



Crisis Communication Management:
A Case Study of Oxfam's 2018 Credibility Crisis

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Abstract

The growth of social media has set demands on organizations to be online and interact with stakeholders, especially during a crisis. The public are no longer seen as passive receivers of marketing messages. Previous studies have shown that the need for information increases during a crisis. Social media can be a powerful tool if is used strategically. This case study looks deeper into Oxfam's 2018 Haiti sexual exploitation scandal, as an attempt to understand how organizations communicate on social media during a crisis. By co-applying multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) and the social-mediated crisis communication (SMCC) model, a broader understanding of how the crisis was handled can be developed. The data consists of four Instagram posts that will be analyzed, drawing upon four multimodal frameworks from Machin (2017): Iconography: the 'hidden meanings' of images; The meaning of color in visual design; The meaning of typography; and Representation of social actors in images. In order to obtain a broader picture of the strategies, key public and relationships, the components of the SMCC model will be identified and presented for this case. The result of this study shows that multiple response strategies have been used to communicate both tailored messages and unified organizational messages. It is apparent that Oxfam did not have a clear strategy and altered between apologizing, "blaming" individuals within the organization and distancing themselves from the crisis.

Keywords: Crisis communication, Social media, Social Mediated Crisis Communication model, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, Instagram, Charity organization, Image repair

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1 Introduction

Social media have opened up new possibilities for organizations to reach many people at once, but also for people to reach them back. “Nowadays, the media have become the most important source of information for most people in advanced democracies around the world” (Strömbäck 2008:229). So, what happens to an organization when a crisis occurs in today’s society that demands immediate interaction and response? And how should organizations manage the crisis? This case study will use Oxfam’s Haiti sexual exploitation scandal as an attempt to understand how crises are managed and received on Instagram, a visual-oriented social media platform. Oxfam is an international nonprofit organization that provides aid to people in need around the world. In this case, the organization was accused of its staff paying for sex in Haiti after the 2010 earthquake. The crisis became complicated when information leaked that the organization was trying to withhold information about the situation in Haiti.

1.1 Research Objectives and Questions

The aim of this dissertation is to look closely at the 2018 Oxfam Haiti sexual exploitation scandal and how the crisis communication was managed on Instagram. More specifically, an analysis will be carried out on both the images and captions published during and after the crisis. The social mediated crisis communication model (SMCC) will be used in this case study as the theoretical framework. This will be supported by a qualitative multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA).

The study has two central research questions:

1. How was the Haiti scandal communicated by Oxfam on Instagram?
2. How did the public react to Oxfam’s posts about the scandal?

1.2 Key Terms

Definitions of the key terms – communication, crisis and social media – can be found in Appendix 1. These are central and will be recurrent through the whole dissertation.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Having carried out an extensive literature review of previous research in the field of crisis communication, as well as the case of Oxfam more precisely, my study will contribute new findings that can help fill some of the present gaps. First, my study is based on a nonprofit organization of which only scant research has thus far been carried out. Moreover, the data for this study will be collected from a visual-oriented platform, Instagram, which has not yet caught the attention of crisis communication scholars (most tend to focus on Facebook and Twitter). Furthermore, the study will use multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) as part of its methodology, which only 4% of previous researchers in this study field have used (Austin & Jin, 2018:12). Although there are some limitations and criticisms of MCDA as a method (e.g. that its interpretations are subjective and cannot be replicated), its co-application with SMCC will ground interpretations in concrete facts, thus providing empirical evidence which strengthens understanding of how Oxfam's crisis communication was carried out.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Social Media

Social media is used by organizations for numerous reasons. First and foremost, most stakeholders use these platforms. Thus, it enables two-way communication and enables interaction more easily (Kelly, 2013:38). Social media has had such an important impact in recent years that "it is fundamentally changing the business model and role of the company" (Smith & Wollan, 2011:4). Nevertheless, as social media is a relatively new phenomenon the knowledge on how to use social media and how to invest in the capabilities of these new platforms, are some of the common challenges for organizations (*ibid*:5).

Various factors can make social media difficult to address (Smith & Wollan, 2011:5): (1) "You Give Up Control", (2) "It Is Everywhere", and (3) "It Is Emotional, as well as Functional". Social media has shifted the power. Now, stakeholders want to be included in everything and expect to be more engaged. They no longer accept being looked at as passive receivers of marketing messages. With social media, they can be active, express their opinions, give feedback, hold organizations accountable and spread content (Oh *et al*, 2015:2). With social media, organizations have new opportunities to "grow" if managed correctly (*ibid*:9).

However, there are some risks with such platforms. These include the fact that social media cannot be paused, competitors will always be watching and critical comments or interactions needs to be handled correctly (*ibid*). With social media, both the positive and the negative can go viral, which, can boost the brand's reputation or do exactly the opposite (*ibid*).

2.2 Crisis Communication

Ray (1999:221) advocates two ways that the term crisis communication can be understood: (1) as information and (2) as strategy. The first points out the need to distribute and take part in information during a crisis, while the second refers to the use of different messages when an organization aims to repair its relationships with stakeholders. According to Coombs *et al.* (2010), the ambition to understand how organizations handle a crisis, threats to their reputation and the ability to renew their image effectively was the starting point in the research field of crisis communication.

Communication can be seen as one central and important part of crisis management. Crisis management "implies a comprehensive, strategic worldview" (Gilpin & Murphy, 2008:7). In today's research field, there is a number of developed models that describe how management in politics, corporate organizations and the public sector communicate defense strategies during a crisis (e.g. Benoit, 1995; Coombs, 1995,1998; Hearit, 2006). According to Lerbinger (2012:61), this research area is the dominant paradigm in crisis communication research.

Benoit has carried out several studies on image related crises (e.g. Benoit *et al.*, 1991, 1997,2006; Benoit and Henson, 2009; Blaney & Benoit, 2001; Blaney *et al.*, 2002). According to Benoit (1995:155), there are eight different message-related strategies that can be used to try to reduce the damages of a crisis based on abuse and immoral action: (1) Denial, meaning that the organization denies and blame; (2) Bolstering, when the organization highlights good and successful actions that they have done; (3) Reduction, when organizations try to minimize the effects of the crisis; (4) Distinctive, when the organization points out that others have caused more extensive crises; (5) Admonition, when the organization outlines that other issues should be addressed instead; (6) Attack, when the accused organization claims that the accuser is wrong or irresponsible; (7) Compensation, when the organization attempts to compensate for the economic impact of the crisis. In recent years, an increasingly common strategy has been to attempt to (8) "Make a poodle," which is when the organization confesses (*ibid*). Within the

context of this study, it will be interesting to examine whether Oxfam use any of the above-mentioned strategies and if so, how they affected the outcome.

2.3 Crisis Communication and Social Media

Crisis communication is one of the fields in which social media is meaningful and has achieved visible benefits (Stieglitz *et al*, 2017:157). According to Austin *et al*. (2012:191), the public's use of social media increases during a crisis. A simple explanation is that, at this time, informational needs increase and since social media platforms assist and enable information exchange easily, this outcome is natural (Seeger *et al*, 2002:56; Kavanaugh *et al*, 2005:6; Andersen & Spitzberg, 2010:5). Procopio and Procopio (2007) and Austin *et al*, (2012:191) argue that the public might find social media, as a more credible source, because the content is more up-to-date and unfiltered. According to Hariman and Lucaites (2007), visuals can help individuals to understand what to believe, how to act or how to feel about a particular matter. Some scholars argue that when it comes to negative emotions combined with a crisis, the internet and social media provide emotional support and coping strategies in their own way (Bressers & Hume, 2012:12; Austin & Jin, 2018:307).

Berg (2009:328) and May (2006:341) argue that in order to study crisis communication on social media, qualitative content analysis is a suitable lens to analyze the constructs and to understand the complex discourse. Janoske (2014), for example, has examined this phenomenon with the aim of examining how individuals affected by a crisis use social media to build and maintain online communities. One of the cases Janoske studied was the Facebook page Jersey Shore Hurricane News (JSHN), which was used during Hurricane Sandy when it hit Jersey Shore in 2012 (*ibid*:7). Janoske (2014) collected the data which consists of “real” posts from three different weeks in order to analyze the communication during the crisis.

Qualitative case studies such as Janoske's are used to build deeper knowledge of a phenomena and focus on the deeper meaning in a specific context (Merriam, 2009:4). Yin (2009:15) has also suggested using case studies when the aim is to describe contexts and interactions (which is the objective of this study), to clarify topics of evaluation, to improve insight when there is not a clear set of outcomes and to explain complex causal links. To understand sensemaking during crises situations and how it is affected by different communication roles in social media, Stieglitz *et al*. (2017:1339) conducted a study on Twitter during the Brussels attacks of 2016.

A qualitative content analysis was applied in order to gain a deeper understanding of the characteristics of the collected data. Which, included a total of 1,535,943 participants and consisted of 3,223,197 tweets. They concluded that information distribution at an early stage was at the top, depending on the retweet behavior of certain communication roles (*ibid*).

As previously mentioned, there are different models used in the research field. Situational Crisis Communication theory (SCCT) focuses on which strategy an organization should choose depending on the nature of crisis (Utz *et al*, 2013:41; Coombs, 2007:164). Austin *et al*. (2014:90) found that previous studies indicate the importance of the need to examine crisis response theories. However, the theory lacks when it comes to why the public accept the message, distinguishing how the communication is designed, what source is used and what effect it may have (*ibid*:77). Austin *et al*. 's (2012:191) SMCC model tends to shift the focus on the medium used in crisis communication, which is a much-needed development and welcome addition to the classical theories in the field (Utz *et al*, 2013:45).

In order to obtain a deeper knowledge of how social media influences crisis communication, variables such as crisis origin, form and source (e.g. found in the SMCC model) are valid to include in the research field of crisis communication in the future (Austin *et al*, 2014:90). The SMCC model is a good tool when the aim is to understand how individuals use crisis information both on and offline. This model also generates answers on who the key influencers are and who is the sender/ publishing content on which platform (Jin & Liu, 2010:454). This will be explained more thoroughly in the methodology section of Chapter 3.

Given that the focus of this study is the Oxfam crisis, it is important to frame the use of social media in crisis communication within the context of nonprofit organization. Previous research shows that nonprofit organizations are drawn to social media rather than traditional communication and media (Austin & Jin, 2018:227). For nonprofit organizations, social media platforms can be used during critical times in order to connect quickly with stakeholders and communicate with the public (*ibid*). Kelleher (2007) and Waters (2009) have found that social media has also been used by these organizations to communicate and inform the public about what they do, educate, provide visual content and interact with donors and volunteers.

2.4 Oxfam's Haiti Sexual Exploitation Scandal

Recently, social media has become a platform for women to share their stories of sexual harassment and abuse (Zacharek *et al*, 2017). Movements such as #MeToo have spread across the globe encouraging women to break their silence. This movement has helped unveil some scandals involving powerful individuals, corporations and public authorities (Beaumont & Ratcliffe, 2018), which have led to crises that have threatened the organization's credibility (*ibid*). Credibility crises often concerns the management level within organizations. According to Lerbinger (2012:21,216), it is usually about suspicion of bias values, cheating or falsehoods and mismanagement. For a nonprofit organization such as Oxfam which aims to provide aid to the most vulnerable populations in the world, including women, this can be incredibly problematic. Since nonprofit organizations depend on different stakeholders for support, including donors, partner organizations, volunteers and governments, organizational crises caused by unethical and inhumane actions can be relentless (Benoit, 1995:155; Danyi, 2019:2).

Since the Oxfam Haiti news story broke in 2018, there have been a limited number of studies carried out on the scandal. The majority have been confined to undergraduate dissertations rather than published peer-reviewed articles, which highlights an urgent need to explore the topic further. That being said, several important studies have emerged, nonetheless. The most significant has been a case study by Danyi (2019), which aimed to look into how Oxfam addressed the recent sexual harassment and abuse scandal. In order to do so, SCCT was applied. In the study, Danyi (2019:9) found that Oxfam's crisis could have been handled more effectively if the organization had a clear strategy of how to handle the crisis from the beginning.

Danyi's analysis showed that Oxfam's first response did not manage to address the public issue; instead, they focused on justifying their past actions. Since Oxfam's first response did not entail much consideration, according to Danyi (2019), the organization faced demands and was pressured by different stakeholders. In response to this, Oxfam changed their communication and adopted a more apologetic approach. Danyi (2019:9) argues that Oxfam's crisis communication could have been more effective if they had responded consistently with a rebuilding strategy.

Another study of the crisis was carried out by Carolei (2018:3). She claimed that Oxfam is held accountable by different stakeholders and they can only win their trust again if the views of the victims are taken into consideration. She clarified that Oxfam's scandal displayed how poorly

implemented policies are by charities. These policies “deal with financial transparency, prevention of abuses perpetrated by staff members and protection of the communities’ charities provide services to” (*ibid*). In fact, the Oxfam crisis seems to be affected by factors other than their response too. For example, the organization failed to “tell other aid agencies about the misconduct of staff members, which allowed them to work elsewhere, and, similarly, it failed to report the abuse to the Haitian authorities” (*ibid*).

Mishal (2018) also carried out a case study on the Oxfam case. He stated that the real problem was about the systems for accountability, not the sexual exploitation or unfit individuals for international development work. When organizations and individuals are working in low-income and middle-income countries, governance should operate to prevent inappropriate actions (Mishal, 2018:1020). There needs to be an effective structure for monitoring, evaluation and accountability in order to prevent sexual misconduct and corruption (*ibid*). Moral boundaries are routinely blurred in humanitarian settings and it is surprising that authorities with responsibility fail to prevent such incidents (*ibid*). While these crises should not happen in the first place, it is imperative that they are dealt with effectively once they take place. That is why the current study offers an important attempt to make sense of how Oxfam dealt with the Haiti crisis on Instagram.

2.5 Summarizing the Gaps

The above sections have highlighted that, while much work has been carried out in the field of crisis communication, and more specifically on social media, some gaps still exist. For example, according to Austin and Jin’s study on social media research (2018:15), only four out of 69 scholars investigate nonprofit organizations. In addition, they found that the majority of existing research is carried out on Facebook, Twitter and blogs (*ibid*). Social media platforms are unique, work in different ways and play different roles in public communication during a crisis. Therefore, the research field needs to develop a broader understanding that a generalization cannot be made based on only two platforms (Austin & Jin, 2018:15; 2016:168; Jin *et al*, 2014:76). However, there needs to be more studies that investigate newer platforms such as Youtube, Instagram, LinkedIn and Snapchat that are visual-oriented (Lev-On, 2012:102). Furthermore, most previous research has neglected nonprofit organizations and the way in

which they use social media to handle crises. Given this information, it is the aim of this study to investigate a more visually-oriented platform such as Instagram using a nonprofit organization (Oxfam) as an example. This study will use a unique combination of SMCC and MCDA – something that has seldom been attempted before in order to ground potentially subjective analyses in concrete evidence provided by user comments.

3. Methodology

The current research aims to follow a qualitative methodology using the case study of Oxfam. As stated in the previous chapter, this study will coapply the SMCC model and MCDA to answer the following research questions:

1. How was the Haiti scandal communicated by Oxfam on Instagram?
2. How did the public react to Oxfam's posts about the scandal?

3.1 The Oxfam Case

Founded in Great Britain in 1942, Oxfam is a nonprofit charity organization that works to combat global poverty. The purpose of the organization is to be a part of a global movement for change, create durable solutions to the injustice of poverty and help people to create a future that is secure, free from poverty and just (Oxfam: 2019-02-20).

The scandal bloomed in February 2018 and was broke on 21st February by the BBC whose headline revealed that “*Top Oxfam staff paid Haiti survivors for sex.*” The story developed rapidly and was picked up by national and international sources of media who claimed that Oxfam were trying to cover up the scandal. This was followed with a headline in The Guardian stating that “*Oxfam denies cover-up over 'Haiti prostitutes'*” (2018-06-15). The stories revealed that in 2010, when Oxfam was working in Haiti after the earthquake, staff hired sex workers. According to an internal report in 2011, Oxfam let go of four employees after an investigation into the allegations. Shortly after, three staff members and Roland van Hauwermeiren, the country director in Haiti, resigned.

3.2 Data Collection

The collected data consists of four different posts Oxfam published on Instagram. The posts include a picture and a caption. The data also involves the comments made by individuals under each post (see Appendix 3). In order to generate useful information and ensure that the collected data is grounded in empirical and scientific methodologies, a “Social Media Analytics” (SMA) approach was used to gather the posts. SMA is different from traditional data analytics, simply because that social media data is unstructured and comes in different formats (e.g., pictures, text) (Oh *et al.*, 2015:2). SMA contains of four-stage processes when collecting and choosing data. Three of the most famous approaches to SMA are Fan and Gordon (2014), Stieglitz *et al.* (2013) and Oh *et al.* (2015). Fan and Gordon’s approach consists of three steps: “capture”, “understand”, and “present”. Essentially, this entails gathering data and pre-processing it to extract pertinent information, applying a technique to understand the data and subsequently, summarising and presenting the data. In contrast, Stieglitz *et al.* (2013) split the process into “tracking”, “preparation” and “analysis”. In 2018, Stieglitz *et al.* further built upon this method, adding the fourth process of discovery before the initial tracking stage. Oh *et al.* (2015), instead, use the terms “identify”, “capture”, “understand” and “present” to describe the social media analytics process.

Within the context of this study, Oh *et al.*’s (2015) framework has been deemed the most appropriate because it was specifically created with websites such as Twitter and Instagram in mind. Furthermore, their approach presents a concrete way to measure social media indicators in relation to a particular company and crisis. Step One of the framework is *Identify*, which is all about identifying what to search for in order to collect relevant data. This could be keywords, #hashtags or, in this case, searching for Instagram posts that involve Oxfam responding to the crisis (*ibid*). Step Two is *Capture*, which entails two steps: download and pre-processing. In this case, the “download” involved saving the pictures, the caption, the comments and a screenshot with an overview of the whole post showing, for example, how many likes, comments and the date each post was published. Pre-processing was the second-step at this stage. It involved filtering the relevant comments by a content analysis. Oxfam’s responses to the public’s comments were removed in this step because the aim with collecting the comments was to obtain an understanding of the public’s responses. Therefore, Oxfam’s replies to the comments were not relevant in this case (*ibid*:5). Step Three is *Understand*, which involved keeping the relevant data and carrying out the analysis. In order to understand the data, a sentiment analysis was completed (*ibid*:7), meaning that the comments were divided into

different themes (critical, praising, fact presenting, emoji and unclear). Finally, Step Four is *Present*, which entailed summarizing and presenting the findings (*ibid*:8).

3.3 Social-Mediated Crisis Communication Model

The SMCC model is one of the first theoretical frameworks to describe the ongoing environment and landscape for crisis communication. SMCC research (e.g. Austin *et al*, 2012; Jin, *et al*, 2014; Liu *et al*, 2011;2013) emphasizes the importance of considering the cause of the crisis, information, source, strategy for the organization's crisis communication and type of crisis that occurred (Austin *et al*, 2012:172).

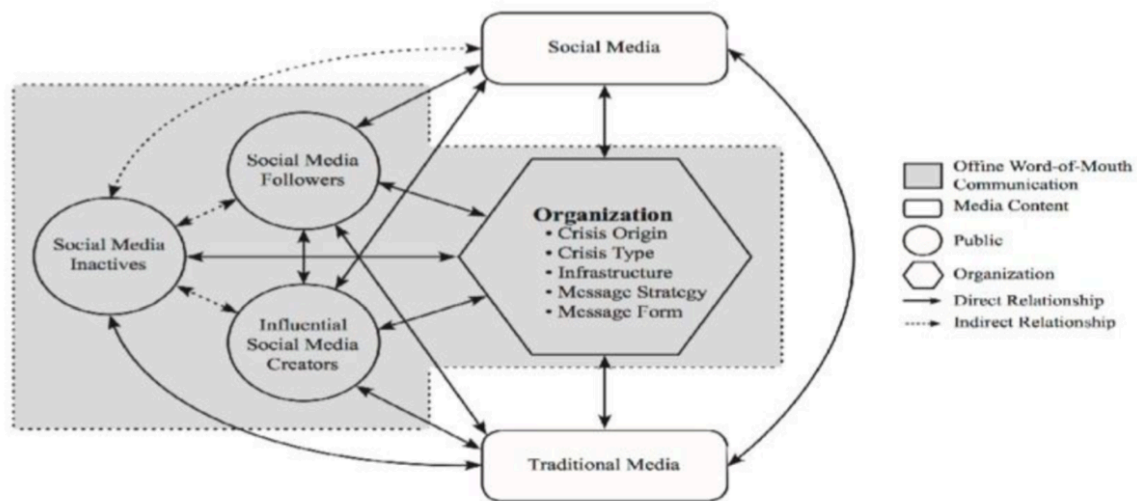


Figure 1. Social Mediated Crisis Communication Model

As demonstrated in Figure 1, the SMCC model is used to understand the relationship between an organization, key publics, social and traditional media, and offline word-of-mouth communication before, during, and after crises (Dudo & Khlor, 2017:170). As the model indicates, there are *three key publics* who seek, produce or share information before, during and after a crisis: creators, followers and inactives (Dudo & Khlor, 2017:171; Jin *et al*, 2014:77). The creators produce and publish information or content about the crisis, followers consume and share this information and the inactive stakeholders receive this information from channels, such as word-of-mouth, from some active consumers or traditional media (*ibid*). *The flow of information* is represented by the arrows; the dotted arrows show indirect relationships while the solid arrows represent direct relationships. As demonstrated above, the arrows illustrate that the information goes two ways (Dudo & Khlor, 2017:170). What we can see is that the crisis

communication is transmitted directly from creators to active followers, but potentially also indirectly from active to passive followers (Austin *et al*, 2012:192).

Forms of information - The three forms of crisis communication featured in the model are social media, traditional media and offline word-of mouth. As demonstrated in Figure 1, key publics and organizations responding to a crisis are both placed in the gray box to represent the extensive nature of offline word-of-mouth communication (Dudo & Khalor, 2017:171). The model shows that traditional media and social media have a direct relationship with each other and with the key publics and organization. However, the information on social media may come from influential creators or the organization (*ibid*). *Organizational Consideration* - Organizations need to consider five criteria in their response to a crisis: (1) Crisis origin identifies the starting point of the crisis and if the issue is internal or external to the organization; (2) Crisis type refers to the characteristics of the crisis; (3) Organizational infrastructure is about how a crisis should be handled in a localized way through tailored messages or in a centralized way through unified organizational message; (4) Message strategy refers to the content of the message and what crisis response strategies are used; and (5) Message form is how the crisis is transmitted or spread. (*ibid*).

This model will be used in order to understand and demonstrate how Oxfam's Haiti sexual exploitation scandal was managed. This will be achieved by following the SMCC model and identifying the different aspects: the key publics, the flow of information, the forms of information and the organizational consideration with the five criteria.

3.4 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

Graphic representations consist of a range of semiotic resources (e.g. image, video, color) that can be selected to evoke specific emotions and connections in order to convey a message (Fairclough, 1992:3). Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:1) state that visual representation has as much grammar as the written and spoken word, visual structure is a "resource for encoding interpretation of experience and forms of social (inter) action." Multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) draws upon the sources of both multimodality and critical discourse analysis to analyze the choice of semiotic resources, as well as what the semiotic resources are communicating and creating for the recipient. Both theories understand that communication is a social construction that is shaped by society (Fairclough, 1995:56; Machin & Mayr, 2012:10). Both methods are also interested in power structures and underlying messages and are used to

reveal strategies that appear neutral on the surface but actually have a particular ideology or intention (*ibid:9*). This is particularly relevant to this case study, as it can help unlock the aims and objectives behind Oxfam's Instagram posts.

Given the facts presented above, the decision has been made to use MCDA in this study, since the data will consist of images and shorter text rather than just text alone in a monomodal format. By using this method, a broader meaning (beyond words) can be understood. Doing the analysis, four frameworks from Machin's (2007) *Introduction to Multimodal Analysis* will be followed to find the deeper meaning in different aspects of the collected data. The frameworks consist of four components (see table 1, below).

Components	Definitions	Categories	Examples
Iconography: the 'hidden meanings' of images	Details of different visual elements in a specific context transporting a certain meaning	<p>1. <i>Denotation</i> (The literal meaning)</p> <p>2. <i>Connotation</i> (The hidden meaning)</p>	<p>1. Documents reality (inclusion and exclusion)</p> <p>2. Depict places, people and events (elements that are carriers of connotations: poses, objects, settings, and photogenia)</p>
The meaning of color in visual design	What the color in different images and icons are actually communicating	<p>Color has two kinds of value, <i>Association</i> and <i>Features</i>, and three metafunctions:</p> <p>1. <i>Ideational function</i> (specific places, things, and people)</p> <p>2. <i>Interpersonal function</i> (fulfill a goal, give a certain feeling)</p> <p>3. <i>Textual function</i> (create coherence)</p>	<p>Associative value: different meanings depending on the context and how the viewer "sees" the color. Feature: is viewed with a scale from light-dark, saturated to desaturated</p> <p>1. Businesses use colors to denote their identities</p> <p>2. Red is used on warning signs to alert people</p> <p>3. Headlines in the same color to differentiate them from the rest of the text</p>

The meaning of typography	Typefaces can be used to convey different meanings.	Letterforms and three communicative functions of typography: 1. <i>Represent ideas</i> 2. <i>Offer attitudes</i> 3. <i>Give coherence</i>	Letterforms: Weight, Expansion, Slope, Curvature, Orientation etc. 1. Metallic font can represent durability 2. Bold fonts for emphasis or rounder fonts to give a personal touch 3. If the same font is used it can be seen that the textual elements are linked
Representation of social actors in the image	How people in images are portrayed	1. <i>Angle of viewing</i> (Gaze, Angle of interaction, Distance) 2. <i>Type of participation</i>	1. If people in the picture are seeking 'contact' or 'interaction' (by looking). And if portrayed to involve the viewer or create power relations. 2. Whether social actors are represented in group or as individuals, Categorization and Generic specific depiction

Figure 1. Machins (2007) MCDA Frameworks

3.5 Towards a Social-Mediated Approach to Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

By combining MCDA with the SMCC model, it will be possible to discover how Oxfam communicated during and after the Haiti scandal and how the public reacted to the communication on Instagram. Most significantly, by co-applying these two methods many of the concerns regarding MCDA's subjectivity will be addressed. SMCC will enable the analysis to be grounded in empirical evidence provided by user comments. It will also help to maintain evidence-based guidelines when answering how, if, and when Oxfam responded to the crisis on social media, as well as recognizing the influence of traditional media and offline word-of-mouth communication (Lui *et al*,2012; Dudo & Khator,2017). MCDA will also enable a deeper analysis of the data and a deeper understanding of what Oxfam actually communicated. Combining these two methods will provide a more realistic view on how the crisis was communicated and how it was received.

4. Analysis

The collected data was analyzed and processed in three different ways. An MCDA was carried out by looking into the four frameworks explained in the previous chapter. This was followed by a sentiment analysis of the comments from each post. This step was carried out in order to understand the data and to categorize the comments and to understand the public's reaction. Finally, the crisis and the response were put in the SMCC model in order to obtain a deeper understanding of both the organization and the public's point of view.

4.1 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

First, the meaning of the text in the captions and images will be analyzed in order to understand how Oxfam communicated on Instagram. At this stage, it is also interesting to see if any of Benoit's (1995) response strategies, presented in the literature review chapter, can be identified.

First post (Instagram¹: 2018-02-16):



Caption: "To read Mark Goldring's open letter in full, please follow the link in our bio."

We have today published a comprehensive plan of action to strengthen safeguarding systems across the organization and stamp out abuse. For more information, please visit our website: www.oxfam.org.uk

Figure 2. First post (Instagram¹: 2018-02-16)

The denotation in this image is clear: someone, "I", who appears to be "Mark Goldring, Chief Executive, Oxfam GB" is apologizing with an open letter. The sentence includes a value-laden word: "unreservedly," in uppercase letter which connotes seriousness and a sense of sincerity. The textual function here is creating a sense of coherence between the first three sentences in the picture because they are in the same color (dark grey), whereas the last sentence is in a different color (light green) and therefore, sticks out from the first three (Machin, 2007:66). This differentiates the text into two parts and portrays that the sentences have different

meanings. The features in this image vary in brightness: one can identify the light (light green) and dark (dark grey) scales. Since dark colors are usually associated with darkness and light colors with truth or lightness, one can identify a deeper meaning of these choices (*ibid*:70). When looking closely, one can see that the dark grey color is used when the text is about the “I” person “Mark Goldring”; metaphorically, he is in the dark and apologizing, taking all the blame. In contrast, the light green is used when referring to Oxfam as an organization where the reader can “Read the full letter” and obtain the truth. Noticeable also is that the color green is used to denote Oxfam’s identity, and in this context, it is clear that the color is used as an ideational function (*ibid*:65).

Kress and van Leeuwen (2002:343,348) states that the color green means hope and identifies first-aid equipment, whereas the color black is associated with mourning in most parts of Europe (*ibid*:343). Although, the dark typeface is more of a dark grey, in this apologetic context it can be associated with black. Therefore, this image with these letterforms used in this context, combined with such color, can portray the “bad guy” who is apologizing and the “truthful” organization that offers more information or clarity. Looking closer to the text in the caption, specifically this part:

“We have today published a comprehensive plan of action to strengthen safeguarding systems across the organization and stamp out abuse.”

The “We” in the beginning of this sentence indicates the organization Oxfam not “I”, Mark the “bad guy”, has a solution to the problem. This intensifies the meaning of the color green, which is hope, or in this case, indicates that “there is hope for the future.” The caption and the image with the green color text are together conveying a sense of “out with the old” (the crisis, Mark apologizing for the past) and “in with the new” or let us start fresh (the hope for the future with the plan).

Another factor that enhances the indication of such “hidden meaning” is the use of different sizes of typeface. According to Van Leeuwen (2006:148), the bold typeface can have more of a negative meaning and is seen as domineering and assertive. In this case, the whole first sentence is written in capital letters and with a bold typeface, giving the expression of someone being aggressive or making things clear. Also, the uppercase letters can be seen as a way to capture the viewers’ attention (Machin,2007:89). However, there are some parts “missing” in

this post, for example, the reason for the apology is unknown at this point if the public has not followed the news. In addition, what has been done and to whom? are also questions that come up.

Second post (Instagram²:2018-02-27):



Caption: “Recent events have cast a shadow over the vital, life-saving work our staff do every day. But we are determined to stamp out abuse, and to keep fighting poverty wherever it exists.

Yemen has suffered the largest ever outbreak of cholera since records began. We have already helped over one million people.

As well as providing clean water, we have been repairing existing water systems, building toilets and organising cleaning campaigns to prevent the spread of disease.

We’re determined to keep working to alleviate the suffering of people in Yemen and around the world.

Photo: Kate Wiggans /Oxfam”

Figure 3. Second post (Instagram²:2018-02-27)

This image denotes real people of different ages gathered to get water. Oxfam’s logotype on the water tank (centered in the middle of the picture) connotes that they are helping people to get clean water. This is enhanced by the caption “Recent events have cast a shadow over the vital, life-saving work our staff do every day.” The image and the caption are contributing to portray Oxfam as heroes. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:196) state that the core of the information is usually centered (Oxfam’s logotype and the water tank) and the other elements around it are somehow “subservient”. The water tank in the center of the image is portrayed to be the solution to their problem. It is clear that Oxfam are helping Yemeni people in what seems to be a humble neighborhood by the buildings that are falling apart and the trash surrounding the streets in the background.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:139) would describe this image as ‘offer’; the horizontal angle puts a barrier between the viewer and the people in the picture. The participants are not making a demand on the viewers. Instead, they are displayed and the viewers are encouraged to observe them. By showing these individuals in this deficit setting, the viewer will feel empathy for them

and in that way, praise Oxfam for the help they are providing. As mentioned previously in the literature review, visuals, like this image, can help individuals to understand how to act and feel (Austin & Jin, 2018:3016).

The individuals in the picture are mostly children and women, who as previously mentioned in chapter 2, are usually associated with a vulnerable group of people that needs protection and a helping hand (Benoit, 1995:155; Danyi, 2019:2). Showing that Oxfam are helping this specific group is a strategic move, since they are providing help for the same group (women) they were accused of abusing in Haiti.

Noticeable is the other boy standing in the center of the image, showing the viewer his back. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:138) suggest that this shows vulnerability and imply that a person with his/her back turned has a measured amount of trust. When the viewer is “behind” the represented people, like the little boy in this case, it suggests that they are viewing the world as the people do and are standing with “them” (Machin, 2007:114). In this case, we are invited into the little boy’s world and are welcome to stand with him, by supporting Oxfam, who is providing the help he needs. Nonetheless, the boy “in front” of him is carrying a green bucket of water, with a smile on his face, which according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:67) connotes approval. The boy’s smile of approval, with the green colored bucket connoting hope and Oxfam’s green corporate identity, displays how much hope the organization is spreading to the people.

Third post (Instagram³:2018-03-01):



Figure 4. Third post (Instagram³:2018-03-01)

Caption: “Right now, our staff are saving lives and fighting poverty every day – even under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, fighting has forced millions of people to flee their homes. Over 3 million people are going hungry.

Oxfam teams – many of them local, trained volunteers – are helping more than 400,000 people, providing them with clean water, sanitation, cash and seeds for growing crops. Working together with the UN World Food Programme, we’re getting food to 89,000 people. We’re determined to keep this vital, life-saving work going.

Photo: @johnsingerwessels / Oxfam”

Again, the group of people in the image contains mainly women and children. When looking closely, the focus in this image lies on the person with Oxfam's logotype on the back of his shirt. By reading the caption, he can be identified as one of the "trained volunteers". The man's white shirt and light green logo are associated with light colors that feature lightness and truth (Machin, 2007:66); according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2002:348), white a symbol of innocence and purity. One noticeable thing is that the only male in the image is the speaker. Since the sex scandal pointed out that "male" staff from Oxfam sexually abused women, this picture is again connoting that this "vulnerable" group of women is getting help by the male staff member and there is no sign of abuse (Benoit, 1995:155; Danyi, 2019:2).

The sitting people in front of the man are almost blurred and their faces are not that clear. He is also positioned in the center of the image and is portrayed as some kind of authority, a teacher or a powerful person since he has the group's attention. Another connotation that the person has the power is that he is standing while the "group" is sitting down and has a more passive role. Looking closer, the group is sitting around him (in a circular shape); the circular shape is associated with life cycles and completeness (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:55). When participants, like in this case, are shown sitting in syntagm, it conveys that they are "members of the same class" (*ibid*:79). In this context, this shows connectivity and togetherness. Moreover, with Oxfam being represented by the man in the center, it connotes that the organization is "keeping" the people together.

The setting connotes poverty since the background seems to be "falling apart." But again, Oxfam are heroes, as they are helping more than 400,000 people (according to the caption). The caption says "Working together with the UN World Food Programme." Working with such a big and trusted actor as the UN increases Oxfam's credibility. And this is, of course, much needed after the credibility crisis Oxfam went through. In this post, Oxfam is telling the public how important their work is, that they are "saving" many lives and that they will not stop. This last point is even written out in the caption at the end: "We're determined to keep this vital, life-saving work going." Both the picture and the caption put the viewer in a position to take action and donate money in order for Oxfam to be able to provide support (Machin, 2007:109). Again, we only see the man's (Oxfam worker) back in this picture as we did with the little boy in the previous post, which enhances the feeling that we are invited to stand by Oxfam by donating money, so they can keep providing the help these people need (*ibid*:114). Another way to read the message is that if the UN can trust "us" (Oxfam), so can you. By doing so, the viewer is invited into being a part of something, making a difference together.

Fourth post (Instagram⁴:2018-03-02):



Figure 5. Fourth post (Instagram⁴: 2018-03-02)

Caption: “Today, like every day, Oxfam teams are helping people to overcome unimaginable suffering. Recent events have angered and distressed us all, but we are determined to keep helping the world’s poorest and most vulnerable people.

Hundreds of thousands of Rohingya people have crossed over to Bangladesh. It’s a crisis that is escalating all the time, and Oxfam has reached more than 185,000 people affected. Staff and people affected are working together to build clean water systems, toilets and sanitation facilities. They’re also providing vouchers so people can buy food and setting up lighting in the camps. This vital work continues.

Photo: [@bekkifrost](#) / Oxfam”

One big difference in this picture is that there are men included in the group. By looking closer into the background, one can see a camp which indicates poverty or a group of people living apart from society. By reading the caption “Hundreds of thousands of Rohingya people have crossed over to Bangladesh,” it becomes clear that the group of people in the image are refugees. Noticeable is that the angle the picture is taken from makes the viewer look down on the people (Machin, 2007:113). Looking down on refugees, like in this case, can be an evaluative adjective for “the downtrodden refugees” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006:143). The caption also confirms that there is a camp in the background, which can be associated with segregation since the refugees are not a part of the society in Bangladesh.

In the heart of the picture, there are people walking from the camp towards the camera which, in this case, connotes that they are coming to get help. However, most of the people are shown walking back to the camp with green Oxfam bags, which indicates that they have been helped by Oxfam. Again, similar to the previous posts, green is used to symbolize hope and the provision of aid (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2002:343) and the “backs” of people again, invite us to stand with them (Machin, 2007:114). Oxfam states the following in the caption:

“Today, like every day”

This implies that Oxfam helps people every single day and today is no different. In a way, this is stating that they are still doing what they do despite what happened in Haiti. This could, according to Benoit’s (1995:155) response strategies, be a “Reduction”, seen as an attempt to

minimize the crisis, as if what happened in Haiti was just a minor thing but they are still providing help to people in need. Also, in the caption:

| *“recent events have angered and distressed us all.”* |

By stating this, Oxfam is distancing themselves from what has happened and reflecting on the charity as an outsider. By saying “us all” in the caption is an attempt to create solidarity between Oxfam and the supporters.

The following statement from the caption: “Staff and people affected are working together” and the people walking “together” in a queue can be interpreted as solidarity and that Oxfam is working alongside the people (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:79). The caption specifically states that staff and people affected are working together. One actor is missing here in the representation: Bangladesh is mentioned in the caption and the picture is most likely taken there, but neither the text nor the image say anything about what actions the country is taking (Machin, 2007:121). This can be interpreted as Bangladesh is not offering any help to the refugees or excluding them from their society, while Oxfam comes all the way over to help the people.

The four posts have similarities. First the color green is represented in all of the posts. As mentioned earlier, this color symbolizes hope and first-aid equipment (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2002:343,348). The color green is also used by Oxfam since it is their ideational function for the organization (Machin, 2007:65), which is suitable and enhances the message in this context. In three out of four pictures, Oxfam’s logotype is in the center. Since the centered information is, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:196), seen as the core, this can connote the feeling that Oxfam is at the heart of all matters. Like all the images, the viewer is made to feel like a passive observer of the scene, contemplating the great work of Oxfam.

In addition, in the same three images, people are shown getting help from the organization. There are people standing with their backs towards the camera, inviting the viewer in to their world and to stand with them by continuing to support Oxfam, their “hero”. This seems to be a strategy that Oxfam use throughout all of their images to engage the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:138; Machin, 2007:114).

The only time the logotype was absent was also the only time there were not any people portrayed in the image. However, what is striking is that Oxfam posted an image of “text” on a visual-oriented platform. This can be seen as an attempt to catch the viewers’ attention. According to Machin (2007:88), the bold, uppercase sentence is dramatic and will capture the reader’s attention.

4.2 The Public’s Reaction

In order to find out how the public reacted to Oxfam’s communication, the comments under each post have been categorized into different themes: critical, praising, fact presenting, emoji and unclear (see Appendix 3). Critical can, for example, be comments about the crisis, how Oxfam are doing certain things or the lack of taking action. This is a “negative” comment that is shedding a bad light on Oxfam. Praising is when comments defend the organization, encourage and acknowledge Oxfam’s great work. Fact presenting is when comments contain facts about the organization or presenting hard facts from another source. Emoji is for when the comment only contains an emoji of some sort. Unclear is the category for comments that cannot be placed under one theme. This can also be used if the comment is in a different language. As mentioned earlier, Oxfam’s replies to the comments were removed in the pre-processing step in the data collection (see Appendix 4).

First post:



541 gilla-markeringar

oxfamgb To read Mark Goldring's open letter in full, please follow the link in our bio.

We have today published a comprehensive plan of action to strengthen safeguarding systems across the organisation and stamp out abuse. For more information, please visit our website: www.oxfam.org.uk

Visa alla 48 kommentarer



16 FEBRUARI 2018 · VISA ÖVERSÄTTNING

	Critical	Praising	Fact presenting	Emoji	Unclear
Total in each category	5	11	7	8	5

Figure 6. Comments: first post


After pre-processing the data, 36 out of 48 comments were left. This first post has high interaction, with 541 like-marks and many comments. As shown, the comments are mostly praising Oxfam, for example:

“@oxfamgb My Uncle is from India and said how much good work Oxfam do over there. So I wanted to help support that work.”

In second place are emojis comments such as ““, where the follower show their appreciation by commenting with a heart or thumbs up. There are also a number of fact-presenting comments, for example:

“@fiflorion Haiti and Chad is unrealistic - prostitution exists everywhere and it’s not Oxfams agenda to eliminate it world wide- it’s their agenda to attend to immediate survival”


This person is presenting facts of what Oxfam’s “real” mission is. However, there are as many critical comments as unclear. The unclear comments were a part of a heated discussion between two individuals, where it strayed a bit “from” the topic and became personal. For example:

“@lisasian ? So I’m now a white male??  get real- there are standards to uphold but imposing your highest aspirational values on somewhere like”

The critical comments are mostly concerned with the apology (does not feel sincere) and economics (donations and how money is used by the organization), for example:

“How about you stop using donor's money to prop up your bloated and inefficient management?”

And some are critiquing Oxfam’s response in other platforms such as The Guardian:

*“The intensity and ferocity of the attack makes you wonder, what did we do? We murdered babies in their cots?” Doesn’t sound that sorry 

22*

Second post:



588 gilla-markeringar

oxfamgb Recent events have cast a shadow over the vital, life-saving work our staff do every day. But we are determined to stamp out abuse, and to keep fighting poverty wherever it exists.

Yemen has suffered the largest ever outbreak of cholera since records began. We have already helped over one million people.

As well as providing clean water, we have been repairing existing water systems, building toilets and organising cleaning campaigns to prevent the spread of disease. We're determined to keep working to alleviate the suffering of people in Yemen and around the world.

Photo: Kate Wiggins /Oxfam

Visa alla 33 kommentarer

27 FEBRUARI 2018 - VISA ÖVERSÄTTNING

	Critical	Praising	Fact presentin	Emoji	Unclear
Total in each category		10		4	2

Figure 7. Comments: second post

Like the first post, this post also has high interaction, with slightly more like-marks (588) and almost as many comments. Nevertheless, only 16 were left after the pre-processing. The majority of the comments is praising Oxfam and encouraging the organization to keep going, for example:

“Oh glad to see myself in this photo, very proud to be part of Oxfam and to serve people in greatest need #oxfam”

and

“Keep up the great work! All organisations can have bad apples, how you deal with it going forward is what counts. #keepgoing”

There are two unclear comments, which are written in another language and cannot be understood, for example, “جزاكم الله خير”. Four comments consisted of heart emojis like for example: “❤️❤️❤️❤️”.

Third post:



425 gilla-markeringar

oxfamgb Right now, our staff are saving lives and fighting poverty every day – even under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, fighting has forced millions of people to flee their homes. Over 3 million people are going hungry.

Oxfam teams – many of them local, trained volunteers – are helping more than 400,000 people, providing them with clean water, sanitation, cash and seeds for growing crops. Working together with the UN World Food Programme, we're getting food to 89,000 people. We're determined to keep this vital, life-saving work going.

Photo: @johngingerwessels / Oxfam

Visa alla 18 kommentarer

1 MARS 2018 · VISA ÖVERSÄTTNING

Comment	Critical	Praising	Fact presentin	Emoji	Unclear
Total in each category		5		3	1

Figure 8. Comments: third post

The third post has a bit less interaction, with 425 like-marks and nine comments after the pre-processing. One comment is categorized as unclear since it is written in another language, like in the previous post. The three emoji comments are actually dominated by the thumbs – up sign, such as: “👍 👍 👍”. The majority of the comments were praising Oxfam, showering the organization with kind words and encouraging them to keep up the good work, like for example:

“Amazing - let us know how we can help”

and

“This is #Oxfam i'm proud!!!”

Fourth post:

553 gilla-markeringar

oxfamgb Today, like every day, Oxfam teams are helping people to overcome unimaginable suffering. Recent events have angered and distressed us all, but we are determined to keep helping the world's poorest and most vulnerable people.

Hundreds of thousands of Rohingya people have crossed over to Bangladesh. It's a crisis that is escalating all the time, and Oxfam has reached more than 185,000 people affected. Staff and people affected are working together to build clean water systems, toilets and sanitation facilities. They're also providing vouchers so people can buy food and setting up lighting in the camps. This vital work continues.

Photo: @bekkifrost / Oxfam

Visa alla 10 kommentarer

2 MARS 2018 · VISA ÖVERSÄTTNING

	Critical	Praising	Fact presentin	Emoji	Unclear
Total in each category	1	3		3	

Figure 9. Comments: fourth post

In this final post, the like-marks have increased again, with 553 likes. However, there are less comments than the last post. Only seven comments were left after the pre-processing. One comment was critical:

“The fact that they knew and have been told many times by whistle blowers about their workers pleasuring their hormones of vulnerable victims of war and hunger in brothel tells me alot I would expect behaviour like this from ISIS who use women of war and suffering to pleasure their sick mind and testosterone but wasn't expecting that from a 'humanitarian organ' my money wont be going to Oxfam anymore”

This comment is emphasizing how damaged Oxfam's credibility is (since the person is comparing the charity to the terrorist group ISIS). In the previous section of the analysis, the caption on this very post seem to indicate that Oxfam is distancing themselves from the crisis and this comment could be provoked by such a thing. The person is pointing back at Oxfam and holding the organization accountable for what happened. In chapter 2, a case study on Oxfam by Mishal (2018) concluded that the system for accountability was the real problem not the sexual exploitation. In a way, this person is accusing Oxfam the organization, of not taking immediate action when “whistle blowers” informed them many times “have been told many times”. On another note, three comments were praising Oxfam, in the same way as in previous posts, with encouragements:

“Amazing efforts you guys make all donations go a long way”

4.3 Social Mediated Crisis Communication Model

In order to understand and demonstrate how Oxfam's Haiti sexual exploitation scandal was managed, the SMCC model was followed and the different aspects of the model were identified. In this section, an SMCC model for this case study will be presented and explained. The previous sections and the presented analyzed data are the underlying material for this final step of the analysis.

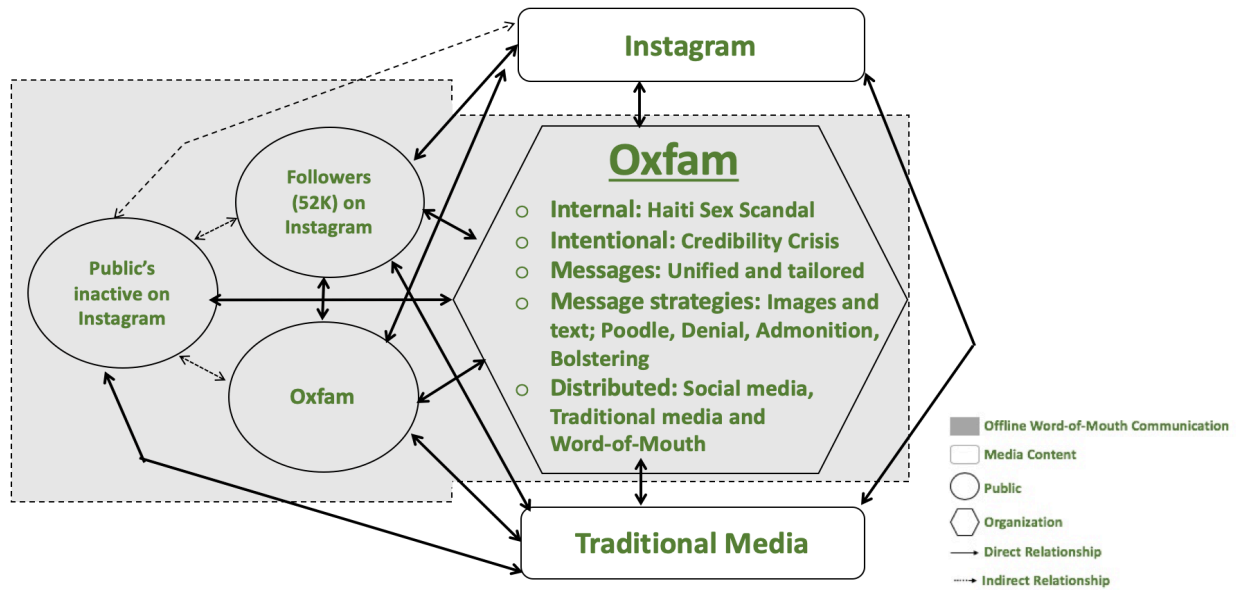


Figure 10. Oxfam's SMCC model

In this case, Oxfam is the influential social media “creators.” As we saw previously, they communicated through posting pictures on Instagram. The “followers” that consume the messages and information are primarily the 52,000 followers on Oxfam’s Instagram (Instagram⁵: 2019-05-18). However, on Instagram, anyone can search and visit any account and take part in the information without following the organization. When these followers take part in the information, they can choose to share it both online and offline. For example, social media “followers” can share the information they receive on Instagram to the “inactive” via word-of-mouth communication. However, the social media “inactives” can receive the information through word-of mouth communication from social media “creators,” or other inactives as well. Since the inactives can receive information indirectly from followers and creators, they have an indirect relationship to social media. Another source of information for the “inactive” is the traditional media (Dudo & Khlor, 2017:171; Jin *et al*,2014:77).

In this case, the crisis starting point was the “Haiti sexual exploitation scandal” and the actions of workers and staff in different hierarchy levels within the organization. Examples of different actions that contributed to the crisis were the sexual exploitations, seniors within the organization’s lack of responsibility and covering up the investigation of the sexual exploitation scandal (The Guardian: 2018-06-15). Dudo and Khalor (2017:172) give “unfair employee labor practices, corrupt leadership, or mismanagement of funds” as examples of internal organizational origin. In this case, it is clear that the crisis origin is internal. These characteristics of organizational misdeed would be classified as “the intentional” cluster (Coombs, 2007:167). This type of crisis has a heavy attribution of responsibility. As earlier presented in the literature review, Lerbinger (2012) advocates that crises concerning suspicion of bias values and mismanagement within organizations, like Oxfam, are classified as credibility crises (Lerbinger, 2012: 21,216).

Oxfam’s Instagram posts can be seen as both tailored messages or as unified organizational message. Mark Goldring’s apology letter in the first post can be seen as a centralized and unified organizational message. The letter itself can be used in different platforms and to all kinds of target groups. Since the post was made on Instagram, Oxfam dedicated the “image” with the text about the letter to clarify what the caption was saying and to encourage the followers to click on the link and read the apology letter. In contrast, the other posts seem to be more tailored for Instagram, with a “real” image (Dudo and Khalor, 2017:172).

The content contained four images with a related caption. The response strategies seem to vary slightly between the posts. The first post is an apology even if it does not say for what. Thus, Oxfam “made a poodle” as their first response strategy (Benoit, 1995:155) or at least it seemed that way at first. However, looking closely, it is the “I”, “Mark”, who apologizes, not the organization. This can also mean that the organization indirectly used another response strategy as well. A subtle use of the denial strategy can be interpreted by the first post. The organization highlights an apology from Mark which, can be seen as he is to blame (*ibid*). The Bolstering strategy is also used in the second post, Oxfam highlights the good actions that they have done in order to try to reduce the damages of the crisis. The first part of the caption indicates that:

“Recent events have cast a shadow over the vital, life-saving work our staff do every day. But we are determined to stamp out abuse, and to keep fighting poverty wherever it exists.”

It is clear that Oxfam is trying to show the public the good they are doing in order to minimize the damages from their credibility crisis. Post three uses Admonition as the response strategy, meaning that the organization outlines that other issues should be addressed instead (*ibid*). This appears in the first part of the caption:

“even under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, fighting has forced millions of people to flee their homes. Over 3 million people are going hungry.”

The caption in the fourth post, can also be seen as Bolstering:

“Today, like every day, Oxfam teams are helping people to overcome unimaginable suffering.”

Duo and Khator (2017:171) advocate that organizations’ crisis response strategies should be planned based on how the type of crisis might influence publics and adjust it accordingly. However, Jin and Liu (2010) suggest that different communication strategies can vary depending on the stages of the crisis and the “rumors.” Nevertheless, perception of the same message in different platforms can vary (Jin *et al*, 2014; Dudo & Khator, 2017:174).

5. Conclusion

In chapter 2, I touched upon different important studies and theories which combined with my methods and analysis have given ground to answer my research questions:

1. How was the Haiti scandal communicated by Oxfam on Instagram?
2. How did the public react to Oxfam's posts about the scandal?

The answer on the first question, is that the communication about the Haiti scandal was not direct. As the analysis showed, only one post (the first) communicated an apology, but it did not say for what. Also, the apology came from a person within the organization and not from Oxfam. At one hand Oxfam did not seem to have a strategy on how to communicate during the crisis, since there were different response strategies used and no message was direct about the crisis. On the other hand, most of the posts were clearly displaying Oxfam helping people in need and with that, reminding the publics of the good work they do, which is a response strategy by itself. This is also a way to invite the followers to help the people in the images as well by donating money to the organization. As shown in multiple of studies and theories in the previous research, not taking responsibility and having a clear strategy during a credibility crisis can be really damaging for an organization. Specially for organizations like Oxfam, that depends on different stakeholders for support.

The answer on the second question, is that the public's reaction on Oxfam's posts were varied. However, most of the comments were praising the organization. This outcome can have different reasons. But most likely, the praising comments are coming from Oxfam's own followers on Instagram. People who would critique Oxfam or dislike the organization might not be following their account. Another aspect can be that, the critical followers do not dare to comment with their "own" account. Nevertheless, the group could be talking negatively about the organization in real life (offline word-of-mouth).

The analysis has shown that by co-applying the SMCC model with the MCDA framework a broader understanding of Oxfam's crisis communication was achieved. The SMCC model illustrated the importance of identifying the different components when looking into the communicating during a crisis. These components combined with an MCDA allowed the analysis to get to "the point" and to really understand the "hidden meaning" in the data. The analysis was focused on both developing an understanding of the organization's crisis communication and management as well as the public's reaction. In that way, the research

contained an understanding of the “whole” picture. The results from both parts of the analysis, combined together and put in “Oxfam’s own” SMCC model, really gives an overview of how the crises were managed.

5.1 Limitations

For a study to be reliable, the researcher has to present a rich empirical material and study a case for a longer period of time (Eksell & Thelander, 2014:221). Due to time and space constraints, this case was studied for a short period of time and with a small amount of data. However, the data has been analyzed in-depth and two frameworks have been used in order to obtain a broader knowledge of the case. Since this dissertation is based on a case study, the results cannot be generalized (*ibid*). However, Dudo and Khalor (2017:182) have stated that “The SMCC model provides evidence that enriches the body of knowledge”, which in this case strengthen the outcomes from the analysis and the knowledge about how the crisis was handled can be taken in consideration by other organizations. Also, the data were conducted from only one platform (Instagram). Nevertheless, being that Instagram has seldom been looked at in this way, this study is contributing current information on the rarely examined platform. However, this case study acts as a testbed of a model that can be applied in future studies.

5.2 Directions for Future Research

Using a larger amount of data, the method in this case study would provide a deeper understanding on how a crisis is managed and received. In addition, going deeper into the SMCC model would provide knowledge on how the different components affect the crisis, which could be achieved by adding data such as Oxfam’s response comments, the published articles from traditional media and looking into posts from more social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter etc.). By doing so, the messages and replies on the different platforms can be analyzed in order to obtain deeper understanding of how the platforms vary and can be used during a crisis. Essentially, a case study of a larger scale, considering multiple crisis communication theories, would provide important knowledge for organizations in today’s social media era. This large-scale study would also provide researchers with deeper knowledge on how different platforms can work together or maybe against each other in a crisis situation.

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7. Appendices

Appendix 1 – Definitions of Key Terms

Communication

Falkheimer and Heide (2018:19) use a metaphor to explain communication: “*Communication is as essential for human life as water is for the fish – and this is equally valid for organizations.*” Communication can be summarized with the actual transmission and retransmission of information from one point to another (*ibid*:20,23).

Crisis

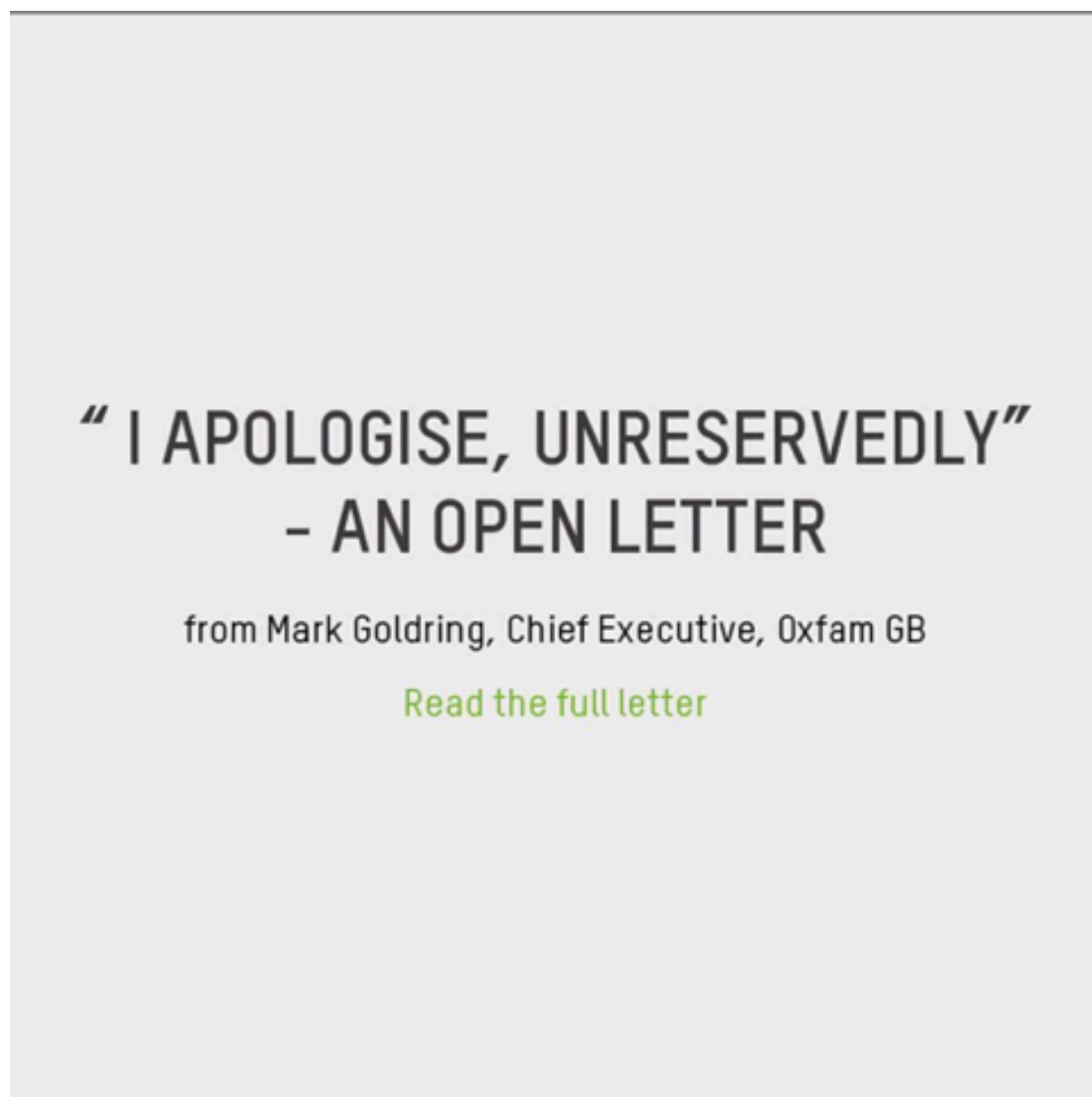
Ulmer *et al.* (2015) define organizational crisis as: “*An organizational crisis is a specific, unexpected, and nonroutine event or series of events that create high levels of uncertainty and threaten or are perceived to threaten an organization’s high- priority goals*” (*ibid*: 8). There are two types of crisis: intentional and unintentional. The intentional includes seven categories that can harm an organization; terrorism, sabotage, workplace violence, poor employee relationship, poor risk management, hostile takeovers and unethical leadership. The unintentional, includes five categories that are not “*intentional acts of individuals with questionable motives*”; natural disasters, disease outbreaks, unforeseeable technical interactions, product failure and downturns in the economy (*ibid*:11-12).

Social Media

Social media are interactive platforms with the purpose of facilitating two-way interaction. They enable users to create and share content or to participate in social networking (Auvinen, 2012:7; Kelly, 2013:37). Examples of social media are blogs, microblogging, social networks, podcasts, image and video sharing platforms (Heide *et al.*, 2012:226).

Appendix 2 – The Collected Data

First post



Caption: To read Mark Goldring's open letter in full, please follow the link in our bio.

We have today published a comprehensive plan of action to strengthen safeguarding systems across the organisation and stamp out abuse. For more information, please visit our website: www.oxfam.org.uk

Screenshot:



Comments:

1. **manon brown** 🍀❤️
2. **christel_anna** I will still support oxfam. Just a few bad eggs. That's human nature.
3. **drakey009** ❤️ proudly standing as one with Oxfam
4. **fifiorion** Funny that the Mp pushing this "scandal" story had unauthorised meetings with Israel and was reprimanded for it. Oxfam stance for Palestine when Scarlett Johansen was an Ambassador would have made it a target for just this kind of overblown smear campaign IMO
5. **fifiorion** Charities that deal with war victims, refugees and stand up for Palestinians must be neutralised and tow the line 😬
6. **fifiorion** Meanwhile Israel is bombing Syria extensively and the Oxfam "scandal" is the main news story 😬😬
7. **_sophieredman** Proud to be part of the OxFamily ❤️ There are many more of us doing good than those in the headlines x
8. **bekkifrost** ❤️
9. **awandc** Still believe in Oxfam and will not let actions of a few and media witch hunt deter that
10. **wudypics** Disappointed by the actions of the individuals involved. I think they should have been publicly shamed by Oxfam rather than trying to keep it under the radar. That said I have supported Oxfam since I was 20. I'm now 45 and will always support @oxfamgb for all the good you do.
11. **hennaakk** Oxfam you will always have my support, the actions of those despicable people will never taint the excellent work you do across the world.
12. **bethdoane** ✨
13. **katscholle** @queenarawelo
14. **anna kachna** ❤️
15. **mrskamsachdev** Don't let the govt use this as an excuse to stop the funding-that they never intended on giving in the first place!
16. **oxfamgb** @drakey009 Thank you for standing proudly with us, its great to know you are still with us - Joe
17. **oxfamgb** @awandc Thank you Antony for your message of support! Best wishes, Joe
18. **sir.khozee** Full of shame
19. **frownline** 🙌🙌
20. **oxfamgb** @wudypics Thank you for our message of support. what made you first start supporting us 25 years ago? - Joe
21. **oxfamgb** @hennaakk Thank you for your message of support! Best wishes - Joe
22. **greenwood99** ❤️ Good luck guys ❤️ @oxfamgb 🙌🙌🙌🙌
23. **wudypics** @oxfamgb My Uncle is from India and said how much good work Oxfam do over there. So I wanted to help support that work.
24. **lisasian** In an interview with The Guardian, he said: "The intensity and ferocity of the attack makes you wonder, what did we do? We murdered babies in their cots?" Doesn't sound that sorry 😬
25. **fifiorion** @lisasian they work in war torn countries with refugees and victims of disaster- if some volunteers have committed crimes- they have to reform their vetting procedures- but the media are acting like the organisation is evil? Totally overblown
26. **fifiorion** I'm sure that govt funding will now have the condition that Oxfam don't support BDS, will be interesting to see what their "reforms" entail
27. **lisasian** @fifiorion this is extremely serious. I don't call in to question the outstanding work some of the charity provides it's not about that. I do find it worrying the default response has turned to 'it's not that bad' abusing your position of power with people you're meant to be helping and who are desperate is appalling and comparing one bad deed to another not only shows a complete lack of respect and understanding but is completely irrelevant. It's also an extremely white-male response to the subject of prostitution
28. **fifiorion** @lisasian ? So I'm now a white male?? 😬get real- there are standards to uphold but imposing your highest aspirational values on somewhere like
29. **fifiorion** @fifiorion Haiti and Chad is unrealistic - prostitution exists everywhere and it's not Oxfams agenda to eliminate it world wide- it's their agenda to attend to immediate survival needs
30. **lisasian** @fifiorion urgh you're missing the point so I'll end the conversation here. Good luck defending this behaviour on social media with other people 🙌

31. **fifiorion** And to the person who deleted their comments to me after saying that I am “defending their behaviour” I am defending the 99.9% of Oxfam workers and receivers of aid who don’t deserve collective punishment because of the actions of a tiny percent of the organization
32. **fifiorion** Specially when it conveniently entails removal of aid by the govt which holds itself to an extremely low standard of behaviour of mps
33. **hayleycorker** People are quick to bring charities down. That’s not to say that what’s happened isn’t serious. Hopefully @oxfamgb will learn it’s lessons, #listen to its staff who don’t just sit at the top and bounce back. #isupportinternationalaid
34. **oxfamgb** @wudypics That is lovely to hear. Thank you for your continued and wonderful support - Grace
35. **larddog** 🙌
36. **chiwisita** 👍
37. **vicsich** ♥ stay strong ♥
38. **kimmy_rihal** @oxfamgb what will you do to address the institutional racism and sexual abuse and can you explain your email replies to Helen Evans? Furthermore do you even know that DBS checks are free for volunteers?
39. **kimmy_rihal** @oxfamgb can you publish your safeguarding plans for the future
40. **ngo_saksham** 🙌
41. **oxfamgb** @vicsich Thank you for your message of support, best wishes - Joe
42. **oxfamgb** @kimmy_rihal Hi Kimmy, sorry for the late reply! Please follow this link to see all of Oxfam's plans, reports and policies, including info on safeguarding <https://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/about-us/plans-reports-and-policies> - Best Wishes, Joe
43. **kimmy_rihal** @oxfamgb Joe I’m sorry for the tone of my comments. I work in Children’s services I am absolutely disgusted that someone has made a comparison between rape and death. In Britain we have some of the highest safeguarding standards and there are no tiers of acceptability. What assurance will you give to ex donors like myself that this rotten culture in management will be properly addressed and eradicated? I look forward to hearing from you Joe.
44. **oxfamgb** @kimmy_rihal Hi Kimmy, you have nothing to be sorry for. I don't know if you have seen this already, but here is a copy of our plan, to stamp out abuse - <https://www.oxfam.org.uk/media-centre/press-releases/2018/02/oxfam-announces-comprehensive-action-plan-to-stamp-out-abuse> - Joe
45. **moralmoda_magazine** To who is apology, corrupt at all levels 😞 no moral
46. **tomoki.dean** Every charity that fights poverty should be respected I have fundraised for oxfam before and helped oxfam before I think it's a good cause. I will be always be there with you @oxfamgb
47. **oxfamgb** @undefined Thank you for your kind words of support Tomoki, and for continuing to stand with us in the fight against poverty and suffering ♥ - Ana
48. **fazzzzbender** How about you stop using donor's money to prop up your bloated and inefficient management?

Second post



Caption: Recent events have cast a shadow over the vital, life-saving work our staff do every day. But we are determined to stamp out abuse, and to keep fighting poverty wherever it exists.

Yemen has suffered the largest ever outbreak of cholera since records began. We have already helped over one million people.

As well as providing clean water, we have been repairing existing water systems, building toilets and organising cleaning campaigns to prevent the spread of disease. We're determined to keep working to alleviate the suffering of people in Yemen and around the world.

Photo: Kate Wiggans /Oxfam

Screenshot:



588 gilla-markeringar

oxfamgb Recent events have cast a shadow over the vital, life-saving work our staff do every day. But we are determined to stamp out abuse, and to keep fighting poverty wherever it exists.

Yemen has suffered the largest ever outbreak of cholera since records began. We have already helped over one million people.

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Photo: Kate Wiggans /Oxfam

Visa alla 33 kommentarer

27 FEBRUARI 2018 · VISA ÖVERSÄTTNING

Comments:

1. **soonamed** Oh glad to see myself in this photo, very proud to be part of Oxfam and to serve people in greatest need #oxfam
2. **farossss.o36** ❤️❤️❤️
3. **heavenly soveon** ❤️❤️❤️
4. **speedygonzalez996** Keep up the great work Oxfam. Your incredible development and poverty alleviation projects are vital. 🙌 😊
5. **hager07** ❤️👍❤️👍❤️👍
6. **cliveb4rker** ❤️👍
7. **dgattoron55** Keep going 🙌🙌
8. **oluwademilade_tejdstudio** Just trying times... it shall pass... keep up the good work 📦📦📦📦📦📦📦📦📦📦📦📦📦📦📦📦
9. **judithrbrown** We still stand with and support you - proud to be a supporter and previous volunteer 🙌❤️😊
10. **rich_warne** Keep up the good work!
11. **oxfamkorea** keep it up!!
12. **oxfamgb** @speedygonzalez996 Thanks so much for the kind words of support, Adrian ❤️ - Sue
13. **oxfamgb** @dgattoron55 Thanks for the words of support, Daniela ❤️ - Sue
14. **oxfamgb** @judithrbrown Hi Judith. Thank you for continuing to stand with us in the fight against poverty and suffering, where did you use to volunteer? 😊❤️ - Ana
15. **oxfamgb** @oluwademilade_tejdstudio Thanks so much for the support, Solesi ❤️ - Sue
16. **oxfamgb** @rich_warne Thanks for the kind words, Rich! - Sue
17. **judithrbrown** @oxfamgb at the Oxfam Bookshop, Newport, Isle of Wight. Some very happy memories! 😊
18. **oxfamgb** @oxfamkorea ❤️❤️❤️ - Sue
19. **oxfamgb** @soonamed ❤️❤️❤️❤️ - Sue
20. **dgattoron55** @oxfamgb you're welcome. I volunteer at Petersfield book shop xx
21. **oxfamgb** @judithrbrown Hi Judith. That's so wonderful to hear! We couldn't fight poverty without amazing and inspiring volunteers and supporters like you 😊❤️ - Ana
22. **ajah6253** عليكم السلام
23. **oxfamgb** @dgattoron55 That's so lovely to hear, Daniela. Thanks so much for volunteering with us, we couldn't fight poverty without you 🙌🙌 - Sue
24. **siliconewristbandsonlineltd** Keep up the great work! All organisations can have bad apples, how you deal with it going forward is what counts. #keepgoing
25. **oxfamgb** @siliconewristbandsonlineltd Thanks for the kind words and for knowing that the actions of a very small number of employees do not represent Oxfam as a whole, nor does it change the hugely positive impact that we have around the world - Sue
26. **jan_eva_123** Continue to support Oxfam so they can continue to support those areas where they are most needed.
27. **oluwademilade_tejdstudio** @oxfamgb 📦📦📦📦📦📦 keep the work going.
28. **oxfamgb** @oluwademilade_tejdstudio ❤️❤️ - Sue
29. **oxfamgb** @jan_eva_123 Thank you for your kind words of support Janice ❤️ - Soph
30. **ncbd585** Thanks for all that Oxfam does from this former volunteer. 🙏❤️
31. **oxfamgb** @ncbd585 Thank you very much for your continued support 😊 - Grace
32. **ajah6253** خير الله جزاكم
33. **oxfamgb** @ajah6253 Thank you 😊 -Ally

Third post



Caption: Right now, our staff are saving lives and fighting poverty every day – even under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, fighting has forced millions of people to flee their homes. Over 3 million people are going hungry.

Oxfam teams – many of them local, trained volunteers – are helping more than 400,000 people, providing them with clean water, sanitation, cash and seeds for growing crops. Working together with the UN World Food Programme, we're getting food to 89,000 people. We're determined to keep this vital, life-saving work going.

Photo: [@johngingerwessels](#) / Oxfam

Screenshot:



425 gilla-markeringar

oxfamgb Right now, our staff are saving lives and fighting poverty every day – even under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, fighting has forced millions of people to flee their homes. Over 3 million people are going hungry.

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Photo: [@johngingerwessels](#) / Oxfam

Visa alla 18 kommentarer

1 MARS 2018 · VISA ÖVERSÄTTNING

Comments:

1. **galka.jpeg** □□□□□□
2. **oxfamgb** @galka.jpeg ❤️❤️ - Sue
3. **bekkifrost** ❤️
4. **oxfamgb** @bekkifrost ❤️❤️ - Sue
5. **ettecarter** 👍👍
6. **oxfamgb** @ettecarter ❤️❤️❤️ - Sue
7. **adelson.rafael** This is #Oxfam i'm proud!!!
8. **oxfamgb** @adelson.rafael Thanks so much for your kind words, Adelson! - Sue
9. **zeddiesworld** I stand with Oxfam
10. **oxfamgb** @zeddiesworld Thank you, Jazz! Oxfam is a global movement made up of amazing supporters like yourself Thank you ❤️ - Soph
11. **charmainejconsul** Go Oxfam. Keep going strong. I am sraff and so proud of our organisation
12. **oxfamgb** @charmainejconsul Thanks so much for your kind words, Charmaine ❤️❤️ - Sue
13. **ajah6253** مرحبا
14. **larddog** brilliant
15. **oxfamgb** @larddog Thanks for the words of support! - Sue
16. **naranjaproductions** Amazing - let us know how we can help
17. **oxfamgb** @newbasestudios Thanks for the kind support guys! You can find out how to get involved in Oxfams work here: <https://www.oxfam.org.uk/get-involved> 😊❤️ - Ana

Fourth post



Caption: Today, like every day, Oxfam teams are helping people to overcome unimaginable suffering. Recent events have angered and distressed us all, but we are determined to keep helping the world's poorest and most vulnerable people.

Hundreds of thousands of Rohingya people have crossed over to Bangladesh. It's a crisis that is escalating all the time, and Oxfam has reached more than 185,000 people affected. Staff and people affected are working together to build clean water systems, toilets and sanitation facilities. They're also providing vouchers so people can buy food and setting up lighting in the camps. This vital work continues.

Photo: [@bekkifrost](#) / Oxfam

Screenshot:



553 gilla-markeringar

oxfamgb Today, like every day, Oxfam teams are helping people to overcome unimaginable suffering. Recent events have angered and distressed us all, but we are determined to keep helping the world's poorest and most vulnerable people.

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Photo: [@bekkifrost](#) / Oxfam

Visa alla 10 kommentarer

2 MARS 2018 · VISA ÖVERSÄTTNING

Comments

1. **thisismjg** 🙏
2. **sinart_project** 👍
3. **farossss.036** 💖💖💖
4. **josephflynn19** Keep on keepin' on guys.
5. **oxfamgb** @josephflynn19 Thank you Joe. Oxfam's work is only possible due to the many wonderful volunteers and supporters 😊 - Soph
6. **carol_robb_** Amazing efforts you guys make all donations go a long way
7. **oxfamgb** @carol_robb_ Thank you Carol ❤️ We are committed to making sure every donation makes a difference in the fight against extreme poverty and inequality. We couldn't do the work we do without the kind donations of our supporters 😊 - Soph
8. **bindsay** great work @ry_webb 💖💖
9. **oxfamgb** @bindsay Thank you 😊❤️ -Ally
10. **darymatin** The fact that they knew and have been told many times by whistle blowers about their workers pleasuring their hormones of vulnerable victims of war and hunger in brothel tells me alot I would expect behaviour like this from ISIS who use women of war and suffering to pleasure their sick mind and testosterone but wasn't expecting that from a 'humanitarian organ' my money wont be going to Oxfam anymore

Appendix 3 – Categorized Comments

	Comment	Critical	Praising	Fact presenting	Emoji	Unclear
1	🍀❤️				1	
2	I will still support oxfam. Just a few bad eggs. That's human nature.		1			
3	🍀 proudly standing as one with Oxfam		1			
4	Funny that the Mp pushing this "scandal" story had unauthorised meetings with Israel and was reprimanded for it. Oxfam stance for Palestine when Scarlett Johansen was an Ambassador would have made it a target for just this kind of overblown smear campaign IMO			1		
5	Charities that deal with war victims, refugees and stand up for Palestinians must be neutralised and tow the line 🤔					1
6	Meanwhile Israel is bombing Syria extensively and the Oxfam "scandal" is the main news story 🤔🤔			1		
7	Proud to be part of the Oxfamily 🍀 There are many more of us doing good than those in the headlines x		1			
8	🍀				1	
9	Still believe in Oxfam and will not let actions of a few and media witch hunt deter that		1			
10	Disappointed by the actions of the individuals involved. I think they should have been publicly shamed by Oxfam rather than trying to keep it under the radar. That said I have supported Oxfam since I was 20. I'm now 45 and will always support @oxfamgb for all the good you do.		1			
11	Oxfam you will always have my support, the actions of those despicable people will never taint the excellent work you do across the world.		1			
12	🍀				1	
13	@queenarawelo					1
14	🍀				1	
15	Don't let the govt use this as an excuse to stop the funding-that they never intended on giving in the first place!			1		
16	Full of shame	1				
17	🍀				1	
18	❤️ Good luck guys 🍀 @oxfamgb 🍀🍀🍀🍀		1			
19	@oxfamgb My Uncle is from India and said how much good work Oxfam do over there. So I wanted to help support that work.		1			
20	In an interview with The Guardian, he said: "The intensity and ferocity of the attack makes you wonder, what did we do? We murdered babies in their cots?" Doesn't sound that sorry 🤔	1				
21	@lisasian they work in war torn countries with refugees and victims of disaster- if some volunteers have committed crimes- they have to reform their vetting procedures- but the media are acting like the organisation is evil? Totally overblown			1		
22	I'm sure that govt funding will now have the condition that Oxfam don't support BDS, will be interesting to see what their "reforms" entail	1				
23	@fflorian this is extremely serious. I don't call in to question the outstanding work some of the charity provides it's not about that. I do find it worrying the default response has turned to 'it's not that bad' abusing your position of power with people you're meant to be helping and who are desperate is appalling and comparing one bad deed to another not only shows a complete lack of respect and understanding but is completely irrelevant. It's also an extremely white-male response to the subject of prostitution			1		
24	@lisasian ? So I'm now a white male?? 🤔 get real- there are standards to uphold but imposing your highest aspirational values on somewhere like					1
25	@fflorian Haiti and Chad is unrealistic - prostitution exists everywhere and it's not Oxfams agenda to eliminate it world wide- it's their agenda to attend to immediate survival needs			1		
26	@fflorian urgh you're missing the point so I'll end the conversation here. Good luck defending this behaviour on social media with other people 🤔					1
27	And to the person who deleted their comments to me after saying that I am "defending their behaviour" I am defending the 99.9% of Oxfam workers and receivers of aid who don't deserve collective punishment because of the actions of a tiny percent of the organisation		1			
28	Specially when it conveniently entails removal of aid by the govt which holds itself to an extremely low standard of behaviour of mps					1
29	People are quick to bring charities down. That's not to say that what's happened isn't serious. Hopefully @oxfamgb will learn it's lessons, #listen to its staff who don't just sit at the top and bounce back. #supportinternationalaid			1		
30	🍀				1	
31	🍀				1	
32	❤️ stay strong ❤️		1			
33	🍀🍀				1	
34	To who is apology, corrupt at all levels🤔 no moral	1				
35	Every charity that fights poverty should be respected I have fundraised for oxfam before and helped oxfam before I think it's a good cause. I will be always be there with you @oxfamgb		1			
36	How about you stop using donor's money to prop up your bloated and inefficient management?	1				
Total in each category		5	11	7	8	5

First post

Second post

	Comment	Critical	Praising	Fact presenting	Emoji	Unclear
1	Oh glad to see myself in this photo, very proud to be part of Oxfam and to serve people in greatest need #oxfam		1			
2	💜💜💜				1	
3	💚💚💚				1	
4	Keep up the great work Oxfam. Your incredible development and poverty alleviation projects are vital. 🙌👍		1			
5	❤️❤️❤️				1	
6	❤️				1	
7	Keep going 🙌👍		1			
8	Just trying times... it shall pass... keep up the good work 🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌		1			
9	We still stand with and support you - proud to be a supporter and previous volunteer 🙌👍		1			
10	Keep up the good work!		1			
11	السلام عليكم					1
12	Keep up the great work! All organisations can have bad apples, how you deal with it going forward is what counts. #keepgoing		1			
13	Continue to support Oxfam so they can continue to support those areas where they are most needed.		1			
14	@oxfamgb 🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌 keep the work going.		1			
15	Thanks for all that Oxfam does from this former volunteer. 🙌💜		1			
16	جزاكم الله خير					1
Total in each category			10		4	2

Third post

	Comment	Critical	Praising	Fact presenting	Emoji	Unclear
1	👍👍👍				1	
2	❤️				1	
3	👍👍				1	
4	This is #Oxfam i'm proud!!!		1			
5	I stand with Oxfam		1			
6	Go Oxfam. Keep going strong. I am sraff and so proud of our organisation		1			
7	مرحبا					1
8	brilliant		1			
9	Amazing - let us know how we can help		1			
Total in each category			5		3	1

Fourth post

	Comment	Critical	Praising	Fact presenting	Emoji	Unclear
1	👍				1	
2	👍				1	
3	💜💜💜				1	
4	Keep on keepin' on guys.		1			
5	Amazing efforts you guys make all donations go a long way		1			
6	great work @ry_webb 💜		1			
7	The fact that they knew and have been told many times by whistle blowers about their workers pleasuring their hormones of vulnerable victims of war and hunger in brothel tells me alot I would expect behaviour like this from ISIS who use women of war and suffering to pleasure their sick mind and testosterone but wasn't expecting that from a 'humanitarian organ' my money wont be going to Oxfam anymore	1				
Total in each category		1	3		3	

Appendix 4 – Oxfam’s Replies Comments (excluded data)

First post

oxfamg @drakey009 Thank you for standing proudly with us, its great to know you are still with us - Joe
oxfamgb @awandc Thank you Antony for your message of support! Best wishes, Joe
oxfamgb @wudypics Thank you for our message of support. what made you first start supporting us 25 years ago? - Joe
oxfamgb @hennaakk Thank you for your message of support! Best wishes - Joe
oxfamgb @wudypics That is lovely to hear. Thank you for your continued and wonderful support - Grace
oxfamgb @vicsich Thank you for your message of support, best wishes - Joe
oxfamgb @kimmy_rihal Hi Kimmy, sorry for the late reply! Please follow this link to see all of Oxfam's plans, reports and policies, including info on safeguarding https://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/about-us/plans-reports-and-policies - Best Wishes, Joe
oxfamgb @kimmy_rihal Hi Kimmy, you have nothing to be sorry for. I don't know if you have seen this already, but here is a copy of our plan, to stamp out abuse - https://www.oxfam.org.uk/media-centre/press-releases/2018/02/oxfam-announces-comprehensive-action-plan-to-stamp-out-abuse - Joe
oxfamgb @undefined Thank you for your kind words of support Tomoki, and for continuing to stand with us in the fight against poverty and suffering 🍀 - Ana

Second post

oxfamgb @speedygonzalez996 Thanks so much for the kind words of support, Adrian ❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @dgattoron55 Thanks for the words of support, Daniela ❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @judithrbrown Hi Judith. Thank you for continuing to stand with us in the fight against poverty and suffering, where did you use to volunteer? 😊❤️ - Ana
oxfamgb @oluwademilade_tejdstudio Thanks so much for the support, Solesi ❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @rich_warne Thanks for the kind words, Rich! - Sue
oxfamgb @oxfamkorea ❤️❤️❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @soonamed ❤️❤️❤️❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @judithrbrown Hi Judith. That's so wonderful to hear! We couldn't fight poverty without amazing and inspiring volunteers and supporters like you 😊❤️ - Ana
oxfamgb @dgattoron55 That's so lovely to hear, Daniela. Thanks so much for volunteering with us, we couldn't fight poverty without you 🙌 - Sue
oxfamgb @siliconewristbandsonlineltd Thanks for the kind words and for knowing that the actions of a very small number of employees do not represent Oxfam as a whole, nor does it change the hugely positive impact that we have around the world - Sue
oxfamgb @oluwademilade_tejdstudio ❤️❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @jan_eva_123 Thank you for your kind words of support Janice ❤️ - Soph
oxfamgb @ncbd585 Thank you very much for your continued support 😊 - Grace
oxfamgb @ajah6253 Thank you 😊 -Ally

Third post

oxfamgb @galka.jpeg ❤️❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @bekkifrost ❤️❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @ettecarter ❤️❤️❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @adelson.rafael Thanks so much for your kind words, Adelson! - Sue
oxfamgb @zeddiesworld Thank you, Jazz! Oxfam is a global movement made up of amazing supporters like yourself Thank you ❤️ - Soph
oxfamgb @charmainejconsul Thanks so much for your kind words, Charmaine ❤️❤️ - Sue
oxfamgb @larddog Thanks for the words of support! - Sue
oxfamgb @newbasestudios Thanks for the kind support guys! You can find out how to get involved in Oxfams work here: https://www.oxfam.org.uk/get-involved 😊❤️ - Ana

Fourth post

oxfamgb @josephflynn19 Thank you Joe. Oxfam's work is only possible due to the many wonderful volunteers and supporters 😊 - Soph

oxfamgb @carol_robb_ Thank you Carol ❤️ We are committed to making sure every donation makes a difference in the fight against extreme poverty and inequality. We couldn't do the work we do without the kind donations of our supporters 😊 - Soph

oxfamgb @bindsay Thank you 😊❤️ -Ally