid, Jeff Sachs struck back this week at my recent article entitled the "Aid Debate is Over." (Spoiler: In the piece I argue that he lost the argument.) What's remarkable, however, is that Sachs'
recent retaliation in Foreign Policy takes very little from his previous writings about aid. These omissions seem to imply his own retreat from the original debate about Big Aid and Big Results.

My column was a review of Nina Munk's new book, *The Idealist: Jeffrey Sachs and the Quest to End Poverty*, which concludes that Sachs' attempts to solve poverty have been an aid and development disappointment. My column also referred to the claim Sachs made in his 2005 book, *The End of Poverty*, and in other writings (such as the U.N. Millennium Project report), that a "big push" of aid could achieve the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals, which include cutting the poverty rate in half by 2015. In his response, Sachs fails to mention Nina Munk, her book, the Millennium Development Goals, the big push, or even his own Millennium Villages Project.

Sachs' Millennium Villages are a set of model communities across Africa that have been targeted for intensive infusions of aid to improve health, agriculture, infrastructure, and education. Munk reports that Sachs explained to her (as he had already eloquently outlined in *The End of Poverty*) that the Millennium Villages were meant to show that "we have enough on the planet to make sure, *easily*, that people aren't dying of their poverty" (italics mine). He told her the villages would show that "there's absolutely nothing wrong with

African agriculture that can't be quickly improved…. You can improve yields by a factor of two or three … from one growing season to the next … *easy*!" (italics mine again).

In his book, Sachs explained that the poorest people in the world are in a trap that they cannot escape on their own. In order to break this poverty trap, he suggests striking at its heart through "targeted investments backed by donor aid." He posits that the "benefits would be astounding" if aid-financed investments were to focus on agricultural inputs, basic health and education, electric power, transport, communication, drinking water, and sanitation. But, he further stresses, for aid to work, it needs to be fighting on every front: "[S]uccess in any single area, whether in health, or education, or farm productivity, depends on investments across the board." His U.N. report called such an aid program the "Big Push."

After such an aid program, Sachs' book predicts, "the tremendous dynamism of self-sustaining economic growth can take hold. Economic development works. It can be successful. It tends to build on itself." In the U.N. report, he further expressed confidence how aid can achieve the Millennium Development Goals: "the specific technologies for achieving the Goals are known. What is needed is to apply them at scale." The report identified 17 "Quick Wins" that would "see major results within three or fewer years." Again in his book, Sachs said poor farmers in Africa "could triple the food yields per hectare and quickly end chronic hunger." The cost of all this is apparently well within the capabilities of existing aid commitments of rich countries. So, if aid is appropriately applied, "success in ending the poverty trap will be much easier than it appears."

In an effort to provide proof for the all these ideas, Sachs implemented the Millennium Village Project, while at the same advocating the immediate adoption of nation-wide Big Aid programs in every poor country to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

Munk contradicted Sachs' prediction of easy victories against poverty with her tale of struggle and woe in the Millennium Villages, which yielded some accomplishments but mostly disappointments.

Apart from rooting out structural problems, the villages are plagued by more mundane matters. Water wells, for example, break down, get fixed, but stubbornly refuse to stay fixed. Even when agricultural yields did increase, villagers found themselves with a maize surplus for which they had neither a market nor storage capacity. Critics have piled on, arguing that Sachs is failing to properly evaluate his micro-interventions in the Millennium Villages. Without this, they cannot serve as effective evidence for his stance on aid. Today, Sachs' critics do not even mention his original claim that aid will unleash the tremendous dynamism of self-sustaining growth. Does this mean that his original claims are so implausible that they're not worth mentioning or refuting?

I didn't anticipate that Sachs himself would now also join the loud silence on his original vision for Big Aid. (Sachs does mention faster growth in Africa and a fall of 17 percent in Africa's poverty rate, but somehow ignores that this falls grossly short of the Millennium Development goal — which he embraced — of 50 percent poverty rate reduction by 2015. The United Nations reports that Africa will not meet this goal.) Apparently there is nobody left, not even Sachs himself, to defend the case for aid as the engine of development in the poorest countries, where "success in ending the poverty trap" turned out to be "much easier than it appears." It is in this sense that the debate really is over.
If aid is not the engine of development, then what is it good for? If aid is not the engine of development, then what is the engine? Aid and development are now separate topics with separate debates. Aid can do many other good things even if it cannot drive development, and it is to this smaller aid debate that Sachs devotes his new column, making many sensible points on health aid.

As I said, I am tired of the endless back-and-forth between Jeff Sachs and me on aid (as are many others), which has been going on for more than eight years.

On one hand, Sachs has said that aid can end poverty, but in his FP piece he says that it isn't a driver of development.

It sounds like Sachs and I both need to move on. For myself, I'd prefer participating in the bigger debates on development.Why does the development discussion show so much indifference to the most basic political and economic rights of the poor? Could the "benevolent dictators" such as the late Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia — who Jeff Sachs often praises (he even thanked Meles in the acknowledgements to *The End of Poverty*) — be the problem and not the solution? Don't we see individual rights in our own societies as both desirable in themselves and how we escaped our own poverty? Why do we see things so differently for poor societies?

These questions are a lot more important than the now passé aid debate. I think I might even publish a whole book on them.

Appendix 3: Text 1: Jeffrey Sachs: The Case for Aid; Organized in Paragraphs
The Case for Aid

BY JEFFREY SACHS Jeffrey Sachs is the director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University.
JANUARY 21, 2014

Paragraph	Text
1	It's become fashionable to argue that foreign aid doesn't make a difference. Here's why the critics couldn't be more wrong.

2   I have long believed in foreign aid as one tool of economic development. This is not an easy position to maintain, especially in the United States, where public misunderstanding, politics, and ideology all tend to keep aid an object of contempt for many people. Yet the recent evidence shows that development aid, when properly designed and delivered, works, saving the lives of the poor and helping to promote economic growth. Indeed, based on this evidence, Bill and Melinda Gates released a powerful letter to the public today also underscoring the importance and efficacy of foreign aid.

3   As experience demonstrates, it is possible to use our reason, management know-how, technology, and learning by doing to design highly effective aid programs that save lives and promote development. This should be done in global collaboration with national and local communities, taking local circumstances into account. The evidence bears out this approach.

4   Of course, I do not believe that aid is the sole or main driver of economic development. I do not believe that aid is automatically effective. Nor should we condone bad governance in Africa — or in Washington, for that matter. Aid is one development tool among several; it works best in conjunction with sound economic policies, transparency, good governance, and the effective deployment of new technologies.

5   Professor William Easterly of New York University has long been a vocal opponent of aid, and recently declared that the aid debate was "over," claiming victory for his theory that large-scale aid projects are doomed to fail. This blanket claim flies in the face of recent experience. Prof. Easterly has been proven wrong in both diagnosis and prescription.

6   During the past 13 years, the greatest breakthroughs in aid quantity and quality came from the field of public health (unlike other social sectors, such as education and sanitation, where aid increases were far less notable). As a result, the outcomes in public health in poor countries have also advanced markedly. Not only did aid quantities for public health improve; new public health institutions, such as the Global Fund to Fight

AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria and the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization, were created to promote the effective delivery of the increased aid.

7   The approach of increased aid that is well targeted through innovative institutions has been enormously successful in improving public health in low-income countries. One could cite many examples ranging from the scale-up of vaccine coverage (largely through GAVI and UNICEF) to increased treatment coverage for HIV/AIDS and expanded tuberculosis control (through the Global Fund and the U.S. PEPFAR program), but I will focus specifically on malaria control, since Prof. Easterly was particularly pointed in his opposition to the mass scale-up of malaria control that has proved to be so successful. Fortunately, the global community did not heed Easterly's erroneous advice, and followed a path that the public health community strongly advocated.

8   At the turn of the new century, malaria was front and center of the global aid debate. Research by myself and others, and evidence garnered in the report of the World Health Organization (WHO) Commission on Macroeconomics and Health that I had the honor to chair, showed that in addition to being a health catastrophe, malaria imposes a significant economic burden, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Luckily, though, the world was starting to take notice. In 2000, the U.N. Millennium Declaration, The African Summit on Malaria, and the G8 Declaration all addressed the burden of malaria and committed the world to action. The debate soon turned to the issue of policy: how could the malaria burden be reduced?

9   Here we must look at some key details in order to keep aid in careful perspective. Starting in the late 1990s, malariologists at WHO, in academia, and in various government agencies around the world, described how malaria control could be made highly effective. The malariologists emphasized the ability of insecticide-treated bed nets to reduce the transmission of the disease. They also emphasized the urgency of shifting to a new generation of first-line medicines, notably those using artemisinin (a powerful anti-malaria drug developed by Chinese scientists) in combination with other medicines, because the old-line medicines (mainly chloroquine) were losing efficacy to

growing drug resistance. The combination of bed nets and effective medicines (known in the jargon as "vector control" and "case management" respectively), supported by rapid diagnosis of infections, makes for a powerful one-two punch in saving lives and reducing malaria transmission.

10   Indeed, epidemiological theory and practical experience strongly suggested that if bed net coverage could be raised to a sufficiently high rate (typically around three-quarters, depending on local conditions), the transmission of malaria would be sharply reduced even for those not directly protected by their own bed nets. The "spillover" of protection to the non-users is called a mass-action effect, similar to the way that high vaccine coverage protects even unvaccinated people because the disease stops spreading when fewer people are susceptible to infection. This mass-action phenomenon of course strongly argued for a malaria control strategy that would lead to a high level of bed net coverage.

11   There was one more detail of great policy significance: Not all bed nets are equal. The high-quality bed nets work not only mechanically (by covering the body) but also chemically, by a treatment with insecticide that repels or kills mosquitoes that land on the bed net. A bed net without insecticide treatment is far less effective than a treated net. Until the early 2000s, bed nets required frequent retreatment with insecticide (e.g. by bathing the nets in tubs filled with insecticide) in order to remain effective. Then, Sumitomo Chemical developed long-lasting insecticide-treated nets (LLINs) that were specially engineered to keep the insecticide intact even when the nets were repeatedly washed. The new nets could therefore remain effective for around five years or even more. Other companies, such as Vestergaard and BASF, also developed their own varieties of LLINs. This was a great breakthrough, but the new nets were more expensive to manufacture than the preceding generation of simpler nets.

12   All of these developments — new nets, new medicines, improved diagnostics, and a surging epidemic — were crucial to developing a successful malaria control policy after the year 2000. Taken together, they motivated the case for increased donor aid to support the mass free-distribution of LLINs and free access to the new generation of artemisinin-based medicines and rapid diagnostic tools. Without financial support, poor

people could not afford either the LLINs or the new medicines. Attempts to sell the nets at a discount, known as social marketing, had very little take up, since many poor families simply lacked any cash income at all. The prospect of achieving "mass action" protection through social marketing was very small. Moreover, impoverished households would often scrape together the needed money only to buy the cheaper but ineffective nets, rather than the more expensive but more effective LLINs.

13   Governments of low-income African countries needed donor support for the scale-up effort since their own domestic tax revenues, even when amply allocated to public health, could not cover the costs of a basic primary health system including scaled-up malaria control. The financial calculations, laid out by the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health, showed that an impoverished country with a GDP of around $500 per capita, typical for a poor country in Africa, may be able to muster around $15 per person per year out of domestic revenues for primary health (directing 15 percent of domestic revenues to health, as the Abuja target for health spending recommends), while the costs of a basic public health system (measured in 2014 dollars) would be around $50-$60 per person per year.

14   Prof. Easterly would have none of it. He took special and early aim at these recommendations in his 2006 book *The White Man's Burden*, claiming that free nets "are often diverted to the black market, become out of stock in health clinics, or wind up being used as fishing nets or wedding veils." After this specious claim, he then went on to write that "a study of a program to hand out free [malaria bed] nets in Zambia to people … found that 70 percent of the recipients didn't use the nets." Yet this particular study, which was conducted by the American Red Cross and CORE, actually showed the program was a success, with high rates of net adoption. Prof. Easterly's claim misconstrued this and other evidence being developed by the ARC and others about the mass distribution of nets, which had found that the free distribution of malaria bed nets was achieving high coverage and adoption rates.

15   Prof. Easterly's arguments added to a highly visible narrative against the needed global action on malaria control. Yet despite this anti-aid narrative, a global turning point finally came in 2007-08. This turning point was helped by the early success of Kenya. Kenya's Minister of Health at the time, Charity Ngilu, led a government effort during 2006-7 to scale up mass bed net distribution based, in part, on the example of free LLIN distribution in the Sauri Millennium Village. Kenya's policies led to a sharp drop of malaria nationwide.

16   Next, WHO swung its powerful weight behind the mass free distributions of bed nets throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Soon after, U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon established the mass free distribution of bed nets as policy for all U.N. agencies, and called on the world's governments and NGOs to support the scale-up effort. Ban's leadership tipped the global scales decisively. Close to 300 million bed nets were freely distributed from 2008-2010, with the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and the U.S. President's Malaria Initiative program paying for a substantial share of the scale-up.

17   The evidence is overwhelming that malaria declined precipitously as a result of these bold measures. WHO's latest report finds a stunning 51 percent drop in malaria deaths of African children under the age of five between the years 2000 and 2012. These results are historic. Roughly a half-million children, if not more, are being saved each year that otherwise would have succumbed to malaria. Even more success is possible, but only if development aid continues to back the effective control of malaria. The Global Fund is struggling to fill its request for $5 billion per year of funding, essential to supplement the health budgets of poor countries. Prof. Easterly's continued denunciations of aid, and his declarations that large-scale aid has failed, are injurious to the public support needed for the replenishment.

18   Across the board, the post-2000 improvements in public health in sub-Saharan Africa have been dramatic, strongly supported by scaled-up aid. Up to 10 million HIV-infected individuals are now receiving life-saving, anti-retroviral medicines thanks at least in part to aid programs. Tuberculosis (TB) patients are being treated and cured, with a

global TB mortality rate drop of 45 percent since 1990, and an estimated 22 million people alive due to TB care and control from 1995-2012, thanks to Global Fund support, which provides the lion's share of donor financing to fight TB. With increased donor support, antenatal health visits, institutional deliveries, and access to emergency obstetrical care are all on the increase, contributing to a decline in sub-Saharan Africa's maternal mortality rate (the annual number of female deaths per 100,000 live births) from 850 in 1990 to 740 in 2000 to 500 in 2010. Deaths of children under five worldwide have declined from 12.6 million a year in 1990 and 10.8 million in 2000 to 6.5 million in 2012.

19   These successes demonstrate a key lesson: that well-designed aid programs with sound operating principles, including clear goals, metrics, milestones, deliverables, and financing streams, can make an enormous difference, and that such programs should be devised and applied on a large scale in order to benefit as many people as possible. Such quality design needs to be based on the details of best practices, such as the combination of medicines, bed nets, and diagnostics used in cutting-edge, community-based malaria control. The economics profession needs to do a much better job working with experts in other fields, such as public health, in order to design effective aid interventions that reflect the nitty-gritty of high-quality systems delivery. While Prof. Easterly begrudgingly admits that some health aid programs have worked, for him this contradiction seems to make no difference to his overarching claim that aid is doomed to fail, for reasons that are hard to explain. All the evidence and all the exceptions have not mattered to his rhetoric, or for that matter, to his harsh attacks on me personally.

20   The aid successes of the past decade have saved millions of lives, a worthy use of money (which has totaled just a tiny fraction of rich world income) on its own. Yet aid has delivered more than lives saved and improved. Various kinds of aid, including public health outlays, debt cancellation under the IMF and World Bank's Heavily Indebted Poor Countries initiative (providing debt relief and cancellation for the poorest countries), and other programmatic and budget support, have helped to put sub-Saharan

Africa on a path of much higher economic growth and development. For the first time in decades, Africa's poverty rate has come down notably (from 58 percent in 1999 to 48.4 percent in 2010) and the region's economic growth is now around 5 percent per year, making it the region with the second fastest growth (following Asia).

21   Of course, aid didn't cause this success by itself, as there are many factors in play. But aid has helped. Research distinguishing the types and timing of aid has shown that development aid raises economic growth, though the effects will differ across countries and depend on the quality of aid. The malaria example is one of the clearest and most dramatic examples, but across the continent, aid has helped with improvements in education, agriculture, sanitation, infrastructure, and more.

22   In *The White Man's Burden*, Prof. Easterly declared, "You just have to do whatever you discover works with your modest resources to make a difference in the lives of poor people." Prof. Easterly's emphasis on "modest resources" mischaracterizes our real global situation. We are living in a world of great wealth. We need not accept the fallacy perpetuated by the rich that global resources available are quite so "modest," when total aid to sub-Saharan Africa in 2012 amounted to roughly 0.1 percent of the GDP of the donor countries (around $45 billion per year). We can and should mobilize more support. Just fractions of 1 percent of GDP of the rich countries can make a profound difference to ending extreme poverty throughout the world. Of course, we should also certainly agree to focus on what works, and take effective programs to large scale. The positive evidence since 2000 shows that well-designed aid has made a tremendous impact.

23   The issue is not "yes" or "no" to aid. Aid is needed, and can be highly successful. The issue is how to deliver high-quality aid to the world's poorest and most vulnerable people.

Appendix 4: Text 2: William Easterly: Aid Amnesia; Organized in Paragraphs

Aid Amnesia

BY WILLIAM EASTERLY William Easterly is professor of economics at New York University and author of The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good.

JANUARY 23, 2014

Paragraph	Text
1	Jeffrey Sachs has gone down the rabbit hole on the aid debate. He doesn't even remember what it was all about.
2	In the latest installment of this endless and tiresome debate over aid, Jeff Sachs struck back this week at my recent article entitled the "Aid Debate is Over." (Spoiler: In the piece I argue that he lost the argument.) What's remarkable, however, is that Sachs' recent retaliation in Foreign Policy takes very little from his previous writings about aid. These omissions seem to imply his own retreat from the original debate about Big Aid and Big Results.
3	My column was a review of Nina Munk's new book, *The Idealist: Jeffrey Sachs and the Quest to End Poverty*, which concludes that Sachs' attempts to solve poverty have been an aid and development disappointment. My column also referred to the claim Sachs made in his 2005 book, *The End of Poverty*, and in other writings (such as the U.N. Millennium Project report), that a "big push" of aid could achieve the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals, which include cutting the poverty rate in half by 2015. In his response, Sachs fails to mention Nina Munk, her book, the Millennium Development Goals, the big push, or even his own Millennium Villages Project.
4	Sachs' Millennium Villages are a set of model communities across Africa that have been targeted for intensive infusions of aid to improve health, agriculture, infrastructure, and education. Munk reports that Sachs explained to her (as he had already eloquently

outlined in *The End of Poverty*) that the Millennium Villages were meant to show that "we have enough on the planet to make sure, *easily*, that people aren't dying of their poverty" (italics mine). He told her the villages would show that "there's absolutely nothing wrong with African agriculture that can't be quickly improved…. You can improve yields by a factor of two or three … from one growing season to the next … *easy*!" (italics mine again).

5   In his book, Sachs explained that the poorest people in the world are in a trap that they cannot escape on their own. In order to break this poverty trap, he suggests striking at its heart through "targeted investments backed by donor aid." He posits that the "benefits would be astounding" if aid-financed investments were to focus on agricultural inputs, basic health and education, electric power, transport, communication, drinking water, and sanitation. But, he further stresses, for aid to work, it needs to be fighting on every front: "[S]uccess in any single area, whether in health, or education, or farm productivity, depends on investments across the board." His U.N. report called such an aid program the "Big Push."

6   After such an aid program, Sachs' book predicts, "the tremendous dynamism of self-sustaining economic growth can take hold. Economic development works. It can be successful. It tends to build on itself." In the U.N. report, he further expressed confidence how aid can achieve the Millennium Development Goals: "the specific technologies for achieving the Goals are known. What is needed is to apply them at scale." The report identified 17 "Quick Wins" that would "see major results within three or fewer years." Again in his book, Sachs said poor farmers in Africa "could triple the food yields per hectare and quickly end chronic hunger." The cost of all this is apparently well within the capabilities of existing aid commitments of rich countries. So, if aid is appropriately applied, "success in ending the poverty trap will be much easier than it appears."

7   In an effort to provide proof for the all these ideas, Sachs implemented the Millennium Village Project, while at the same advocating the immediate adoption of nation-wide Big Aid programs in every poor country to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

8 Munk contradicted Sachs' prediction of easy victories against poverty with her tale of struggle and woe in the Millennium Villages, which yielded some accomplishments but mostly disappointments. Apart from rooting out structural problems, the villages are plagued by more mundane matters. Water wells, for example, break down, get fixed, but stubbornly refuse to stay fixed. Even when agricultural yields did increase, villagers found themselves with a maize surplus for which they had neither a market nor storage capacity. Critics have piled on, arguing that Sachs is failing to properly evaluate his micro-interventions in the Millennium Villages. Without this, they cannot serve as effective evidence for his stance on aid.

9 Today, Sachs' critics do not even mention his original claim that aid will unleash the tremendous dynamism of self-sustaining growth. Does this mean that his original claims are so implausible that they're not worth mentioning or refuting?

10 I didn't anticipate that Sachs himself would now also join the loud silence on his original vision for Big Aid. (Sachs does mention faster growth in Africa and a fall of 17 percent in Africa's poverty rate, but somehow ignores that this falls grossly short of the Millennium Development goal — which he embraced — of 50 percent poverty rate reduction by 2015. The United Nations reports that Africa will not meet this goal.) Apparently there is nobody left, not even Sachs himself, to defend the case for aid as the engine of development in the poorest countries, where "success in ending the poverty trap" turned out to be "much easier than it appears." It is in this sense that the debate really is over.

11 If aid is not the engine of development, then what is it good for? If aid is not the engine of development, then what is the engine? Aid and development are now separate topics with separate debates. Aid can do many other good things even if it cannot drive development, and it is to this smaller aid debate that Sachs devotes his new column, making many sensible points on health aid.

12 As I said, I am tired of the endless back-and-forth between Jeff Sachs and me on aid (as are many others), which has been going on for more than eight years.

13   On one hand, Sachs has said that aid can end poverty, but in his FP <u>piece</u> he says that it isn't a driver of development. It sounds like Sachs and I both need to move on. For myself, I'd prefer participating in the bigger debates on development. Why does the development discussion show so much indifference to the most basic political and economic rights of the poor? Could the "benevolent dictators" such as the late Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia — who Jeff Sachs often praises (he even thanked Meles in the acknowledgements to *The End of Poverty*) — be the problem and not the solution? Don't we see individual rights in our own societies as both desirable in themselves and how we escaped our own poverty? Why do we see things so differently for poor societies?

14   These questions are a lot more important than the now passé aid debate. I think I might even publish a whole book on them.

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